יְחוּד

ביאורים הרחבות שאלות לדיון לעילוי נשמת שמחה בת משה ז"ל

www.yeshiva.org.il/midrash/pdf/pdf236/21svat.pdf - Translate this page

ו' דְּבָר ים הַ ם מ ה שֶׁ יֵּשׁ לָהּ נְטִ יָּה מִ ן ה יחוד וְה סֵּ דֶ ר שֶׁ לָּהּ . אֲ בָ ל ה בְּט וּל לְגַמ ַ ', הוּא דָּבָ ר זוּלַת. זֶה, וְהוּא עִ נְיַן שֶׁ בַּ יעִ '. נִמְ צָ א שֶׁ ...

[PDF] הקדמה

www.yeshiva.org.il/midrash/pdf/pdf250/28sivan.pdf ▾ Translate this page

שֶׁ אֵ ינוֹ נוֹתֵ ן מָ קוֹם לְסָ פֵ ק, כָּךְ אֵ ינָנוּ מְ וַתֵּ ר אֶ ת זְכוּתוֹ לְאֵ חֵ ר ים לְשֵׁ תֵּ פָּ ם עִ מּ וֹ; ה כְּלָלִ יוּת, ה וַדָּאוּת וְה יחוד. תֵּ לוּיִים הַ ם זֶה בָּזֶה.

[PDF] Portal Daf Yomi - יום שלישי יום רביעי

files.daf-yomi.com/.../dvar.../dvar-malchut-shabat-144-15084.pdf ▾ Translate this page

שֶׁ הַ ם כְּ לָ לִ יִּים, וְ נִ כְ תֹּ בוּ עָ בוּר כָּ ל ה סֵּ סֵ יד ים: שֵׁ עֵ ר ה יחוד הוּא ה מִ פִּ תֵּ ם דַּ תוֹ ר ת ה סֵּ סֵ ידוּת, וְ שֵׁ עֵ ר י אוֹ רָ ה. – אֲ לָ ף בֵּ ית דַּ תוֹ ...

[PDF] הַמְּלוּכָה וְהַמֶּמְשָׁלָה לְחַי עוֹלָמִים - מכון מאיר

www.meirtv.co.il/upload/images/Idx%2059112.pdf ▾ Translate this page

ה יחוד וְה יִרְ אֵ ה לְסִ י עוֹ לָמִ ים: ה כְּתֶ ר וְה כָּבוֹ ד לְסִ י עוֹ לָמִ ים. ה לֶּקַ ח וְה לִּבּוּב לְסִ י עוֹ לָמִ ים: ה מְ לוּכָה וְה מֶ מְ שָׁ לָה לְסִ י עוֹ לָמִ ים.

תפילת שחרית לימות החול-ברייתא דר' ישמעאל

mobile.tora.ws/html/2220201-9.html ▾ Translate this page

ה יחוד וְהִ יא רָאֲ ה לְסִ י עוֹלָמִים. ה כֶּתֶ ר וְהַכָּבוֹד לְסִ י עוֹלָמִים. ה לֶּקַח וְהִלּוּבּוּב לְסִ י עוֹלָמִים. ה מְלוּכָה וְהַמֶּמְשָׁלָה לְסִ י עוֹלָמִים. ה נּוֹ וְהַנֶּצַח ...

TheMarker Cafe - בְּזִקְפַּת עַמּוּדֵי עָנָן

cafe.themarker.com/post/2775592/ - Translate this page

· סַלָּלִים · תַּבַּת תְּהוּדָה · תְּנוּעָה חֲלָקָה · אפֶק מְפאָר · תַּמְצִית סְפּוּר · סוֹחֵט · דֶּמְעָה · יחוד · שְׁתִיקָה · אַדְמוּמִית · מַרְאֶה · עֲלוּסִים · תּוּגַת ...

TheMarker Cafe - אַנְגִינָה בְּוָגִינָה...

cafe.themarker.com/post/2671945/ ▾ Translate this page

Jul 9, 2012 - ... אֲגָנִים · אַדְמוּמִית · מַרְאֶה · דֶּמְעָה · מְצִיצָה · שְׁתִיקָה · יחוד · מְחוֹשָׁבוֹת · קָצָה לָשׁוֹן · מְחוֹל הַתְּשׁוּקָה · נְגִינַת תָּווִים · זְחִילָה ...

jstor - מִ שׁ ְ כַּאת אל־אַ נָוַאר התרגומים העבריים בימי הביניים לחיבור לאבו

www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/daat.82.159 - Translate this page

זאתה יחוד. ה מ גִּיע ים ה יא ה פּ כְּלִית שׁ ל.)לַ שׁ ְ לַ מּוּת ה נַּע לָ ה(. וְע ב ר וּ מַ ע ב ר לְאַ לּ וּ כּ ת מַ ה ם. וְשָׁר פ ה ס גֻּלּוֹת ה ס גֻּלּוֹת.

[PDF] תשא - דבר מלכות

https://dvarmalchus.org/Download/137.pdf

מַ ה מּ שׁ כִּ יל ים וְ ה עז ב ד ים אֲשׁ ר ב עֶד ת ה חֹס יד ים מ אַמָּ ר ים וְ ס פֶּר מְ יַחֵ ד, לְ ב ד שׁ ע ר ה יחוד וְ שׁ עֲר י אז רָ ה. שׁ ה ם כְּ לָלִ יִּים, וְ נ ...

[PDF] section 00 Rh+YkAsh01 prelimns.indd - Koren Publishers

https://www.korenpub.com/media/productattachments/.../rh-yk.pdf ▾ Translate this page

ה יחוד ו ה יִ ר אָ ה. ל ס ' עוֹלָ מִ ים. ה כֻּתָּ ר ו ה כָּ בוֹד. ה אֶ דֶּ ר ת ו ה אֱ מוּנָה Majesty and faithfulness. The source .-of this poem is the mysti

Yichudim

Yichudim (Hebrew: "Unifications") is a specific form of Jewish meditation in Kabbalistic Jewish mysticism, especially denoting the complete meditative method developed by Isaac Luria (1534–1572). The term Yichud is found in Halakha (Jewish law), denoting male-female "seclusion". In the esoteric anthropomorphism in Kabbalah, *Yichudim* denote unifications between male and female Divine aspects in the supernal sephirot.

Contents

In the Zohar
Hasidic explanation of the Zohar
Lurianic meditation system
Example of Lurianic Yichudim meditation
Kavanot of prayer in Hasidism
See also
Notes
References

In the Zohar

The Zohar speaks of two types of Yichudim in general, a *Yichud Mah u Ban* and a *Yichud Ava*. These divine names derive from esoteric expansions of the Tetragrammaton, representing different supernal forces. Kabbalistic theosophy explores the esoteric function of Yichudim in the unfolding creation of the spiritual realms, while meditative Kabbalah experiences and influences these supernal forces through the human psyche, as mystical Kavanot intentions during prayer, Jewish observance, or isolated practice. Kabbalistic doctrine sees unifications in the divine realm among the sephirot, and between God and lower creation, as the theurgic restorative task of man. Among the sephirot this is symbolised by the unification of the revealed male principle Tiferet ("The Holy One Blessed be He") and the female Malkuth (which descends immanently into creation as the exiled Shekhina divine Presence).

Hasidic explanation of the Zohar

Yichud Mah u Ban in the human psyche is the unification of one's emotions with action.

Yichud Ava is the process whereby a Kabbalist traces an object or concept in this physical world, up through the various levels of God's creative process of that object or concept. The goal of a unification is twofold. One, to uncover the inherent Godliness in the subject that is being meditated on, and second, to bring the Godliness "back home", so to speak. Once the Godliness of the thing is uncovered, the Kabbalist will endeavour to conceptually understand how all the levels that once separated him and God are actually all one. Hasidic thought describes two levels of this Divine *Yichud* (Unity) with Creation: *Yichuda Ila'ah* (Higher Unity) in which Creation is nullified within the Divine totality, *Yichudah Tata'ah* (Lower Unity) in which Creation perceives its own existence dependent on God.

Lurianic meditation system

Isaac Luria, the father of modern Kabbalah, developed the Zoharic references to Yichudim into a complete esoteric system of meditation, based on the new mythological scheme of Lurianic Kabbalah. Outwardly, the Zohar appears to be solely a theosophical text. However, through Luria's theosophical description of the cosmic structure as a complete interacting dynamic system, the soul of man embodies and dynamically interacts with the supernal processes of creation. Where Moses Cordovero previously developed a linear Zoharic method of meditation based on his conception of the sephirot as discreet powers, Luria's Yichudim meditation method is based on the sephirot as anthropomorphic mutually enclothing Partzufim (divine personas). His systemisation of Zoharic doctrine into a comprehensive process, enabled him to extract Yichudim meditation practices from the most esoteric descriptions in the Zohar. These elite meditative practices engaged the attention of subsequent Kabbalistic worship, and were further expanded, and practiced in a communal setting by Shalom Sharabi and the Beit El circle.

Example of Lurianic Yichudim meditation

In the same way that the Lurianic partzufim interact and enclothe within each other, so in Lurianic Yichudim meditations these supernal processes are theurgically enacted in the psyche by combining, and usually enclothing the letters of particular divine names within each other. A simple Yichud meditation example:

> "The lower soul (nefesh) is from the Universe of Assiah, which is associated with the name Adonay ("Lord" the divine name associated with the Sefirah Malkuth). One should therefore meditate on the name Adony (ADNY) binding it to the name YHVH (Tetragrammaton name associated with the Sefirah Tiferet) in the Universe of Assiah. He should then bind this to the name Ehyeh (AHYH "I Am" associated with the Sefirah Keter) in the Universe of Assiah.
>
> He should then meditate on this, elevating the name Ehyeh of Assiah, and binding it to Adonay of Yetzirah. Adonay of Yetzirah should then be bound to YHVH of Yetzirah.
>
> One proceeds in this manner step by step, until he reaches Ehyeh of Atziluth. He should then bind Ehyeh of Atzilut to the very highest level, which is the Ein Sof."[1]

Luria instructs many detailed and advanced Yichudim meditations for particular purposes. As well as Kavanot for prayer and to accompany Jewish observances, these include meditations enacted while prostrated on the grave of a saint, a practice of the 16th century Safed Kabbalists in order to commune with the righteous soul.

Kavanot of prayer in Hasidism

The elaborate esoteric Lurianic Yichudim to accompany liturgical prayer were replaced in early 18th century Hasidism by new Jewish meditation forms taught by the Baal Shem Tov, based on its concern with deveikut direct internal consciousness of divinity.[2] However, a very small number of extant Yichudim for other purposes, taught by the Baal Shem Tov, are recorded in early Hasidic texts.[3]

See also

- Kavanah
- Zeir Anpin

Notes

1. *Meditation and Kabbalah*, Aryeh Kaplan, p.225
2. *Studies in East European Jewish Mysticism and Hasidism*, Joseph Weiss, Littman Library: chapter "The Kavvanoth of Prayer in Early Hasidism".
3. *Meditation and Kabbalah*, Aryeh Kaplan, section on Hasidism records a Yichud to be practiced during immersion in a mikveh.

References

- *Meditation and Kabbalah*, Aryeh Kaplan, Weiser New York
- *Gate of Unity* by Dovber Schneuri

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Yichudim&oldid=907757118"

This page was last edited on 25 July 2019, at 02:21 (UTC).

Text is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License; additional terms may apply. By using this site, you agree to the Terms of Use and Privacy Policy. Wikipedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization.

Yichud

In Jewish religious law (*halakha*), the laws of ***yichud*** (Hebrew: איסור ייחוד *issur yichud*, *prohibition of seclusion*) prohibit seclusion in a private area of a man and a woman who are not married to each other. Such seclusion is prohibited in order to prevent the two from being tempted or having the opportunity to commit adulterous or promiscuous acts. A person who is present in order to prevent *yichud* is called a shomer.

The laws of *yichud* are typically followed in Orthodox Judaism. Adherents of Conservative and Reform Judaism do not generally abide by the laws of *yichud*.

The term *"yichud"* also refers to a ritual during an Ashkenazi Jewish wedding in which the newly married couple spends a period secluded in a room by themselves. In earlier historical periods, as early as the talmudic era,[1] the marriage would be consummated at this time, but that practice is no longer current.

Yichud

Halakhic texts relating to this article	
Torah:	Deuteronomy 13:6 (https://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0513.htm#6)
Babylonian Talmud:	Kiddushin 80b and Sanhedrin 21
Shulchan Aruch:	Even HaEzer 22 and 24

Contents

- Source of the prohibition
- Laws
- Leniencies
  - Baaloh B'ir – in town
  - Pesach Posuach – open door
  - Shomrim – guards
- Siblings
- Adopted children
- Unmarried couples
- Babysitting and caregiving
- Transportation
- Business
- See also
- References
- External links

The Biblical story about Joseph and Potiphar's wife is an example of the risks with yichud.

Source of the prohibition

Deuteronomy 13:7 says:

> If your very own brother, or your son or daughter, or the wife you love, or your closest friend secretly entices you, saying, 'Let us go and worship other gods, gods that neither you nor your ancestors have known...'

The Talmud gives an explanation to the passage, which is supposed to be a hint of *yichud*:

> Said Rabbi Johanan on the authority of Rabbi Ishmael, Where do we find an allusion to *yihud* in the Torah? - For it is written: If thy brother, the son of thy mother, entices thee [etc.]: does then only a mother's son entice, and not a father's son? But it is to tell you: a son may be alone with his mother, but not with any other woman interdicted in the Torah.[2]

The Talmud also claims that after the rape of Tamar, daughter of David, when she was left alone with her half-brother Amnon, David and his high court extended this prohibition to unmarried girls as well. Later, in the times of Shammai and Hillel the Elder, the prohibition was extended to include a non-Jewish woman. These rules are discussed in the Talmud.[3]

According to Talmud, Amnon's rape of his half-sister Tamar led King David to extend the prohibition of *yichud* to unmarried girls. 17th-century painting.

Most rishonim define the prohibition of *yichud* as a Torah law. Although Maimonides writes that the prohibition of *yichud* is derived from *divrei kabbalah* (Bible texts later than the Pentateuch), many interpret his words as meaning that it is a Torah law, though some regard it as a rabbinic prohibition.[3][4][5]

Rashi maintained that insofar as the prohibition of *yichud* is mandated by the Torah, it is an essential prohibition, whereas rabbinical extensions of the prohibition are enacted as a fence meant to distance a person from forbidden relationships. Hence, leniencies would apply only to the rabbinic additions to the laws of *yichud*. Halachic consensus, following Maimonides, is, though, that leniencies apply even to Torah-mandated *yichud* laws.[4]

Laws

The laws of *yichud* provide for strong restrictions on unrelated members of the opposite sex being secluded together, and milder ones for close family members. Different opinions exist regarding application of these laws both in terms of situation and in terms of the individuals involved. Prohibition of *yichud* applies to men over 13 years and, generally, girls over three, and a woman over twelve may not be alone with a boy over nine.[6] Even seclusion of short duration is forbidden, if it could potentially last longer.[7]

Leniencies

There are a number of circumstances, under which the prohibition of *yichud* may be circumvented. Typically, these apply fully to *yichud* with an observant Jew. Meeting a non-Jew or a secular Jew may require more scrupulousness.[6]

Baaloh B'ir – in town

If the husband is in town (*Baaloh B'ir*, or *Baala Bair*), or, more precisely, if it is possible that he can appear suddenly, a woman may be secluded with another man in her home. The fear of his sudden appearance is considered a deterrent to engaging in illicit behavior. If the husband works fixed hours, or if they meet where they are not likely to be found, the husband's presence in town does not circumvent *yichud*. A close, long-standing relationship (*Libo Gas Boh*) between the wife and another man also proscribes *yichud* in spite of the husband's presence in town. The lenience caused by the man's presence in town does not, however apply to his being secluded with another woman when his wife may appear suddenly.[6] Paradoxically, if a husband gives his wife permission to be secluded with a man, the lenience does no longer apply, since she does not fear his sudden entrance.[4]

Yichud applies also out of doors. Illustration from Eliza Orzeszkowa's novel *Meir Ezofowicz*, which deals with the conflict between Jewish orthodoxy and modern liberalism.

Rashi believes that the husband's presence in town only mitigates the prohibition, rather than abrogating it. The Shulchan Aruch, following Tosafot, however, rule that when the husband is in town the *yichud* restriction does not apply at all.[5]

Maimonides and Shulchan Aruch write that the rationale for Baaloh B'ir is that "her husband's fear is upon her." This does not imply a concrete fear that her husband will enter unexpectedly, but rather that she feels a natural inhibition, in the knowledge that her husband is close by. As a consequence of this, she can be in *yichud* with another man in a large city, like London or New York, where the chance that he suddenly appears is non-existent. Neither does her husband's permission undermine the leniency, according to this interpretation. Rashi interprets Baalo B'ir as referring to a concrete fear of sudden exposure. So does rabbi Moshe Feinstein, who consequently rules in a stricter way.[4] Another issue of debate is whether cities who have grown together to form a continuous area are to be treated as one city. Rabbi Shlomo Zalman Auerbach argues that if the wife is in Ramat Gan and the husband is in Tel Aviv he is still considered to be "in town". Since there are no significant uninhabited areas separating these cities, they are defined as one city from a Halachic perspective.[5]

Pesach Posuach – open door

Yichud is alleviated when the door is open. This principle is known as *pesach pasuach lireshus harabim* (lit. an open doorway to the public domain). The Shulchan Aruch rules: "If the door is open to the public domain, there is no concern of yichud."[8] This ruling has been interpreted and enlarged in various ways: 1. the door is actually open[9] 2. when the door is closed but unlocked 3. then door is locked, but somebody with a key is liable to come in at any time 4. the door is locked, but there is a reasonable possibility that people may knock on the door and expect to be answered (according to Moshe Feinstein). A woman being secluded with another man is also justified when people outside can see through the window what is going on inside the house. In case of a close, long-standing friendship between the man and the woman, however, a more stringent behavior is expected.[6] The leniency usually does not apply late at night, as there is little or no chance that people would come in unexpectedly then.[8]

Shomrim – guards

Yichud can be circumvented by the presence of other individuals (*shomrim*, guards or Chaperones), who would serve to provide a check on the man's behavior. Generally, Torah-observant Jewish men qualify as *shomrim*. Female relatives that permit *yichud* are: a man's mother; his daughter or granddaughter; his sister; his

grandmother; and a woman's mother-in-law, daughter-in-law and sister-in-law. Children aged 6–9 also qualify.[8]

A woman may be secluded with a man if one or more additional men are present.

Although *yichud* with a woman and two or more men, according to most poskim, is permitted during day time and in the evening, the presence of at least three men is required during nighttime sleeping hours. The same goes for situations when children are present instead of adults.[6] Sefardic Jews require the presence of the wife of one of the men for a woman to be secluded with them.[7]

The door is considered open as long as it is not locked, and the prohibition of *yichud* is circumvented.

Shulchan Aruch, though, follows Maimonides in ruling that *yichud* with one woman is prohibited even with many men. The disagreement is based on a passage in Gemara, which states that the permission for two men to be secluded with one woman applies only to kosher people, and tells a story where two acharonim met a woman in a secluded place, and one of them preferred to leave, since perchance only tzaddikim are defined as kosher. Nissim of Gerona considered this an excessive stringency, and thought that regular people are defined as kosher. Moses Isserles follows this view, and states that *yichud* with one woman and several men is prohibited only for promiscuous people.[10]

According to Rashi, *yichud* is permitted when at least three women are present, but most poskim follow Maimonides, who ruled that no number of women present circumvents the prohibition of *yichud*. Many poskim permits *yichud* in the presence of the man's grandmother, mother, daughter, granddaughter or sister [over seven years], but do not accept the woman's daughter, granddaughter or sister.[6] Avraham Danzig writes that the prohibition for one man to be in seclusion with two women is only rabbinic, whereas Torah law only prohibits a man from being secluded with one woman.[4]

Siblings

It is preferable that a brother and sister who have reached the age of six should not sleep in the same room.[11] *Yichud* between a brother and a sister above the age of Bar and Bat Mitzvah is considered appropriate for a short term, but not when their parents are away for an extended period of time. There are various opinions about the duration of a permitted *yichud*. Some poskim allow only up to three nights; others allow up to thirty days. If the brother and sister live separately and one comes to visit the other, *yichud* is permitted as long as they do not stay longer than the normal stay of a house guest (where circumstances like the distance of their residence is taken into account). However, when a sibling moves in on a permanent basis, *yichud* is forbidden even for one day.[7][12]

Adopted children

Opinions among Poskim are divided about *yichud* between adoptive parents and their children of the opposite gender, who were adopted at a very young age. Rabbis Moshe Feinstein, Eliezer Waldenberg, Hayim David HaLevi, and Nahum Rabinovitch all ruled that adoptive parents are permitted to engage in *yichud* with their

adopted children since sexual attraction normally does not occur in such situations. Feinstein, though, restricts the permission to situations when both adoptive parents are alive and married to each other, and Waldenberg only permits *yichud* if a girl was adopted before the age of three and a boy was adopted before the age of nine. Ovadia Yosef is essentially lenient about this issue, though he believes that it is preferable to adopt a girl so that the wife who is home most of the time can prevent *yichud* with the husband from occurring.

Yichud with one's own children is legitimate, but if they are adopted, restrictions apply. 18th-century painting.

The lenient view is strongly opposed by others, particularly in Haredi Judaism. Menachem Mendel Schneerson vigorously argued that *yichud* is forbidden in the adoptive situation. He insists that this was common custom in earlier generations. Dov Berish Weidenfeld, Yaakov Yisrael Kanievsky, Ezra Ettiah, Avrohom Yeshaya Karelitz, and Shmuel Wosner take the same position.[12]

Yichud with biological children is fully permitted. The Gemara explains that God was moved by the prayers of the Great Assembly to curtail the *yetzer hara* for incest so there is no need for a prohibition when it comes to biological parents and children.[12]

Unmarried couples

A man and woman who are engaged to be married may not dwell together unless other people are in the same house and the door is unlocked. Leaving the door slightly ajar is commendable. They may not stay together even on a temporary basis, such as in a hotel.[7][11] According to some poskim, sleeping in the same house if other family members are present does not violate *yichud* laws, but should be avoided due to tzniut considerations.[11] Others, including Moses Isserles and Joseph Soloveitchik, however, disagree about this and would not permit sleeping in the home of their future in-laws.[5]

Although mingling of men and women does not violate the prohibition of *yichud*, it should nonetheless be avoided, even if it is for the purpose of fulfilling a mitzvah.[7][13] Regardless of whether *yichud* takes place or not, girlfriend/boyfriend relationships are forbidden, since dating, according to halacha, should not serve other purposes than finding a suitable marriage partner.[14]

Babysitting and caregiving

Unless it is one's own child, grandchild or sibling, a female over the age of 12 should not babysit a boy 9 or older, and a male over the age of 13 should not babysit a girl 3 or older. The prohibition of *yichud* makes some natural solutions problematic, e.g. when a teenage girl who might babysit her sister's son has to consider the possibility of getting into *yichud* with her brother-in-law. The situation may be evaded by the presence of another boy or girl aged 6–9, or, such children lacking, by giving a key to the neighbors and asking them to come in unexpectedly.[15][16] If a father is single, or his wife is away, and he employs a female babysitter, he has to take care that he does not enter the house before the babysitter has exited, unless there are shomrim present; or else, at least he should leave the door open.[15]

Visiting a doctor's office is allowed during regular office hours, when people may enter unexpectedly. Otherwise, a shomer is required. Mortal danger always overrides *yichud* laws, although there are authorities who disagree with this.[5][17] Serious illness, on the other hand, does not alleviate the prohibition of *yichud*. An exception is, according to Moshe Feinstein, a male patient who has been diagnosed as impotent, but in this

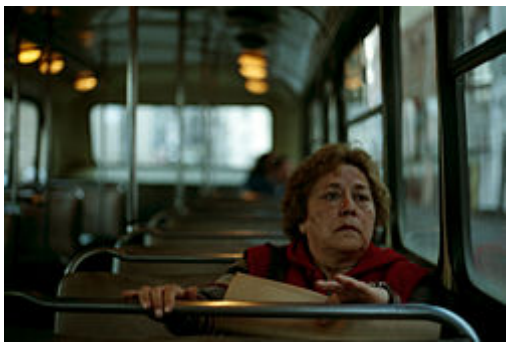
case marit ayin calls for carefulness. A dependent adult person in need of care should take a caregiver of the same gender. This applies also to very old men.[17] During daytime, an opposite gender housekeeper and medical staff may visit if the door is unlocked, or the neighbors have a key and are asked to come in unannounced from time to time.[7] Some poskim are lenient when it comes to a doctor's interaction with his patients, since he is supposedly consumed by his work and not likely to think sinful thoughts. They invoke Gemara, which applies this reasoning to allow a professional to mate animals, although it is otherwise forbidden to watch animals mate.[5]

Visiting a doctor's or dentist's office has to occur during regular office hours, when people may enter unexpectedly.

Therapists of the same sex are preferable, but when there is no one else as qualified as a therapist of the opposite gender, there is green light as long as leniences of *yichud* are in place. Since the client develops a close relationship with the therapist, Baaloh B'ir does not count.[17]

Transportation

Two unrelated, opposite-gender persons may travel in a vehicle together within the local area, but should not take out-of-town trips together, particularly if they are traveling to an area where they are not known to anyone, and will not be able to return on the same day. For tzniut considerations, the woman had better sit in the rear if the man is driving (or vice versa), and engaging in prolonged conversation is not advisable.[18]



Yichud situations may arise if other passengers get off the bus or taxi, and a woman is left alone with the driver.

If a woman is traveling in a bus or taxi, and the other passengers get off, leaving her alone with the driver, she should leave the vehicle, unless they drive where there are passersby or a steady stream of traffic.[18] On a bus, train or airplane, sitting adjacent to a member of the opposite gender is permitted, but many Orthodox Jews follow stringencies to avoid this due to the laws of negiah and tzniut.[19] According to most *poskim*, there are no restrictions on being secluded together momentarily in a temporary environment, such as an elevator. Since elevators are boarded constantly, there is always a chance that anyone could enter without warning.[20]

Business

In a location of business, a male and female may be together for business purposes provided that the location where they are has the potential to be viewed from outside. Otherwise, the door has to be unlocked or people with a key allowed to come in unexpectedly. This applies also if they have separate rooms in the same office. A close working relationship excludes the possibility of relying solely on Baaloh B'ir. A man may temporarily be secluded with three women, but not on the basis of a permanent relationship. Two men who are *prutzim* (fail to keep the laws of tznius) are not allowed to work with two women. Neither may a woman work together with three non-Jewish men.[21]

A male teacher should take heed that he does not become overly familiar with the girls. A male teacher who is single should not teach young children of either sex, since he may associate with their mothers when they come and pick up their children. In schools with many staff members, however, one may be lenient, and some

poskim take the position that this halacha applies only to situations where the teaching takes place in the private home of the teacher.[3][21]

If a location can be viewed from the outside, there is no concern for *yichud*.

See also

- Jewish view of marriage
- Negiah (guidelines for physical contact)
- Niddah (menstruation laws)
- Rebbetzin (rabbi's wife)
- Role of women in Judaism
- Shalom Bayit (peace and harmony in the relationship between husband and wife)
- Shidduch (finding a marriage partner)
- Tzniut (modest behavior)
- Billy Graham rule (similar practice of some Christians)
- Khalwa (similar prohibition in Islamic law)

References

1. Abraham P. Bloch, *The Biblical and historical background of Jewish customs and ceremonies* (KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1980), p. 32.
2. Kiddushin (http://halakhah.com/pdf/nashim/Kiddushin.pdf) 80b.
3. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Source Material: Gaining The Necessary Background To Understand The Laws (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/04.htm#n2) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
4. Rabbi Yehoshua Pfeffer: Shoftim: Halachos of Seclusion (1) (http://www.dinonline.org/files/newsletter/en_74.pdf) *Torah & Horaah*, Re'eh 5771 (2011).
5. Rabbi Howard Jachter: Yichud - Part Two (http://www.koltorah.org/ravj/The%20Yichud%20Prohibition%20-%20Part%202.htm) Rabbi Jachter's Halacha Files Vol.12 No. 7. 18 Kislev 5763/November 23, 2002.
6. Rabbi Doniel Neustadt: Hilchos Yichud: Rulings of Harav M. Feinstein (http://www.torah.org/advanced/weekly-halacha/5757/achrei.html) Weekly Halacha (1997) torah.org.
7. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Yichud—What, Where And With Whom (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/05.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 1. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
8. Yehoshua Pfeffer: Shoftim: Halachos of Seclusion (2) (http://www.dinonline.org/files/newsletter/en_75.pdf) *Torah & Horaah*, Shofetim 5771 (2011).
9. Pitchei Teshuva 22:8 quoting the Beit Meir and rabbi Akiva Eiger (responsa 100)
10. Rav Ofer Livnat: Hemdat HaDaf Hayomi: The Prohibition of Yichud (http://eretzhemdah.org/newsletterArticle.asp?lang=en&pageid=48&cat=7&newsletter=909&article=3485) eretzhemdah.org, 3 Tishrei 5771/September 11, 2010.
11. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Being Careful About Yichud (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/13.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 11. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
12. Rabbi Howard Jachter: Yichud - Part One (http://www.koltorah.org/ravj/The%20Yichud%20Prohibition%20-%20Part%201.htm) Rabbi Jachter's Halacha Files Vol.12 No. 6. 11 Kislev 5763/November 6, 2002.

13. Social Mingling between Genders (http://www.dinonline.org/2013/12/09/social-mingling-between-genders/) 5 Tevet 5774/8 December 2013.
14. Mordechai Becher and Moshe Newman: *After the Return: Maintaining Good Family Relations and Adjusting to Your New Lifestyle—a Practical Halachic Guide for the Newly Observant* (https://books.google.com/books?id=l7vP5Dm—DAC&printsec=frontcover&hl=sv#v=onepage&q&f=false) p. 103. Feldheim Publishers 1994.
15. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Babysitting (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/11.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 9. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
16. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: "Ishto Meshamroso"—His Wife Guards Him (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/07.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 4. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
17. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Medical Personnel (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/12.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 10. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
18. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Transportation (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/09.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 7. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
19. Rabbi Ari Enkin: Book Review: Guidelines – Questions and Answers About the Laws of Yichud (http://www.torahmusings.com/2013/06/book-review-guidelines-questions-and-answers-about-the-laws-of-yichud/) Review of Rabbi Elozor Barclay and rabbi Yitzchok Jaeger: *Guidelines – Questions and Answers About the Laws of Yichud*, Menucha. Torahmusings.com 18 June 2013.
20. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Common Yichud Situations (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/08.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 6. New York 2006, Sichos in English.
21. Rabbi N. D. Dubov: Yichud At Work (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/10.htm) *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman*. Chapter 8. New York 2006, Sichos in English.

External links

- Howard Jachter: The Yichud Prohibition - Part One: To Whom Does It Apply? (http://www.koltorah.org/ravj/The%20Yichud%20Prohibition%20-%20Part%201.htm) Rabbi Jachter's Halacha Files Vol. 12, No 6. 11 Kislev 5763/November 16, 2002.
- Howard Jachter: The Yichud Prohibition- Part Two: Exceptions and Specific Situations (http://www.koltorah.org/ravj/The%20Yichud%20Prohibition%20-%20Part%202.htm) Rabbi Jachter's Halacha Files Vol. 12, No 7. 18 Kislev 5763/November 23, 2002.
- N.D. Dubov: *The Laws of Yichud: Permissibility and Prohibition Regarding the Seclusion of a Man and Woman* (http://www.sichosinenglish.org/books/the-laws-of-yichud/01.htm)
- Yehoshua Pfeffer: Shoftim: Halachos of Seclusion (1) (http://www.dinonline.org/files/newsletter/en_74.pdf) *Torah & Horaah*, Re'eh 5771 (2011).
- Yehoshua Pfeffer: Shoftim: Halachos of Seclusion (2) (http://www.dinonline.org/files/newsletter/en_75.pdf) *Torah & Horaah*, Shofetim 5771 (2011).
- Mordechai Becher and Moshe Newman: *After the Return: Maintaining Good Family Relations and Adjusting to Your New Lifestyle—a Practical Halachic Guide for the Newly Observant* (https://books.google.com/books?id=l7vP5Dm—DAC&printsec=frontcover&hl=sv#v=onepage&q&f=false) Feldheim Publishers 1994.

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Yichud&oldid=992723659"

יחוד monotheism.

Hebraica

Volumes 1-3

American Publication Society of Hebrew

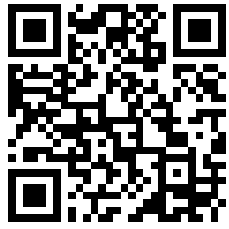
1884

Complete book is below:

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com



32101 073671560

2209
.122

Mr. David Paton.

Century Club. *New York.*

Digitized by Google

#11006, 10071, 10CE

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Bind these in at this point. 67

The American journal of Semitic Languages.

HEBRAICA.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY.

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., TH. LIC.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

VOL. I. MARCH, 1884. NO. 1.

$2.00 A YEAR (Ten Numbers). 25 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.
(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.50 a year.)

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Entered at the Post-office, Chicago, as Second-class Matter.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Purpose of Hebraica. *By William R. Harper*..... 1–5

II. The Higher Criticism, a Witness to the Credibility of the Biblical Narrative. *By Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., Th. Lic*..... 5–10

III. The Intermediate Syllable. *By Prof. T. J. Dodd*..... 10–13

IV. Contributions to Hebrew Synonymy, I. מִשְׁפָּט–דִּין. *By Rev. P. A. Nordell*..... 13–14

V. Books for the Study of Assyrian. *By Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D*..... 14–15

VI. General Notes:—The Ethical Dative.—The Word אִישׁ.—Davidson on Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament.—Rules of Life..... 15–17

VII. Editorial Notes..... 18–20

VIII. Questions and Answers..... 20–21

IX. Book Notices: Delitzsch's Hebrew and Assyrian.—Lehrbuch der Neuhebraeischen Sprache.—Ballin's Hebrew Grammar..... 21–23

X. Semitic Bibliography..... 23–24

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Publishers desire to call the attention of Students of the Old Testament to The Old Testament Student, which aims to assist Bible Students in the various departments of Old Testament Study. The latest results of geographical exploration, of archæological investigation, of the Assyrian discoveries, of exegetical, theological and historical studies, are presented in its pages. With Hebraica, whose purpose is to afford stimulus in *Hebrew Study*, and the Old Testament Student, the Bible Student is in command of the whole field of Old Testament investigation.

Combination Offer for both Journals.

Hebraica, }
Old Testament Student, } - - - - - - - - - $3.00.

Send money by Post-office Order, Postal note, or draft, on Chicago, to

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

Morgan Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., TH. LIC.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1884. NO. 2.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.50 a year.)

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

MORGAN PARK, ILL.

H. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Entered at the Post-office, Chicago, as Second-class Matter.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Syllables in the Hebrew Language. *By Prof. Hermann L. Strack, Ph.D.* 73–75

II. Methods in Hebrew Grammars. *By Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D.* 75–79

III. On a Hebrew Manuscript of the year 1300. *By Cyrus Adler.* 80–95

IV. מישרתים מלכים. A Contribution to the History of the Terminology of Hebrew Grammar. *By Prof. Wilhelm Bacher, D. D.* 96–97

V. The Aramaic Language. *By Prof. E. Kautzsch, D.D.* 98–115

VI. Miscellaneous Notes. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D.* 115–119

VII. Pirke Aboth; or, Sayings of the Fathers. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph.D.* 119–123

VIII. Contributed Notes:—Remarks on the Ethiopic.—Kautzsch's Aramaic Grammar.—The Study of Arabic in the University of Cincinnati.—חדקל – גן־בעדן 123–130

IX. Editorial Notes:—The Study of Assyrian.—Unaccented Open Syllables with a Short Vowel 130–132

X. Book Notices 133–134

XI. Semitic Bibliography 135–136

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., TH. LIC.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

VOL. I. JANUARY, 1885. NO. 3.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Entered at the Post-office, Chicago, as Second-class Matter.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Massoretic Vowel-System. *By Prof. Crawford H. Toy*, 137–144

II. The Daghesh in Initial Letters. *A translation by Rev. O. O. Fletcher* 145–152

III. The Old Testament in the time of the Talmud. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 153–174

IV. Assyrian Phonology, with special reference to Hebrew. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 175–181

V. Assyriological Notes. *By Francis Brown, Ph. D.* 182–183

VI. Miscellaneous Notes. *By John P. Peters, Ph. D.* 184–186

VII. General Notes:—

A Question in Hebrew Grammar. *By Prof. F. B. Denio*.... 187–188

Additional Aramaic Words in the New Testament. *By Rabbi B. Felsenthal*..... 188–189

The Religion of the Kassites 189–191

A Chaldee Hymn by Israel Nagara 191

VIII. Editorial Notes:—

The Institute of Hebrew..... 192

The present number of Hebraica..... 192

Professor Haupt's Series of Articles..... 193

IX. Book Notices:—

Mitchell's Hebrew Lessons. *By Prof. H. P. Smith*..... 194–197

König's Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache. *By Prof. G. H. Schodde*..... 197–198

X. Semitic Bibliography..... 199–200

HEBRAICA.

This journal was commenced as a *monthly*, and numbers were issued for March, April and May, 1884. It was then determined to publish it as a *quarterly*, counting the three monthly numbers as No. 1. No. 2 was issued October, 1884. It is designed to publish it regularly in January, April, July and October of each year. New subscribers will please state whether they wish their subscriptions to begin with Vol. I., No. 1. Back numbers can be furnished. Send money by registered letter to Morgan Park, or by Money order or draft on Chicago.

American Publication Society of Hebrew,
Morgan Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

VOL. I. APRIL, 1885. NO. 4.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Cylinder of Nebukadnezzar at New York. *By J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.* 201–208

II. The Scribe. *By Prof. H. L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D.* 209–211

III. Pirke Aboth; or Sayings of the Fathers. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 212–216

IV. Wateh-ben-Hazael. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 217–231

V. Syriac Version of Epistle of King Abgar to Jesus. *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.* 232–235

VI. Pleiades, Orion and Mazzaroth. *By Prof. John G. Lansing, M. A.* 236–241

VII. Miscellaneous Notes. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D.* 242–243

VIII. Grammatical Questions. *By Prof. F. B. Denio* 244–246

IX. Contributed Notes:—

On the Semitic Languages in General. *By Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D.* 247–249

The Relatives שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר. *By Prof. Charles R. Brown* ... 249–250

Genesis xx., 16. *Ibid.* 250–251

Note on כְּעַן (Dan. ii., 23; Ezra v., 16) כְּעֶנֶת (Ezra iv., 10, 11; vii., 12) כְּעֵת (Ezra iv., 17). *Ibid.* 251

צַלְמוֹת or צִלְמָוֶת? *By Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D. D.* 251–252

Moriah. *Ibid.* 252

"Conscience" for מַדָּע. *Ibid.* 252

Errata in the Baer-Delitzsch Edition of Proverbs. *By Rev. O. O. Fletcher.* 252–253

Purpose without a Connective. *By Prof. H. G. Mitchell, Ph. D.* 253–255

On the Source of the Name יהוה. *By Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D.* 255–257

X. Book Notices:—

Some Recent German Books. *By Prof. H. P. Smith, D. D.* .. 258–262

XI. Semitic Bibliography 263–264

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. I. MARCH, 1884. NO. 1.

THE PURPOSE OF HEBRAICA.

BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.

I.

The study of the Hebrew language, except for distinctly theological uses, and the study of the other Semitic languages, except for the assistance derived from them for the Hebrew, receive but slight attention at the hands of American scholars. These studies are carried on almost exclusively in the divinity hall, where they are necessarily secondary. Nor even here are they emphasized as they deserve. The time of both instructor and student is occupied largely in the discussion of questions strictly theological. Discussions of a philological nature are neither required, nor expected. The professor is crowded with work of one kind or another: he cannot engage in original investigations. The time at his disposal is short. It must be given to the Old Testament, and not to Hebrew. He cannot afford to be a professor of language merely. He studies the language, only so far as he is obliged to do so, to fit himself for a tolerable performance of his duties as a theological instructor. He teaches the rudiments of the language a few hours a week during a portion of the Junior year. The remainder of the course, so far as concerns Hebrew, is given to exegesis, an exercise in which, because of the lack of preparation for it on the part of the pupil, the professor works, while the student rests.

Is there no work to be done in Semitic philology? When we remember that America has yet to produce a Hebrew lexicon, that almost nothing is accessible on the subject of Hebrew synonyms, that the meaning of a large number of Hebrew words is as yet not satisfactorily determined, that for our grammars and for our texts we must go to England and Germany, that no comparative Semitic grammar has yet appeared, that practical text-books for the study of Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic and Assyrian are yet to be written, that we have no texts of separate books edited with notes, that no genuine work in textual criticism has yet been done, that the texts of the ancient versions are in a deplorable state, that great and important questions in Semitic ethnology are yet unsettled, that biblical chronology is a matter of the greatest uncertainty, that a critical Introduction in English to the Old Testament, is demanded by the times,—when we recall these facts, we realize certainly that there is work to be done. And that it is a great and growing work, will not be questioned by those who, for a moment, reflect. Who will do this work, if not the Professors of Hebrew? Is it not demanded of

DP dep. 60

Digitized by Google

the men who occupy the Old Testament chairs of our theological seminaries that they throw themselves with energy into these literary and philological fields, and not devote all their strength to "discussions as to technical minutiae of the Jewish schoolmen?" Shall not American scholars take hold of this work, in larger numbers and with greater zeal than ever before?

HEBRAICA will endeavor to furnish a medium for the publication of some of the results of this study. It will aim to serve as a means of inter-communication between scholars engaged in the various departments of Semitic work. It will particularly encourage original investigation. Its pages will be open to the discussion of all topics relating to the Semitic languages, literature, or history. It will urge those whose profession calls them to undertake the investigation of such topics to do their duty in this matter by using the opportunities afforded them, to render a valuable and a lasting service to the cause of higher education and learning.

II.

That Christian ministers ought to know Hebrew, is a generally accepted truth. It is necessary now in but few cases to enlarge upon the reasons for this study. In the case of those clergymen who do not have at least some knowledge of the language, it may be supposed that they earnestly desire it, and, indeed, would have it, but for unfavorable circumstances in the past or present. One will not go far wrong in saying that at least *eighty* out of every hundred ministers are alive to the importance of this subject. Of these eighty, however, not more than *ten*, probably, endeavor to do any systematic or consecutive work. Of the remaining *seventy*, there are *ten*, not more, who may reasonably satisfy themselves that they ought not to do such work. These are men who are physically or mentally unable. After deducting from every hundred cases, *twenty* who are not sufficiently interested in their work to make that preparation for it which may justly be regarded as indispensable, *ten* who may be supposed to be carrying on such study, and *ten* who may reasonably be excused from it, there remain *sixty*, who will confess that such study is desirable, and, indeed, necessary, yet do not undertake it. These sixty men have either commenced the study and dropped it, or they have never taken it up. In the former case, they may have had an instructor, who was a scholar, and an exegete, but not a teacher; or, a sufficient amount of time may not have been given in the curriculum of study to this department, and hence they did not attain that degree of knowledge which would have enabled them to carry on the study without further assistance; or, they may have regarded the study as of no importance, and consequently have shirked it at every possible opportunity. In the latter case, they may have entered the ministry without the ordinary preparation, laboring under the delusion, that without their immediate help the Kingdom of God must perish; or, they may have studied in the seminary, everything but the Bible.

Whatever be the reason assigned, the fact remains that sixty ministers out of every hundred, although they ought to have a living acquaintance with this language, and acknowledge this to be so, and desire the same, yet do not have it, and take no steps toward obtaining it. And why? Because they have formed a distaste for the study and cannot overcome it; or, because they are pressed with other claims of a more immediate nature, and have not the will-power needed to push them to one side; or, because they find it difficult to carry on such study alone and cannot, in the nature of the case, withdraw from their work to attend

Digitized by Google

a school where instruction may be obtained; or, because they have not had that encouragement which was needed to bring them to decide to undertake the study.

HEBRAICA will endeavor to interest these ministers, sixty out of every hundred, more deeply in the study of Hebrew; to stimulate them, if possible, to engage in such study, and to aid them, if possible, in its prosecution. These things it will aim to do by publishing words of incitement and encouragement from men who are in the midst of the work, and by means of actual help, afforded in the pages of the Journal, toward a better understanding of the principles and structure of that language in which is written three-fourths of God's revelation to man.

III.

Hebrew being a professional study, and being taught, consequently, only in the theological seminary, it might be supposed that a reasonable amount of time would be given that department in connection with which it is studied, that the best methods would be adopted by those who give this instruction, and that at least a fair knowledge of the language be gained by those who undertake the study. What are the facts?

(1) The time spent in the entire Old Testament department, in the majority of our seminaries, is not quite equivalent to that which is spent in the study of Latin *or* Greek during two years of a preparatory course. Classes average one recitation a day, for four days in the week. In the course, about two hundred and ninety hours of recitation are included. If the same amount of time were spent consecutively it would amount to about four and a half or five months of work. During this time, the student must master the Hebrew language, of which at the beginning of his course he is wholly ignorant; he must also learn the Aramaic, and must read as large a portion as possible of the Hebrew Bible. He must, likewise, become acquainted with the geography and archaeology of Palestine. The ancient versions of the Old Testament must receive some attention. A thorough grounding must be received in the three great sub-departments, Old Testament Hermeneutics, Old Testament Introduction, Old Testament Theology. To the department of the New Testament, the same amount of time is given, although the student is, from the beginning, thoroughly versed in the language which forms the basis of work. It is true, also, that the matter to be studied, although in some respects confessedly more important, covers but one-third as much ground, and is of a nature far less difficult. (2) Of the time spent in the Old Testament department, short as it is, probably not one-third is usually given to work of a linguistic character. The teaching of the principles of the language is regarded as drudgery. Few instructors take much interest in it. The work assigned from day to day is a task, burdensome alike to pupil and teacher. These tasks are prepared, but in many cases, only because they are required. The class is hurried into exegesis. Three chapters of Genesis, in some cases, have been painfully gone through with, when the Psalms, or Job, or one of the minor Prophets is taken up. From this time, the work is of a theological character and no longer linguistic. Is it supposed that the study of exegesis can be carried on with no adequate knowledge of the original language? (3) When we consider then the small amount of time given to the study of Hebrew and the injudicious method followed by many teachers in the study, we may be prepared for the statement that only a very small proportion of our seminary graduates take away with them a respectable knowledge of the language. This will pass undisputed. Theological students

Digitized by Google

not seldom sell their Hebrew books. Few ministers, as stated above, give any time to this study. We have a comparatively small number of Semitic scholars in our country. The Semitic work is being done in Germany. Is this as it should be?

That the present constitution of our seminaries is perfect is not to be supposed. Within a decade, great changes have been made in regard to these very matters. Instead of one man performing the labor of both Old and New Testaments, two men now perform that service; and in the more wealthy seminaries, an associate professor also is appointed. There is still room for advance. Much can be gained by the judicious use of better methods. At all events, either more instruction must be given the student, and greater acquisitions made by him, or the study of the Old Testament in the original tongues must be given up. In eight cases out of ten, the time spent by theological students in the study of Hebrew is time lost.

HEBRAICA will endeavor to increase the interest in Hebrew study among theological students; and it will work to advance the interests of that department in the theological seminary which has too often been regarded as the least important, and which has suffered greatly from indifference and neglect.

IV.

Universities and many colleges aim to teach everything. Almost no department of study is unrepresented in the curriculum. It is true, however, that with two or three notable exceptions, Semitic languages have no place. The literature, which of all literatures, has most influenced human thought and action, the history of the people to whom the world is indebted for its religion, that family of languages which is second in importance only to the family of which our own tongue is a member,—the Bible, Jewish history, and the Semitic languages pass unnoticed. This is a condition of things which should not long continue. It is not the place here to assign reasons why these subjects should be recognized in the University and College curriculum, at least as electives. Nor is there space to show why the theological seminary should not be left alone to do a work, which can no longer be regarded as strictly professional. It is sufficient to say, that if America is to perform her share in the great and important departments now, for the first, opening up in the remote districts of the East, if American scholars are to be prepared to take their part in deciding the vital questions that have arisen concerning the integrity of the Old Testament, if American scholarship is to take an active part in that rapidly developing science, the Science of Comparative Religion, surely Oriental studies, and particularly Semitic studies, must be introduced into the curriculum of non-professional schools. These studies must be encouraged in a more active manner than they have ever been. Instruction must be provided for those who desire it. Investigation must be encouraged on the part of those who have the ability and the taste for it.

What HEBRAICA can accomplish in this direction, it will do. Such changes in the established order of things are always slow. But if this is a thing to be done, it will in time be accomplished. If those who believe that Hebrew should be taught in colleges would but unite in an effort to introduce the study, they would soon succeed, for the number would be large and influential. It is possible that such a union of effort may be obtained. This, it will be understood, is one of the purposes for which HEBRAICA has been instituted.

Digitized by Google

V.

Within three years there has been organized and carried into successful operation a School for the study of Hebrew by Correspondence. This School, at this writing, includes over six hundred clergymen and students. The members of the School are of every evangelical denomination. They reside in almost every State in the Union, in Canada, in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Turkey, in China, in Japan, in India. Their sole aim in this work is to attain a thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew language. They are interested in all that pertains to this department of study. They desire aid which is not to be found in dictionaries and grammars. They will appreciate and obtain profit from the discussion of topics, as it comes fresh from the hands of instructors and students. They feel bound together by a common tie. For this class of men, as well as for those clergymen and students who are to-day carrying on regular and systematic study by themselves, HEBRAICA is intended. If rightly conducted, it cannot but prove to them invaluable.

To furnish a medium for the discussion of Semitic topics by Semitic scholars, to encourage and aid those who are in the ministry to engage in Semitic study, to advance, if possible, the interests, and to increase the efficiency of the Old Testament department in our various seminaries, to advocate the introduction of Semitic studies into our Universities and Colleges, and to form a bond of connection between the widely scattered members of the Hebrew Correspondence School, HEBRAICA is sent forth. May it not receive the sympathy and cooperation of all who have at heart the cause of higher learning?

THE HIGHER CRITICISM, A WITNESS TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVE.

BY HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., TH. LIC.,

Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

Not a few orthodox theologians in Europe, very many in England and America, see in the application of the so-called Higher Criticism to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, a danger to the faith, and consequently by principle stand aloof from all such work.

Now, it is indeed noteworthy, that the Higher Criticism has had its origin and first accomplishment mostly through suggestions which have come from those who were heterodox. It were easy to enumerate many examples. In this periodical devoted to the study of the Old Testament and the Hebrew Language, I give only three of the many names well known in the history of the Pentateuch criticism: *Thomas Hobbes*, whom Thorschmid* has called the "grand-father of all free-thinkers in England," the author of the "Leviathan, or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth," etc. (London, 1651, Part III., chap. 33); the inventor of the strange Pre-Adamite hypothesis, *Isaac la Peyrere* (Systema theologicum ex Praeadamitarum hypothesi, 1655 [*sine loco*], IV., cap. 1); and the Jewish

* "Versuch einer vollstaendigen Engellaendischen Freydenkerbibliothek, 1765-67."

Digitized by Google

pantheist, *Baruch Spinoza* (Tractatus theologico-politicus, 1670, in particular cap. 9). But we are not warranted in concluding from this that the Higher Criticism is necessarily opposed to a positive, orthodox view; and least of all may we Protestants be, from principle, opponents of the Higher Criticism. On the contrary, criticism is inquiry, and it is a holy duty of Protestantism to inquire after truth; we should not believe what has been once handed down simply upon authority, but we should always still *test it for ourselves*. He to whom the truth of the Christian religion is a fact of experience, independent of external evidences, will be able to devote himself to the struggle for knowledge without anxiety respecting the issue. One is not to despair if it many times seems that the results of science work injury to the positive Christian faith. For the fact suggests itself: either what is now regarded as the result is not true and then will come the time of correction or refutation; or the result is true and then it will be made plain that the traditional view was in reality deficient, it may be in the dogmatic premises or in the exegesis or in some other relation.

It has, therefore, given me much joy, that, just as I was about to write this short contribution for this new periodical, I should find essentially the preceding thoughts expressed in a book just received by me from New York. *Charles Augustus Briggs*, Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, closes the preface of his latest, and very recommendable book* with these words: "With an implicit faith in the God of the Bible and the power of grace contained in the holy Word; and with an unwavering recognition of the supreme excellence of the written word as the mirror of the eternal Logos: and with an entire submission to its authority as supreme over all doctrines of men and ecclesiastical decisions, this biblical study is submitted to the judgment of the intelligent reader." He who speaks thus is sheltered from the reproach of rationalism, of unbelief. And the same eminent scholar writes, p. 246, "There is also a prejudice in some quarters against these studies and an apprehension as to the results. This prejudice is unreasonable. This apprehension is to be deprecated. It is impossible to prevent discussion. The church is challenged to meet the issue. It is a call of Providence to conflict and to the triumph of evangelical truth. The Divine Word will vindicate itself in all parts. These are not the times for negligent Elis or timorous and presumptuous Uzzahs. Brave Samuels and ardent Davids who fear not to employ new methods and engage in new enterprises and adapt themselves to altered situations, will overcome the Philistines with their own weapons."

In the following lines, which others, it may be, will follow with more and better, I would now seek to show that the results of the Higher Criticism can be used in many ways in favor of the credibility of the biblical accounts.

The historian rightly considers a fact to be better proved, and therefore to be more credible, when testified to by several independent authors, than when only one isolated account is at hand. The reports of a single unbiased and intelligent eye-witness are, to be sure, worth more than the accounts of several later witnesses. But so soon as we concede that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, the very dissimilarity of the original documents incorporated into the Pentateuch is serviceable for the re-establishment of its credibility.

---

* Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods and History, together with a Catalogue of Books of Reference. *New York:* Scribner's Sons, 1883. XV., 506 pp. 8vo.

Digitized by Google

A redactor who welds together what is entirely contradictory is an irrational, injudicious man. Now, those who admit the Pentateuch to have been constructed out of three or four great codes, extol, almost in a body and on numerous occasions, the circumspection, the care, the tact of the redactor. They come, therefore, into evident conflict with themselves when they, in many other places, affirm that between the individual original documents there are discrepancies and even fundamental contrarieties which are irreconcilable. They do not notice what follows. A redactor or author (which name may also be preferred) who compiles from three or four codes a greater work, will take from each of his sources that related in it, which is most evident, most complete, and most suitable to the purpose of the new work; he will partly shorten, partly omit the parallel accounts of the other sources, in order that there may not be too many, and too long, repetitions. Out of that document, naturally, which was most detailed in its treatment of the priests and ceremonial law, was that exclusively or particularly taken which has reference to the priest and the ceremonial law; and what alluded to the prophetic spiritual contemplation of history, peculiar to the Jehovistic document, will have been mostly omitted, because this last document, was in this respect, more detailed and clearer.

If, now, we have analyzed the Pentateuch, according to determined criteria, into its original elements, there will *appear* to be a greater difference than originally existed, between the Priest-codex and the Jehovistic, to speak only of the two sources already named; for of each of these two sources there is wanting to us, according to all probability, the most of that wherein it was closely at one with the other source. The circumstance that an intelligent man has wrought together these diverse documents, is proof that he did not believe in the existence of essential differences. Further, we will be able to perceive, in spite of the incomplete state in which the original documents are preserved to us, that, as regards many an important matter of fact, it was related in more than one of the sources (the calling of Moses, the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, &c.); and that is to us weighty testimony in behalf of the historical reality of the leading facts, inasmuch as the diverse sources of the Pentateuch are, if not altogether, still partly, independent of one another. Weighty testimony, we say; for, in modern times, many inquirers have gone so far as to combat the historical reality of the unique legislative and prophetic labors of Moses.

In relation to the Pentateuch analysis, that is, in relation to the question, which parts of the Pentateuch belong to the individual original writings, there has been lately much progress effected. But even, at the present, unproved statements are very frequently made; and the analysis has not come to that degree of trustiness and certitude which is necessary, if far-reaching conclusions are to be built upon it.

The results with reference to Genesis are best assured. We may, in particular, consider it as beyond doubt, that the beginning of this book, the so-called first creation-record (I., 1–II., 4*a*) comes from the Priest-codex, and is only continued in chap. v.; on the contrary the section, II., 4*b*, *sqq.*, has its origin in the Jehovist. We will not here, at this time, canvass the oft discussed question, as to whether and how far differences between these two records of the creation are to be acknowledged; but would rather call attention to something else.

According to the assertion of most of the representatives of the critical tendency, the Priest-codex knows nothing of a Fall, and stands in this respect in

Digitized by Google

opposition to the Jehovist account. We believe, on the contrary, it may be affirmed that the Priest-codex originally contained an account of the entrance of sin into the creation and that this was only omitted by the redactor in favor of the account of the Jehovist in Gen. III., an account alike detailed and instructive. This assertion we will now seek to prove.

Six times does it say in the first creation-record, speaking of the separate works of God, "It was good" (I., 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25); of the entire creation, in consideration of its completeness, on account of the harmony in which the individual parts exist,* and because of the character of the whole which arises from the fact that the parts belong together, there occurs the predicate "very good" טוב מאד, (I., 31). This "good," occurring seven times, contains a protest against the view that God is the author of evil.† This word therefore points to the time following, points to the fact that the creation has not remained very good, or even good. Now, it is, according to my conviction, altogether impossible to accept that in the Priest-codex the fifth chapter of Genesis followed directly upon this "good" seven times asserted. At the beginning of this chapter it is said: This is the book of the Toldoth [generations] of Adam. When God created Adam, he made him in the likeness of God(בדמות אלהים).....; and when Adam was 130 years old, he begat in his own likeness, according to his own image (בדמותו כצלמו) and called his name (the name of the begotten) Seth." Seth's likeness to Adam is not, to be sure, expressly set in antithesis to Adam's likeness to God; nevertheless the acceptance of a distinction [between them] agrees very well with the wording [of the account]. And that in reality a distinction must be made, that between this chapter and the first creation-record there comes the loss of the predicate "good," of this, וַיָּמָת repeating itself throughout the entire fifth chapter with shuddering monotony, furnishes proof. The constant repetition of this word in each succeeding section‡ [*Glied*] is certainly intentional. It reminds that death and together with it evil and sorrows have pressed into the world and that death ruled (ἐβασίλευσε, Rom. V., 14), even over him who should govern the earth (Gen. I., 26–28), over man. A genealogical register with this refrain *cannot* have formed the immediate continuation of the first creation-record. The origin of evil and sorrow, hence the origin of sin, must also have been originally related in the Priest-codex, between the account of the creation and Adam's genealogical register.

Attentive consideration of the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis likewise furnishes us with proof of this. It is acknowledged by all who concede an authority to the critical analysis, that II., 5, *sqq.*, is drawn from the Jehovist, and that I., 1-II., 3, belongs to the Priest-codex. But how is it with II., 4? Does this verse belong wholly to the Priest-codex or wholly to the Jehovist; or is it to be so divided that the first half of it may belong to the Priest-codex, the second to the Jehovist?

In order to arrive at a correct judgment, we must take into consideration the following points:

1. The word Toldoth is *constantly* a superscription not a subscription. This is

---

* Compare the Greek κόσμος, the Latin *mundus*.

† The passage, Is. xlv., 7, is not inconsistent with the above. The interpretation of this verse would lead too far here.

‡ Only with Enoch does there occur a necessary exception.

Digitized by Google

also true as to Num. III., 1, and Ruth IV., 18, in which two places alone, outside of Genesis, does Toldoth occur with a following genitive.* According to this, v. 4 would belong wholly to the following.

2. Toldoth is found otherwise only in Elohistic sections, but the following is undeniably Jehovistic; therefore the word Toldoth could not have belonged, at least originally, to the following.

3. Toldoth signifies "begettings", the following genitive designates the begetter; for example XI., 27, ואלה תולדת תרח "*et hæc sunt ea quæ generata sunt* (*orta sunt, originem ducunt*) *a Tarah*" [and these are those who were begotten by (arise from, derive origin from) Terah]. In what follows upon תולדת פלני [so and so] the begetting of the פלני is *never* treated of; but what comes after declares: whom פלני begat, and mostly indeed through several sections [*Glieder*]; what may have become of the begotten or the most important of them; and beside this, how it may have issued with פלני after the mentioned begetting or begettings. According to this constant usage of the language, תולדות השמים והארץ cannot denote "the origin of the heavens and the earth," cannot therefore be the subscription of the section (which latter has been assumed in order to avert the conclusion which follows from the fact remarked above *sub.* 1). Rather must these words allude to what has its origin from them (the heaven and the earth).

But does that which follows, *as to its contents*, answer to this requirement? I believe: Yes. Plants and animals, as we know from chap. I., originated conformably to God's will by the co-participation of the earth. Man also is created out of earth (according to chap. II.). But it might be objected, that of *heaven* nothing whatever is further said in what follows. Against this, it is to be noted that the transposition ארץ ושמים in v. 4*b* intimates beforehand that the chief consideration in the mind of the redactor rests upon the *earth*. And further, we have with the very word Toldoth another instance indicating that in the following genitive something superscriptive is mentioned, of which no further notice will be taken in the text: I mean the entirely analogous passage Num. III., 1, *sqq.*, which, so far as I know, has never yet been put to this service by any one. The chapter begins ואלה תולדת אהרן ומשה. There Moses is mentioned along with Aaron in the superscription, because both together were at that time the heads of the tribe of Levi, of whose muster record is made in Num. III. But only the sons of Aaron are named; because these only, as forefathers [*Stammvaeter*] of the priests were of significance for the future of the tribe of Levi, while the sons of Moses stand back because they belong to the Levite division of the tribe: they are not even called by name among the Kohathites (v. 27).

If we now ask how these three points, which, in the present state of the case, stand in opposition to one another, can be equally right, I see no other possibility than the supposition that, in the Priest-codex, v. 1 did not follow immediately upon the account of the creation (I., 1–II., 3), but that a section, which ואלה תולדות began, stood between them and related, in other words, what after creation first of all befell the thing created, related the Fall of man, an epoch-making incident for all the creation. This section has yielded to the Jehovistic account: the redactor has left only the superscription and indeed so that he used it as the superscription of the Jehovistic narrative, taken up by him and made to follow

* Elsewhere it invariably has a suffix.

Digitized by Google

immediately after. Why the account of the Priest-codex concerning the fall of man, has been omitted, we naturally cannot now specify; it can only be presumed that it occurred because the Jehovistic account was more detailed and clearer.

In any case the fact that *two* written statements of the fall of man, &c., lay before the redactor of Genesis, serves to enhance the credibility of the account respecting the history of these primitive ages.

THE INTERMEDIATE SYLLABLE.

BY PROFESSOR T. J. DODD,

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

Questions about the *Intermediate Syllable* arise in the minds of all beginners whose attention has once been called to the subject. There are numbers who have no difficulty here because they have never learned the existence of such a syllable. Many of the grammars in common use make no mention of it;—others merely signify that the syllable exists, but do not give sufficient information even to arouse curiosity or to stir up difficulty. It is not surprising that the older Manuals such as those of Buxtorf, Reineccius, Opitius, and the like, should have nothing to say about the subject,—nor need we expect to find a treatment of it in such brief compends as those of Jones, Wolfe, Tregelles, Arnold, Merowitz, Mannheimer and Deutsch; but that such authors as Lee, Nordheimer and Kalisch should have passed the matter by in absolute silence or have given it so little recognition that one is at a loss to seek it in their books, may well excite astonishment. Of those writers, such as Ewald, Gesenius, Bickell, and Green, who have mentioned this syllable, Green alone seems to have recognized its importance, and he fails to give a complete, satisfactory account of it. Ewald has only a few lines devoted to it, telling us in general terms that "*half shut* syllables always arise at the resolution of a vowel by flexion.... or with very loosely attached and separate *præ-* and *postfix* syllables." Gesenius, improved by Roediger and translated by Davies, barely alludes to the syllable in saying,—after having mentioned a few words in which it occurs,—that "the Sh'vâ sound is especially slight in consequence of the very short syllable preceding it,"—and, in a foot note, "that this faintest sort of vocal Sh'vâ may well be indicated by a mere apostrophe." In Mitchell's Gesenius we have a few more words, but nothing that amounts to a real consideration of the subject. Here we find two kinds of vocal Sh'vâ distinguished, "the Sh'vâ *mobile*, and the Sh'vâ *medium* placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effecting at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as appoggiatura to the following syllable." A line or so upon the pronunciation of this Sh'vâ *medium*, and we have no more either of it or of the syllable preceding. Even in the few words given, we must note an unguarded expression: "*at the end of a syllable with a short vowel*" is too loose a definition either for Gesenius, or for his representative. According to this, the Sh'vâ may be *medium* in any one of the words תִּרְשָׁא, בִּרְקִיַּע, קִטְלוּ, קִטְלוּ, —and, waving all criticism of mere looseness or inaccuracy of definition of the

Digitized by Google

Sh'vâ, we must call attention to the fact that the *intermediate syllable* itself is not so much as named. *Bickell*, in his "*outlines*," called by Dr. Curtiss, the translator, "the most scientific discussion of the Hebrew language which has yet been produced," shows very plainly in the Reading Exercises at the close of his treatise, that he recognizes the syllable as belonging to the language,—shows this in his pronunciation of the Imv. sing. 2 fem. קִטְלִי, yet he makes no mention of it in his discussion of syllables. *Vibbert's Guide*, though treating especially and only of the Hebrew pronunciation, seems to know nothing at all about the matter. We have said that Dr. Green alone, so far as we know, has given real attention to this subject, yet he has not considered it of sufficient importance to give it a place in his classification of syllables. He brings it up under the heads of Vocal Sh'vâ and Dāghēsh-lene, and nearly all that he says of it is placed among his *fine-print observations*. What he *there* says is, however, very full and satisfactory, with the exception of his omission of the article הַ or הָ as forming, with the following letter, an intermediate syllable, and perhaps a few other omissions. Having collected, in a single paragraph, the different classes of this syllable, and given rules for determining, so far as practicable, in each given case, when the syllable occurs, he dismisses the subject, as if it had nothing to do with the general subject of Hebrew grammar,—and that, too, immediately after an observation to the effect that "these rules are sometimes of importance in etymology."

In etymology and in the pronunciation of the language is to be found the sole importance of these rules, and from certain standpoints of view, we might be content to pass it by with a mere recognition. But if the pronunciation be a matter of any consequence at all, we should certainly see to it that our pronunciation be correct. Thus considered the intermediate syllable appears to be on a perfect level with the *open* and the *closed*,—or the *pure* and the *mixed*. The Massorites evidently so regarded it, for they were careful to keep it distinctly in view, at least in all cases where the B'ghădh-k'phăth letters were concerned, and this portion of their work they carried to such minuteness as to indicate its presence even in the most exceptional cases, as in בְּגָדְוֹ instead of בִּגְדוֹ.

The fact that in all construct plurals where the vowel has been dropped,—in all Infinitives and Imperatives of the Qăl when additions are made that draw the tone,—in all cases where בְּ and כְּ, the inseparable prepositions, are prefixed,—and in many others that need not be named,—the Dāghēsh-lene is with but few exceptions carefully excluded from the B'ghădh-k'phăth letters following the Sh'vâ, shows most clearly that the punctators of the text considered this syllable as of equal importance with any other part of their work. That the sound which we give to the intermediate syllable is hardly to be discerned from that of the open or the closed is no reason why we should either ignore it or give it inadequate consideration, especially if we undertake to represent the pronunciation of the language in its other characteristics. We can give no sound whatever to the letter 'Ălĕph, and no man certainly knows what was the power of 'Ayĭn, and yet in all attempts to present these letters to the English eye, we either carefully employ some written symbols, or we write the Hebrew form itself. A little practice, however, will enable us to give about as accurate sound to this syllable as to any other in the language. For instance, in such a word as דִּבַּרְכֶם we may touch, as it were, the ר but lightly, dividing it into two partial sounds, using the one in

Digitized by Google

closing the first syllable of the word, the other in beginning the next syllable. We can thus make a sound *intermediate* between what would be דִּבַּרְכֶם on the one hand, and דִּבְּרְכֶם on the other.

As regards the inseparable prepositions prefixed to the Inf., it would seem that the rule is to make an intermediate syllable when בְּ and כְּ are used, but that לְ makes the syllable *mixed* or *closed*. Besides the remarks and the examples given by Dr. Green, p. 27, see intermediate syllables in בִּכְתוֹב Ps. LXXXVII., 6; בִּנְפֹל Job XXXIII., 15; כִּנְבֹל Isa. XXXIV., 4; כִּנְפוֹל 2 Sam. III., 34, with many others that might be given,—with בְּ and כְּ. Yet here, it must be remarked, exceptions will be found. For *mixed* syllables made by לְ, take *Fuerst's Concordance*, and look for the Inf. const. of any verb whose second radical is one of the B'ghădh-k'phăth;—then find לִנְדֹּר Num. VI., 2; לִמְכּוֹר Neh. X., 32.

There seems to be a very good reason for this difference between לְ and the other prepositions. As observed by the Editor in the SUPPLEMENT of the April No. of the STUDENT, "it forms a closer union"—and "is treated as part of the grammatical form." This is because in signification it is more closely allied to the Infinitive than are the other prefixes in question. Like the English *to* it fits into the uses of the Infinitive so nicely that in all probability it became to the Hebrew mind a part of the verb, just as many consider *to* a part of the Infinitive mood in English.

Inasmuch as we have allowed that Dr. Green has given us, in his treatment of the Sh'vâ and of Dāghēsh-lene, a satisfactory view of the intermediate syllable, as it *there* appears, and yet assert that he has not given to the subject the consideration which it demands, we must beg space for one or two remarks additional. Unless we are greatly mistaken we find in this author's work no further mention of the intermediate syllable after he passes on from Dāghēsh-lene. And yet this syllable runs all along through the Hebrew language. There are many *turns* or *angles* in our course through the study at which our way may become somewhat darkened or perplexed, unless we keep it continually in view. Thus we read, not only in Green's, but in the other grammars likewise, that the suffixes כֶּן, כֶם, ךָ must always be preceded by vocal Sh'vâ (Green, p. 249), but soon the student finds such forms as דְּבָרֶךָ and דִּבַּרְכֶם, and he is at a loss to know how it comes that if the Sh'vâ be vocal, there is no Mĕthĕgh in the latter word, making it דִּבְּרְכֶם. If the Sh'vâ be vocal, the ר must begin the second syllable, leaving the first as דִּבַ, which being *open* and *toneless* must take the Mĕthĕgh. But there is no Mĕthĕgh, and the student's perplexity is never removed unless by his own insight into the matter, he discovers the error of the grammars at this point, and sees that the Sh'vâ is *not* a vocal Sh'vâ, but what Gesenius, before alluded to, calls the Sh'vâ *medium*. Before we had observed this nomenclature of Gesenius, we had made for ourself a threefold division of the Sh'vâ as *silent*, *vocal*, and *intermediate*, corresponding to the closed, open, and intermediate syllables. By such a threefold division, quite a number of the minor points of Hebrew grammar may be more clearly presented, as well as a more accurate and consistent pronunciation of the language. With such divisions we see that the rule just given for the suffixes כֶּן, כֶם, ךָ needs to be modified. These are preceded by *vocal* Sh'vâ when the preceding vowel is long, as in דְּבָרֶךָ, שִׁלְחֶךָ, צֹאנְכֶם, etc., but *intermediate* when

Digitized by Google

said vowel is short, as in אֹהֲבְךָ, נַאֲלְכֶם, מַקְלְכֶם, יִשְׁלְמֶךָ, דִּבְרְכֶם, and, from the examples given, it will be seen that the rule is applicable both to nouns and verbs, when receiving these suffixes.

Since writing the above our attention has been kindly called by Prof. Harper to the treatment of the intermediate syllable by Dr. Davidson. On turning to the grammar of the latter, we find that we had indicated, by pencil marks upon the margin, our appreciation of his comparatively full exposition of the subject. Yet here there are the same defects as those just considered, when we come to view many of the etymological processes of the language. And besides, the Doctor's definition of the intermediate or, as he calls it, the *half-open* syllable is very defective. He tells us—p. 10—that "another kind of syllable, not uncommon, is the *half-open*. It has a short unaccented vowel, but the consonant that would naturally close it is pronounced with a slight vowel sound after it, and thus hangs loosely between this syllable and the one following—e. g., בְּקְטֹל which is not bĭq-ṭōl nor bĭ-qᵉṭōl." This definition does very well for all such examples as that given,—those in which the closing consonant has Shᵉvâ under it, but will not answer for those in which such consonant has a vowel, as in אַחִים, אֶחָד, and the like, together with many which are formed by some of the prefixed particles, הַהוּא etc. Green's definition—p. 27—is equally at fault because it likewise proceeds upon the idea of a Shᵉvâ being always under the closing consonant of the syllable. Had these authors taken into consideration the *acute* or *sharpened* syllables as a separate class, they had doubtless discovered their defective definitions,—the *acute* syllable terminating with the same letter that the next syllable begins with,—in other words, a *double* letter, as in קַטֵּל. On a little consideration it will be seen that the intermediate syllable partakes of the nature both of the *open* and *closed*, as in דִּבַרְכֶם, and of the *open* and acute or *sharpened*, as in אַחִים.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HEBREW SYNONYMY.

BY REV. P. A. NORDELL,
New London, Ct.

I.

מִשְׁפָּט — דִּין

The Septuagint translates both דִּין and מִשְׁפָּט by *κρίμα*, *κρίσις*, and even by *δικη*. and the Vulgate by *causa* and *judicium*. In Hebrew the words are by no means used indiscriminately. דִּין, a common Semitic word, has the primary meaning to rule, to govern. In the East executive and judicial authority are often vested in the same official, and hence executive administration is intimately blended with the function of a lawgiver or a judge, as when Darius says, di-na-a-tav at-tu-u-a kul-lu', "my laws (or decrees) they fulfilled" (Nashi Rustam Inscr. 11). The word soon passed from its primary meaning into that of judging or deciding suits affecting property or civil rights. This general reference to matters affecting individuals it retains in post-biblical Hebrew, where the Great Sanhedrin is called the בֵּית דִּין, a judicial sentence נָזַר דִּין, a fine דִּין קְנָסָא, and a capital sentence דִּין נְפִישׁ.

Digitized by Google

שָׁפַט, with the fundamental thought of erecting, setting upright, gives the verbal substantive מִשְׁפָּט, which designates the establishment of truth or justice in a cause on trial. It differs from דִּין by having an implied reference to an objective standard of right. A מִשְׁפָּט is a judgment in harmony with justice and truth; a דִּין should be just and equitable, but it has no inherent moral reference. The former is a judicial embodiment of absolute rectitude, the latter of legal justice which may be far from being equitable; the one is an infallible righteous judgment, the other a fallible judicial utterance. These distinctive meanings are exhibited in Ps. IX., 4. כִּי־עָשִׂיתָ מִשְׁפָּטִי וְדִינִי, "For thou hast maintained my right and my cause," i e., assisted him in securing a righteous judgment and a favorable decision. See also Ps. CXL., 13; Is. X., 2. The moral element of מִשְׁפָּט appears conspicuously in passages like Job XXVII., 2, where the Almighty is charged with taking away, not the patriarch's דִּין but his *just judgment;* and Is. LIII., 8 where the Messiah is said to be snatched away, not from a legal, but from a righteous sentence. While, then, דִּין is used in biblical Hebrew almost exclusively to designate judgments in respect to disputes or grievances arising between man and man, מִשְׁפָּט, by virtue of its moral reference, is used almost as exclusively to designate the judgments of God, these being understood to embrace not only the exhibitions of his compensative justice, but the entire *corpus juris divini* of laws, statutes, regulations, precepts, etc.

BOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF ASSYRIAN.

BY PROFESSOR D. G. LYON, PH. D.,
Harvard University, Cambridge.

1. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.—Assyrische Lesestuecke Ed. 2. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*, 1878. Price 24 marks (= $6).
2. WILHELM LOTZ.—Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I. Leipzig; *J. C. Hinrichs*, 1880. Price 20 marks. (Contains a long text transcribed, with translation, commentary and glossary.)
3. EBERHARD SCHRADER.—Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Ed. 2. Giessen: *J. J. Richer*, 1883. Price about 15 marks. (Contains numerous translations and a long and valuable glossary.)
4. "A selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria." Edited by H. C. Rawlinson and T. G. Pinches. London, 1880. Price 10 shillings (= $2.50). (This is the first half of Vol. V. of "The Cuneiform Inscriptions Western of Asia," and contains the finest Assyrian inscription yet published.)
5. D. G. LYON.—Keilschrifttexte Sargons Koenig's von Assyrien (722-705, v. Chr.). Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*, 1883. Price 24 marks. (Contains the origin-

Digitized by Google

al texts in cuneiform character, together with transliteration, translation, commentary and glossary.)

FOR FURTHER INDEPENDENT STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE.

6. "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." Edited by H. C. Rawlinson and others. London, 1861–1875. Vols. I.–IV. Price 20 shillings a volume. Vol. IV. is said to be out of print.
7. HENRI POGNON.—L'Inscription de Bavian. Paris: *F. Vieweg*, 67 rue Richelieu, 1879. Price about 15 francs (= $3).
8. PAUL HAUPT.—Sumerische Familien Gesetze. Leipzig: *J.C.Hinrichs*, 1879. Price 12 marks.
9. CARL BEZOLD.—Die Achaemenideninschriften. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*. Price 24 marks.
10. PAUL HAUPT.—Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte (in five parts, of which four have appeared). Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*, 1881. Price 36 marks (for the four parts).

There are several Assyrian grammars, but these are necessarily quite imperfect. The best are:

11. A. H. SAYCE.—"An Elementary Grammar; with full syllabary and progressive reading book, of the Assyrian language." London: *Sam. Bagster & Sons*. Has had two or three editions. Get the latest. Price about 10 shillings.
12. J. MENANT.—Manuel de la Langue Assyrienne. Paris: *L'Impremerie Nationale*. Price about 15 francs. Well worth having.

GENERAL NOTES.

The Ethical Dative.—An unemphatic pronoun in the dative, joined to the verb in the same person with it, may very palpably express the way in which the action returns upon itself, is terminated and completed; as הָלַךְ לוֹ *he is gone* [Ger. *er ist sich gegangen*], *i. e.*, he has taken himself off, made off with himself, is quite vanished, as it were, Cant. II., 11; Gen. XII., 1; nay, such a pronoun may even accompany a reflexive verb as הִתְהַלֵּךְ לוֹ Ps. LVIII., 8; a similar expression is נָס לוֹ *he fled for himself*, *i. e.*, betook himself to flight, Isa. XXXI., 8; Cant. VIII., 14; Amos VII., 12, though, in prose, נָס and בָּרַח alone [*i. e.*, without the reflexive pronoun] are always used in the same meaning. In most cases, however, this mode of expression rather indicates a special participation in the action by the agent or speaker, a certain earnestness or zeal with which he acts; but it occurs, as an expression of heartiness, more in the diffuse and easy-going popular style, both in poetry and in unimpassioned prose; thus, קִנְּוּ לָמוֹ *they hoped for themselves* (*i. e.*,

Digitized by Google

almost our *earnestly*), Job VI., 19; with an intransitive participle, which is at the same time applied to an inanimate object, as, *the cart* הַמְלֵאָה לָהּ *which is full for itself* (*i. e.*, which has quite filled itself) *with sheaves*, Amos II., 13; and especially in sentences in which advice is tendered or a question asked, such a dative is apt to intrude itself, Isa. II., 22, XXIII., 7. The strong liking on the part of certain later poets for the use of the particle, in the Aramaic fashion, is clearly evidenced by Ps. CXX., 6, CXXII., 3, CXXIII., 4. On the other hand, the extensive accumulation of pronouns having a reflex reference produces a degree of pleasantry, such as is found in the Lat. *ipsissimi*, Ger. *hoechstselbst*: הֵמָּה . . . הֵמָּה לָהֶם. Eccles. III., 18. —*Ewald's Hebrew Syntax.*

The word יְאֹר.—This word, meaning "river" or "channel," commonly regarded as an Egyptian word and explained by the Egyptian aur "Nile," is undoubtedly a genuine Hebrew word. This opinion is supported by the passage Job XXVIII., 10, where יְאֹרִים means "fountains in the rocks" or, according to some commentators, "subterraneous passages hewn out in the rocks." See also my remarks in *Paradies*, p. 312. The Assyrian form of the word, ya'ûrê "streams," occurs in an inscription of Ramannirari I. (c. 1320 B. C.). Another derivative of the same root יאר or ואר, which I believe means "to send," may be seen in the large inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (col. VI., 46), where the vast ocean ti'âmtu gallatu, is called ya-ar-ri, i. e., yâri marti "the bitter stream" on account of its salt-water. The Hebrew name of the Nile, יְאֹר (Assyr. Yaru-'u-u) is probably an adaptation of the Egyptian word to the good Semitic name for "stream," ya'ûru, yâru. יְאֹר.—*Frederic Delitzsch, in Hebrew and Assyrian.*

Davidson on Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament.—In the fifth edition of the Hebrew New Testament, edited for the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Prof. Delitzsch of Leipzig—a work carefully executed—there are several things still which need alteration and correction. We have dipped into the volume in several places and have found words incorrect or unsuitable. Thus for ἀγγελοι θεοῦ in Hebrews I., 6, Elohim is put; a plural which never signifies *angels*. In Galatians VI., 18, אֲחִי "my brethren," with a pause accent, is not the proper representative of ἀδελφοί alone. In Matthew XXII., 37, and Luke X., 27, מַדָּע is given for διάνοια, which is not the best word. The Septuagint has for it σύνεσις in Ecclesiastes X., 20. In John VIII., 44, הַכֹּזֵב is introduced after אָבִי at the end of the verse, giving an interpretation more than doubtful. The uncertainty of the original Greek should have been retained.

In Acts III., 16, הָאַרוּכָה is not the best equivalent for ὁλοκληρία; the proper word is מְתֹם. In Romans II., 4, for μακροθυμία there should be אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם not אֹרֶךְ רוּחוֹ. In Philippians II., 6, the difficult word ἁρπαγμός is rendered שֶׁלֶל, which fails to give the true sense. In Jude 19, the rendering הַפֹּרְשִׁים מִן־הַצִּבּוּר "who separate from the congregation," is too free, being an interpretation rather than a translation. And the interpretation is an incorrect one, for, according to the true reading, the meaning of the Greek is, "who create schisms." In He-

Digitized by Google

brews XI., 10, the word "foundations" is rendered by a singular noun יְסוֹדָתָהּ "its foundation," whereas the plural of יסד should be used.

In Revelation XIII., 2, נְדוּפִים stands for *βλασφημία*, which is too mild a word, since it means "reproaches;" נְאָצָה is a better substitute. In Revelation XIII., 4 a better verb than שָׁמֵם would be תָּמַהּ. The Hĭthpă'ēl of שָׁמֵם does not occur in the Bible with אַחֲרֵי after it. In Revelation XXI., 11 אוֹר is the wrong word for the Greek *φωστήρ*; it should be מָאוֹר. The text, taken as the basis, is the Elzevir of 1624; but several various and better readings are indicated in different parts. A critical text should have been adopted, such as Tischendorf's last, to which Delitzsch himself is favorable. But the Bible Society seems to stand in the way of such an innovation, however desirable at the present day.—*From Modern Review.*

Rules of Life.*

כִּי זֶה הָאִישׁ שׁחַר שָׁלוֹם עַד קֶבֶר
לְשִׁבַת בְּטַח כָּל־יָמָיו מִסַּעַר,
פֶּה בִּדְרָכַי תֵּלֵךְ אַל תֵּט אֶל עֶבֶר,
כִּי זֶה הֵיכַל כָּל־טוּב, אַף זֶה הַשַּׁעַר:

עַל הוֹן תָּשִׁישׁ, רַק לֹא תֵחַת עַל שֶׁבֶר,
אַתָּה תֶּחְכָּם, רַק לֹא תָבוּז אִישׁ בַּעַר,
בְּנֹעַם תִּתְרָאֶה לְקִרְאַת כָּל־גֶּבֶר,
אֶת־הַיְשִׁישׁ תְּהַדֵּר, תָּחוֹן הַנַּעַר:

אַל נָא תֶּהְגֶּה אִם לֹא תִשְׁפֹּט כָּל־אֹמֶר,
אַל נָא תִשְׁפֹּט אִם לֹא תַחְקֹר כָּל־טַעַם,
אַל נָא תַחְקֹר אֶת־הַנִּשְׁגָּב מֵחֹמֶר:

אִם יֵשׁ עֲוֹלָתָה בָךְ, אַחַר אַל תֹּכַח,
אִם זָר שִׁמְךָ נֹאץ אַל תֵּט בַּזָּעַם,
שִׁיתָה תָמִיד יִרְאַת שַׁדַּי אֶל נֹכַח:

---

* From אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי הַנְּעוּרִים, by *Ephraim Luzzato*. This work is very scarce, and is deservedly esteemed for its elegant diction and poetic beauties.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The publication of HEBRAICA has been undertaken, because it is believed that such a journal may be the means of aiding study in the department to which it is devoted. The responsibility involved in the undertaking is very great, and the factors which must be utilized to insure success are numerous. But such a journal *seemed* to be called for, and in the absence of any other effort, this one is made. Whatever may be the result, those interested are to be assured that every reasonable exertion will be put forth to accomplish the end proposed.

The Associate-editors, Drs. Strack and Haupt have most kindly consented to share the burden of the editorial responsibility. It is but justice to them, however, to say that since they reside at so great a distance from the place of publication, they cannot be regarded as responsible for minute details, such as those of typography, etc. Each will do certain specified work in connection with the journal, the nature of which will be announced in another place. Their interest in the undertaking is very great, and their hearty co-operation is assured.

It is understood that the name of each editor will be signed to the matter of which he is the author, and that the editors are personally responsible only for their own publications. All matter published will be such as has been prepared expressly for HEBRAICA, except the selections printed under the head "General Notes." Contributions written in German will be translated. In this work the Managing-editor desires to acknowledge his indebtedness both for what has been done and for what shall yet be done to Rev. O. O. Fletcher, of Ottawa, and to Mr. Ira M. Price, of Morgan Park.

The general purpose of the journal has already been indicated. To make it what it ought to be in point of character, will be difficult. If profitable to one class, viz., Old Testament Professors and Hebrew scholars, it will be beyond the reach of those who are mere students. Will not both classes bear with us patiently until once the journal is fairly started? The consideration, aid and encouragement of all who are in any way interested in Semitic studies, is requested.

The field which the journal is intended to occupy is a large one. Many departments, and these quite distinct, are included. Articles on topics in all of these departments cannot be furnished at one time; even if it were possible to obtain them, there is not sufficient space. Care will be taken to introduce as great a variety as possible. Short articles or "Notes" touching upon interesting and important points will be a prominent feature.

The number of pages will be increased from twenty-four to thirty-two, and even to a greater number, as soon as the size of the subscription-list will seem to justify such an enlargement.

The present will never be fully understood until the Orient be made to yield up her stores of ancient treasures. This is equally true of the moral and religious, as well as of the secular history of man. This explains the present activity of oriental scholars, in turning and overturning, unravelling and deciphering the records of the past. In the interests of this work, three new Journals for oriental study have come into existence within six months. In October, 1883, appeared the first number of *Literatur-Blatt fuer Orientalische Philologie*, edited by Prof. Dr. Ernst Kuhn of Munich, aided by Johannes Klatt of Berlin. This Journal takes

Digitized by Google

up discussions of Oriental Languages in the broadest sense. In January, we received the first number of *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung und Verwandte Gebiete*, edited by Drs. Bezold and Hommel, Privat-docenten in Munich, with the co-operation of Amiaud and Babelon of Paris, Lyon of Cambridge, and Pinches of London. This number contains articles by Schrader, Sayce, Guyard, Oppert and others. The intimate relationship between Assyrian and the other Semitic tongues and a strong corps of editors, bespeak a useful and profitable future for this Journal. Articles in both of these Journals are printed either in English, German, French, or Italian.

In March, HEBRAICA ventures to claim recognition as a periodical with a definite end in view, with a distinct and important work to accomplish. It shrinks from a comparison with the others just mentioned, or with those older Journals of which Germany is rightly so proud. It would be judged by what it desires and hopes to be, rather than by what it is. But what department of study can show the institution of three such Journals within six months?

The question of the *Intermediate Syllable* probably never before formed the subject of an article. It may be inquired, why consider a matter of comparatively so small importance? It may be answered that no question, however insignificant, is a matter of small importance, when accuracy is desired. No student of Hebrew has, in any sense, mastered that language who is unable to pronounce it correctly and without hesitation. But this is something no student can do, without a clear and intelligent understanding of the *intermediate syllable.*

He who pronounces קִטְלוּ qĭṭ-lû, and בִּדְנַת bĭdh-găth has evidently made an incorrect pronunciation. Why is it not better to pronounce such words correctly, qĭ-ṭ'lû, bĭ-dh'ghăth? It is true, some deny the existence of this syllable. We confess that the term *intermediate* is liable to be misunderstood, especially by beginners. Dr. Green defines the term clearly and is consistent in his use of it, but many who study his grammar misinterpret his meaning. In § 20. 2. *a* the syllable is called *intermediate*, as "being in strictness neither simple nor mixed, but partaking of the nature of both." Everything in § 22. *a* is in accordance with this. The term is used, therefore, not, as many suppose, to indicate the *position* of a certain syllable, but to indicate the nature. In many respects, the term *half-open* is preferable. The question has been asked us, what do the old Jewish grammarians say about the so-called *intermediate* syllable? We have referred this question for answer in our next number to two learned Hebraists of Chicago, Rabbi B. Felsenthal, and B. Douglass, Esq.

It seems certain that we are on the eve of a new era in Semitic studies. This is due, we believe, more to the prominence now being assumed by the Assyrian than to all other causes combined. Assyrian is to do for Semitic what the Sanskrit has done, and is doing for Indo-Germanic. The work done by Bopp, Mueller, Williams, Whitney and many others, in the one family, is being done in the other family by Delitzsch, Haupt, Schrader, Sayce, Lyon, Pinches and others. But the field is a very broad one. There is a loud call for men to come forward and devote themselves to this study. Could a more attractive work present itself to the mind of one who really desired to accomplish something? Why is it that so many students are entirely satisfied to do over what has already been done many times

Digitized by Google

before? It is said, that the difficulties which one must overcome who would learn Assyrian are so many and so great that such work is entirely out of the question. This may have been true five years ago, but it is not to-day. With Prof. Haupt at Baltimore, Prof. Brown at New York, and Prof. Lyon at Cambridge, what better advantages could be desired? We are assured, moreover, by an eminent Assyriologist, that the language is not so difficult as it is popularly supposed to be. To a man well-acquainted with Hebrew, Assyrian is no more difficult than is the Hebrew to one, who, for the first time, takes up Hebrew. At our request Professor Lyon has kindly furnished a list of books for those who desire to begin the study of Assyrian. Not all of these books need be purchased at once. The list includes the most valuable books yet published in this department. Why should not every well furnished public library, whether of college or city, purchase a set of these books, and thereby render it possible for some one to take hold of this study, who for lack of means would otherwise be prevented?

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

1. How is the vowel û in the Hŏph'ăl of ע"ע verbs to be explained? G.

The form הוֹסַב is for הָסְבַב. With this is to be compared הוּשַׁב for הָוְשַׁב, from יָשַׁב (וָשַׁב) and הוּקַם for הָקְוַם from קוּם. In הוּשַׁב, the origin of וּ (= ŭ+v) is evident. In the case of הוּקַם, it has been suggested that הָקְוַם, by the transposition of וּ, becomes הָוְקַם, and this הוּקַם. It may be, however, that both verbs ע"ו and ע"ע merely follow the analogy of verbs פ"ו. The difficulty lies in the fact that while ă of the Qăl, Nŷph., and Hŷph, is heightened to ā, and ŷ of the Hŷph. to ē, the ŭ is *lengthened* to an unchangeable û, rather than heightened to a changeable ō. Unless some such explanation as the one given, which, indeed, is only an expedient, is adopted, the û must be regarded as irregular, and may be compared with the î of the Hŷph., where in accordance with the laws of the language, we should have expected ē.

2. On what principle is the Article prefixed to the construct Infinitive הַדַּעַת, as in Gen. II., 9, עֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע, and Jer. XXII., 16, הֲלֹא־הִיא הַדַּעַת אֹתִי?

It being understood that neither an Infinitive construct nor a noun in the construct state may receive the article, it may be said:

1) That four times out of seven (1 Kgs. VII., 14; Hos. IV., 6 (twice); Dan. XII., 4) דַּעַת treated as an abstract verbal noun, and not as an Infinitive construct, receives the article according to Ges., 109. 3. c). Here may be compared

(*a*) the nominal form דֵּעָה which is also sometimes used as an Inf. (Ex. II., 4); and

(*b*) the two cases of הַשְׁבַּת (1 Kgs. X., 19 and 2 Chron. IX., 18); the former case showing that while דַּעַת, the Inf., may be used as a noun, דֵּעָה the noun (cf. also רִדָּה, Gen. XLVI., 3) may be used as an Inf.; the latter showing the possibility of the פ"ו Infinitive being used substantively.

2) In Gen. II., 9, 17, where דַּעַת is found not only with the article but also

Digitized by Google

with a following noun in some manner dependent on it, it is insufficient to say either (*a*) that, contrary to the rule, דַּעַת has the article simply to make עִיִּן definite (*Green's Chrestomathy*), or (*b*) that this is one of twenty-five cases in which a noun in the construct state has the article (*Kalisch*), or (*c*) that דַּעַת, an Infinitive, has the article because דַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע is regarded as one word (*Keil*). The true explanation is that דַּעַת, a verbal substantive, receives the article as expressing an abstract idea, and governs an object in the accusative just as the verb from which it is derived would do. Although the verbal nouns, having the form of an Inf., are found both with the article and with the accusative, but never with both at the same time, דַּעַת, inasmuch as it is used as a substantive more than the other Infinitives, and receives in these texts (Gen. II., 9 and Jer. XXII., 16) a special emphasis, not only as a noun has the article, but also as a verbal noun takes an accusative.

3. Is the use of אֵת as the sign of the definite object constant or somewhat variable? McC.

In answer to this question it may be said: 1) אֵת is *necessary* only with pronominal suffixes where they must be separate from the verb; (2) its use with nouns, is variable, being used more commonly before names of persons than of things; 3) it is used much more rarely in poetry than in prose, and in the earlier literature than in the later. The fullest treatment of the particle will be found in Ewald's Hebrew Syntax, pp. 36–39.

4. What is the force of the construct state in עַל־יַד יְמִינֶךָ, Ps. CXXI., 5? C. C. H.

Compare the same phrase in Judg. XX., 16; 2 Sam. XX., 9. The exact force of this case is expressed in English by a noun and an adjective, *thy right hand*; e. g. שׁוֹק הַיְמִין *the right leg*; כָּל־עֵין יָמִין *all the right eyes*, 1 Sam. XI., 2. The relation is the explicative or appositional, *Ges.* 114. 3, 116. 5; *Mueller*, 79; *Ewald*, p. 88.

BOOK NOTICES.

DELITZSCH'S HEBREW AND ASSYRIAN.*

This book is a reprint of seven articles printed in the *Athenæum*, May-August, 1883. The purpose of the book is a definite one, viz., to show that not from Arabic, as hitherto, but from Assyrian, must be obtained the assistance needed in explaining (1) many Old Testament passages which have not yet been settled; (2) many single words, such as the names of certain animals referred to in the Levitical law, the names of plants, nouns and verbs of rare occurrence, and even verbs of common use, some of which have several derivatives; (3) some grammatical questions. It is claimed that the value of Arabic, for Hebrew lexicography, has been greatly exaggerated, and that Assyriology is actually inaugurating a new era in this depart-

* *The Hebrew Language*, viewed in the light of Assyrian Research. By DR. FREDERIC DELITZSCH, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Leipzig. London: Williams & Norgate. 7½x5. Pp. XII., 71. Price, $1.25.

Digitized by Google

ment. The reasons urged why Assyrian ought to be, and indeed is, more valuable, are (1) the fact that the Babylonian and Hebrew peoples at one time dwelt together in long continued and close intercourse, and (2) the fact that the Assyrian and Hebrew literature were co-existent, while Arabic literature dates only from the seventh century of our era. Without entering into any criticism of the book we cite, for the information of those students whose attention has not been called to this subject, a few of the many examples presented: (1) נָהַל (Pi. נִהֵל) is usually explained by the Arabic נהל *to drink*, hence *to give to drink*, *lead to water*, *lead*, *guide*. Assyriology shows that it is a synonym of רבץ *lie down*, and נוח *rest*. Cf., in view of this, Ps. XXIII., 2, and 2 Chron. XXXII., 22 with 1 Chron. XXII., 18. (2) רְאֵם or רִים (Job XXXIX., 9–10) is neither (*a*) *unicorn* (cf. Ps. XXII., 21), nor (*b*) a kind of antelope (last two editions of Gesenius), nor (*c*) *buffalo* (Ges.), but is (*d*) the Assyrian rîmu, "a strong-horned, fierce-looking wild bull, skilled in climbing mountains, and whose colossal and formidable likeness was placed by the Assyrian kings, before the entrance of their palaces to ward off and terrify the approaching enemy." (3) נִיסָן is not the *budding-month* (cf. נֵץ *bud, flower*), but = the Assyrian nisanu, *the starting month*, cf. נָסַע *depart*. (4) חָתָן, whence חֹתֶן *father-in-law*, is not from the Arabic meaning *to cut*, *cut into* (Ges. 8th ed.), the father-in-law gaining entrance to another family, but from Assyrian hatânu, *to surround*, *protect*, *help*, *support;* the parents-in-law, according to this, being those who support the young family. Cf. חָם *father-in-law*, חֲמוֹת *mother-in-law*, from חָמָה *surround*, *protect*, whence also חוֹמָה *wall*. (5) צֹאן *flock*, is not from an Arabic root meaning to be *small*, *sick* (Ges. 8th ed.), but is the same as the Assyrian sênu, from a root which is synonymous with טוב, *to be good*, *kind*, the flock being so called because of the tameness and gentleness of the animals composing it. (6) אָדָם is from a root = בָּנָה *build*, *beget*, and is the same as בֵּן *son* from בָּנָה, while אַדְמָה is the *cultivated* ground. (7) אֵם *mother*, אַמָּה *cubit*, and אֻמָּה *nation*, are from an Assyrian root meaning *be wide*, whence *ummu* (= אֵם), *the womb*, a roomy receptacle for the child, *mother; ammatu* (= אַמָּה), *width*, *length*, *cubit; ummu* (= אֻמָּה), *nation*, a vast or numerous body of men. Space forbids the insertion of other examples. Professor Delitzsch has completed a Hebrew dictionary along with his Assyrian dictionary, but is uncertain whether he shall publish it at once.

LEHRBUCH DER NEUHEBRAEISCHEN SPRACHE.*

We have before us only the Prospectus of this volume from which we gather the following facts. To do thorough work in the study of post-biblical literature is rendered possible only by having a knowledge of the variations of the modern from the post-biblical Hebrew. No good assistance in this department of study has been furnished. Nor has there existed any bibliography of the subject such as would be of service to a Christian student. For a long time, Dr. Strack has been intending to supply the demand by furnishing a text-book which should serve both as a grammar and as a reading-book. The prominence which the study of Rabbinica has

* *Lehrbuch der Neuhebraeischen Sprache und Literatur*, von HERMANN L. STRACK und CARL SIEGFRIED. I. Grammatik der Neuhebraeischen Sprache, CARL SIEGFRIED; II. Abriss der Neuhebraeischen Literatur, HERMANN L. STRACK. Karlsruhe und Leipzig: *H. Reuther*.

Digitized by Google

recently assumed in the German Universities has compelled a more speedy completion of the book than was originally proposed. At the request of Dr. Strack, therefore, Carl Siegfried has prepared in accordance with a general outline furnished, the grammatical portion of this volume. Dr. Strack's work in the literature of the department is intended to give a general survey of the most important writings and to furnish the student a motive and basis for still further study. Only a few articles that appear in Journals have been included in the list. If the undertaking meets with favor Dr. Strack promises to enlarge this second part into a small volume. A third part which is yet to follow will contain a Chrestomathy, Vocabulary, and a list of the most important abbreviations. The preface closes with the expression of a hope that by means of this volume the study of Jewish literature, in many respects so important, which in Buxtorf's time was zealously pursued, and has produced rich fruits, may bloom into a rich and vigorous life.

BALLIN'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.*

The noteworthy feature of this grammar is the fact that the "Exercises," English into Hebrew as well as Hebrew into English, consist almost entirely of phrases and sentences taken from the Bible. This is certainly a better plan than that of manufacturing short meaningless clauses, adopted in many grammars; but it is in many respects impracticable. We do not believe that the ordinary student will be able to do satisfactory work with this grammar. The principles are stated in a confusing and disconnected manner. There is no uniformity of statement, and no continual reference, as there should be, to the great underlying laws of the language, which govern the inflection throughout. Numerous instances might be selected of faulty, misleading and even incorrect statements. One will suffice: "§ 123. In verbs having one of the letters ב, ג, ד, כ, פ or ת in the root, those letters take *dagesh lene* when preceded by a silent shĕva, excepting:—(*a*) In the construct infinitive *Kal* with the prefixes ב, כ, as בִּכְתֹּב, כִּכְתֹּב; (*b*) verbs with the aspirate as the third radical never take a *dagesh lene* in it, as כָּתְבִי, כָּתְבוּ." Here (1) the Sh'vâ is not silent but vocal, and (2) such a statement as (*b*), the only reference to this peculiarity of the Imperative, is manifestly inaccurate and insufficient.

With every sentence in the Exercises, there is given the book, chapter and verse of the Bible in which this is found. This, it seems, would be sufficient to render the Exercises, valuable though they are, of little service to the learner. It is better to place the "key" to grammatical exercises only in the hands of teachers. The typography is accurate, and the book itself is a model of beauty so far as execution and arrangement go. It is an interesting fact that it is prepared by a sister and a brother.

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BEZOLD, CARL, Ueber Keilinschriften: Sammlung gemeinverstaendlicher Vortraege, herausgeg. von Rud. Virchow und Fr. von Holtzendorff. XVIII. Serie, Heft 425. Berlin: *Habel*, 1883. 8vo.

* *A Hebrew Grammar*, with Exercises selected from the Bible. By ADA S. BALLIN and F. L. BALLIN. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 7¼x5. Pp. XIV., and 509.

Digitized by Google

BUDGE, E., The Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, relating to the fight between Marduk and Tiamat. *Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1883-84, pp. 5-11.

COSQUIN, EMMANUEL, Le livre de Judith et les documents assyriens. *Precis hist.*, T. 32, No. 6, Juin, 1883, pp. 328-333.

DELATTRE, A., Salomon, Assurbanipal, Balthasar. *Precis hist.*, T. 32, No. 7, Juillet, 1883, pp. 361-367.

DELITZSCH, FRDR., The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian research. London: *Williams & Norgate*, 1883.

DELITZSCH, FRDR., Die Artikel Accad, Adrammelech, Anammelech, Asarhaddon, Askenas, Asnaphar, Assur, Babel, Babylonien, Bel, Belsazar, Benhadad, Buz und Chaldæa im "Calwer Bibellexicon, Bibl. Handwoerterbuch illustrirt, ... redig. von P. Zeller und herausgeg. von dem Calwer Verlagsverein. Calw und Stuttg. 1884, gr. 8., Lief 1."

EVANS, GEORGE, An essay on Assyriology. Published by the Hibbert Trustees. London: *Williams & Norgate*, 1883. 75 pp. together with five tables. 8vo.

FLEMMING, JOHANNES, Die grosse Steinplatteninschrift Nebukadnezars II. in transcribirtem babylonischen Grundtext nebst Uebersetzung und Commentar. *Inaug. Diss.* Goettingen, 1883. VIII. 61 S. 8vo.

HALEVY, J., Mélanges de critique et d'histoire relatifs aux Peuples Sémitiques. Paris: *Maisonneuve & Co.*, 1883. 8vo.

HARKNESS, M. E., Assyrian Life and History. With Introduction by Reg. Stuart Poole. London: *Relig. Tract. Soc.*, 1883. 107 pp. 8vo. 1 table. (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge. Vol. II.)

HAUPT, PAUL, Beitraege zur assyrischen Lautlehre (vorgelegt von P. de Lagarde). *Nachr. v. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss.* zu Goettingen, 1883. 25 April No. 4. (Sitz. v. 3. Maerz) S. 85-115.

HIMPEL, Der geschichtliche Abschnitt Jes. c. 36-39. Erlaeuterungen desselben durch assyrische Keilinschriften. *Theol. Quartalschr.* Jahrg. 65, II. 4, 1883. S. 582-653.

HOMMEL, FRITZ, Die semitische Voelker und Sprachen als ersten Versuch einer Encyclopaedie der semitischen Sprach—und Altersthumwissenschaft. Erstes Band (Allg. Einleiting: Erstes Buch: die vorsemitischen Kulturen in Aegypten und Babylonien). XII., VIII. 541 S. in 8vo. Leipzig: *Otto Schulze*, 1883.

KAMPHAUSEN, ADOLF, Die Chronologie der hebraeischen Koenige. Eine geschl. Untersuchung. Bonn, 1883. 104 S. 8vo.

SAYCE, A. H., Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments. London: *Rel. Tract Soc.*, 1883, 199 pp. 8vo. (By-paths of Bible Knowledge, Vol. III.)

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOLUME I. OCTOBER, 1884. NUMBER 2.

THE SYLLABLES IN THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

BY HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D.,

Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

It is not my purpose, at this place, to take part in the discussion on "Intermediate Syllables," commenced by Professor Dodd and Rabbi Felsenthal, but, rather, merely to show how the whole subject of syllables in Hebrew can be clearly put forth for the beginner, so that he may be sufficiently prepared for a real understanding of the various forms of the language. I hope that, through such a discussion of the various points that come into play in the matter of syllables in Hebrew, some light may also be thrown on what are called "Intermediate Syllables." It will be clear, from what follows, why I make use of the technical term "loosely-closed syllable" (*lose geschlossene Silbe*). Right here may I be permitted to call the attention of the reader to the term "opened syllables," which, so far as I know, is a new term. For the purpose of getting a better general view of the subject, I have almost entirely omitted all mention of exceptions. The majority of exceptions are to be explained on the basis of euphony (לְתִפְאֶרֶת הַקְּרִיאָה, as the Jewish grammarians say); because the sacred writings of the Old Testament were, and still are, chanted in solemn rythm in the synagogues. I wish to add, further, that the following explanation is not contained in my Hebrew grammar,[1] and is, thus, an important addition to it.

§A. BEGINNING OF SYLLABLES.—Every syllable, and hence, also, every word, *must begin with a consonant*, that is,

(a) Neither with a vowel (an exception is found only in וְ conjunctive, *e. g.*, וּדְבַר . . וּבַיִת . . וּמֶלֶךְ);

NOTE.—Before labials, the Babylonian system of punctuation has וֱ, *i. e.*, וְ.

§B. Nor with two consonants. When the first letter of a syllable (or of a word) has no vowel of its own, then it receives sh'wâ mobile (cf. my grammar, §5, *b*), and, in the case of א ה ח ע, Hāṭĕph (§5, *c*; §10, *a*, 3).

§C. CLOSE OF SYLLABLES.—Here we distinguish

I. *Open Syllables*, i. e., syllables closing with a vowel, *e. g.*, קוֹמוֹ . . אִשִּׁתְּ . . אֹתוֹ . . שָׁנָה (on ה cf. §2, *b*). These syllables always have long vowels.

[1] Hebraeische Grammatik; mit Uebungsstueken, Literatur und Vokabular. Zum Selbststudium und fuer den Unterricht. Von Hermann L. Strack. Karlsruhe und Leipzig: H. Reuter. New York: B. Westermann & Co. Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew. xvi., 163 pp. 2 Mark 70 pf.

Digitized by Google

Exceptions are found in the verbal suffixes (§ 76, *e*) נִי־ (ănî), in which the liquid can be regarded as virtually doubled.

NOTE.—Syllables closing with א are considered open, *e. g.*, קָטָל, but מָצָא (cf. § 10, *c*, 1).

§ D. Unaccented syllables, with long vowels, are open; the sh'wâ following them is the sh'wâ mobile, *e. g.*, שֹׁמְרִים shô-m'rîm.

§ E. II. *Closed Syllables*, i. e., those ending in a consonant, *e. g.*, קָךְ-טַל (second syllable). They are called doubly closed, when the consonant closing the syllable is followed by another consonant in the same word, *e. g.*, מְצָא-וָה (first syllable), קָטַלְתְּ (second syllable). When the two consonants are the same, *i. e.*, when the vowel is followed by a consonant with a dāghēsh, this syllable is also called sharpened, *e. g.*, הַשִּׁשִּׁי (first and second syllables).

§ F. Unaccented closed syllables always have short vowels, *e. g.*, מַבְ-דִּיל (first syllable), יֶלֶד (first), וַיָּקָם wăyyāqŏm (first, third), וַיֶּמֶת (first, third).

§ G. Unaccented syllables with short vowels are closed, *e. g.*, קְטַלְ-תֶּם (first).

§ H. In closed Penultima with tone, we find only the following vowels: (1) the tone-long vowels ā, ē, ō; hence neither î nor û, nor the vowels naturally long, or long by contraction, namely, â, ê, ô; (2) the short vowels ă, ĕ, *e. g.*, מִמֶּנּוּ . . קָטַלְתָּ.

§ I. In closed Ultima with tone, any long vowel may occur; of the short vowels, sometimes the ĭ, *e. g.*, the two particles אִם (if), עִם (with), which, however, often (as is always done in the case of מִן־) becomes toneless when măqqēph is used, and the form וַיִּשְׁבְּ (§ 72, *n*, *a*).

Especially worthy of note are

§ K. III. *The Opened Syllables*, i. e., syllables which really close doubly, but in which this is avoided by means of a helping-vowel.

(1) *At the end of words.* An ordinary helping-vowel (exceptions, § 11, *i*), generally S'ghôl, but also (especially if the last, or next to the last syllable, is a guttural) Păttăḥ. Then the vowel of the open syllable, if with tone, generally is lengthened, namely, ŏ to ō, as, *e. g.*, קָדֹשׁ . . רָחַב . . אָרַח, for qŏdhsh, rŏḥb, ŏrḥ; ĭ to ē, *e. g.*, סֵפֶר . . שֶׁמַע, for sĭphr, shĭm'; ă to ĕ, *e. g.*, מֶלֶךְ . . זֶרַע, for mălk, zăr' (cf. § 27, *c*, *d*).

§ L. If the next to the last letter is a guttural, then ă remains unchanged in the open syllable, *e. g.*, נַעַר (§ 27, *e*), דַּעַת . . תּוֹבַחַת (§ 35, *a*), וַיַּעַל (§ 72, *n*. *e*), hence short vowel.

§ M. In the apocopated imperfect of the verbs ל״ה, the lengthening of ĭ to ē frequently does not take place, *e. g.*, יִגֶל for yĭgl, וַיִּבֶן (cf. § 72, *n*. *y*).

§ N. If the next to the last letter is י, then Hîrĕq is used as a helping-vowel, Păttăḥ is retained in open syllables, as, *e. g.*, עַיִן (§ 28, *a*); thus also in the suffix form יִךְ־, *e. g.*, אֱלֹהַיִךְ, "your (fem.) God;" as also in the dual ending יִם־.

§ O. (2) *In the middle of words.* The first closing consonant, if it is a guttural, frequently, in order to ease the pronunciation, receives the ḥāṭĕph corresponding to the preceding vowel; and, in this case, this vowel is not lengthened. Examples (in § 10, *a*, 4); נַעֲרוֹ, to be divided נַעַ־רוֹ, nă'a-rô.

§ P. The vowel is also not lengthened, when, instead of the ḥāṭĕph,

Digitized by Google

on account of a sh'wâ following it, the corresponding short vowel is employed (cf. § 5, *e*), *e. g.*, יִחְזַק, first plural יִחְזְקוּ, to be divided יִחְזַ־קוּ, yĕḥĕz-qû; יִחְלַם, first plural יִחְלְמוּ, to be divided יִחְלַ־מוּ.

§ Q. IV. *Loosely-closed Syllables* we call those which were originally followed by a vowel, which, however, in accordance with the laws of etymology, (§§ 11, *c*, 2, and 11, *d*) fell away. The "loose close" can be seen, from the fact that the letters בגדכפ"ת remain aspirated. The sh'wâ cannot be heard, and is *not* sh'wâ mobile. Examples (in § 11, *c*, 2), כָּנָף, dual, with suffix, כַּנְפַיִם, kăn-phê-hĕm (§ 24, *d*), מַלָכִים for mălăkhîm, suffix מַלְכֵיהֶם (§ 27, *g*); חָרְבָתֵיךְ, ḥŏr-bhō-thăyĭkh (§ 34, *a*). In § 11, *d*, e. g., יַעֲמֹד, plural יַעַמְדוּ, to be divided yă'ăm-dhû (§ 63, *e*); נֶאֱסַף, plural נֶאֶסְפוּ (§ 63, *g*); יִחַרַד, plural יִחַרְדוּ (§ 63, *f*).

§ R. Loosely closed are also those syllables which originated from the union of the prefixes ל . כְ . בְ with words whose first consonant had a sh'wâ under it, *e. g.*, לְדַבֵּר (§ 11, *g*, 2), from דִּבֶּר+lă. Exceptions are found with ל before the Inf. Qăl. (cf. § 53, *c*, where לִקְבֹּר, from קָבַר+lă (לְ) is mentioned).

§ S. Very rarely is a loosely closed syllable found where no vowel has been omitted (cf. § 27, *m*), cf. also הַבַּיְתָה (*accus. loci*), for which word, according to § 19, *b*, *a*, the ground-form, băyt, is to be presupposed. A fixed closed syllable is found, contrary to the rule, in בִּרְכַּת (*stat. const.*), of בְּרָכָה (§ 33, *d*), and in חִרְפוֹת (*stat. const.*), of חֶרְפּוֹת (§ 34, *c*), cf. also בִּשְׁפִכְךָ (§ 53, *d*).

METHODS IN HEBREW GRAMMARS.

By Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D.,
Columbus, Ohio.

To understand and master a language implies more than the mere mechanical acquisition of its facts. It means the study of a language from a philological standpoint, an examination of its grammar and lexicon for the purpose of learning its inner character and being, and in order to be able to understand rationally and philosophically the phenomena of the speech. Whitney[1] says of the linguistic student: "He deals with language as the instrument of thought, its means of expression, not its record; he deals with simple words and phrases, not with sentences and texts. He aims to trace out the inner life of language, to discover its origin, to follow its successive steps of growth, and to deduce the laws that govern its mutations, the recognition of which shall account to him for both the unity and variety of its present manifested phases; and, along with this, to apprehend the nature of language as a human endowment, its relation to thought, its influence upon the development of intellect and the growth of knowledge, and the history of mind and of knowledge as reflected in it." Necessary as it is to acquire thoroughly and well the data of a language, and to learn these for practical purposes, it will be readily seen that the most interesting and, in many respects, most profitable problems of linguistic study reach out above and beyond these

[1] *Language and the study of Language*, p. 6.

Digitized by Google

individual facts. Especially has this been recognized in the past few decades, since the comparative method of study, which has been so abundantly fruitful in all departments of learning, has been applied to languages also, and comparative philology has been found so great a power in historical, ethnographical, mythological, and other researches. The soul and life of language has never been so much studied, or so well understood, as at present.

And what is true of language in general is true also of the Semitic tongues in particular; they, too, and here again the Hebrew in particular, have been reaping the benefit of the revolution in method and manner introduced into philology in general. As new problems and aims assumed prominence, new methods in research were adopted, and the departure from the old mechanical systems in grammar and lexicon became more and more radical. *In statu quo* is, at best, a relative phrase, and scarcely anywhere is this more the case than in the department of Semitic studies; here advance and improvement have been decided and marked, and scarcely any feature of this study has made it more attractive than the fact that it (and especially is this true of Hebrew grammar) has, in our leading works on the structure of the language, left the more practical stage, and entered upon that of philosophical and theoretical discussion, in which the philological principles as such, the Hebrew as a special language, as one member of a group or family of tongues, is studied objectively, and for strictly grammatical purposes. While all grammars of the present day, as was the case in the old works, still have the practical aim of making the language of the Old Testament intelligible to the student of God's Word, yet they no longer are written for the sole and only purpose of rendering hand-maid services to exegesis and other theological disciplines. Hebrew is studied now also for its own sake, and its bearings on philology in general and Semitic philology in particular; and has thus assumed an independence and new dignity.[1]

This change in the basis and aim of Hebrew grammars is contemporaneous with the introduction of more rational methods into philological discussion in general, and is no more than five or six decades old. It was introduced by a German; and the work of building upon the foundation thus laid has been done almost exclusively by Germans: to the present day there is not in the English language, not even as a translation, a work which can fairly be called a philosophical grammar of the Hebrew language. The nearest approach to it is probably Kalisch. As yet, about all our grammars are rudimentary and elementary, confining themselves strictly to the facts of the language, and only sporadically endeavoring to explain these facts.[2]

The father of higher Hebrew grammar is Wilhelm Gesenius, who was born in 1786, and, in 1843, died as professor of theology, at Halle. Theodore Benfey[3] calls him "the original founder of an independent Semitic philological science, and among the most important representatives of a critical and unprejudiced

---

[1] It must not be forgotten that such methods and problems have not a mere abstract or philosophical value; in fact, some are productive of many important practical and exegetical results, e. g., the discussion as to whether the interchange of הוּא and הִיא in the so-called Priest Codex is a sign of antiquity or of a later date, and similar points.

[2] We shall not, however, forget to mention that a number of excellent monographs on special points of grammar have appeared in English, based upon a most thorough study of the language in its whole length and breadth, and *facile princeps* among these is Driver's *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*. 2nd Edition. Oxford, 1881.

[3] In his *Geschichte der neueren Sprachwissenschaft*, 1869, p. 685.

Digitized by Google

Semitic philology." It is with Gesenius, both as a lexicographer and a grammarian, that English students of Hebrew are better acquainted than with any other of the leading authorities in this department; and this is, at least partly, due to the fact that some of his works have been translated into our language, and his empirical system finds more acceptance among us than do the more abstract systems of others. And yet English scholars apparently make but little use of his two greatest works, namely, his grammatical *Lehrgebäude* and his large lexicon, the *Thesaurus*, which, according to the opinion expressed lately by so good an authority as Professor Strack, of Berlin, is still the best at our command.[1] Gesenius began with the publication of a Hebrew lexicon, in 1810; and out of this grew both his smaller dictionary, in 1815, of which the ninth edition, by Mühlau and Volck, recently appeared, and of which Robinson has made an English translation, as also the *Thesaurus*, a large Hebrew-Latin dictionary of 1522+166 folio pages, completed by Rödiger, in which is collected all that the languages, literature, geography, history, etc., of the Orient could contribute to the explanation of the Old Testament idiom. Both in method and results he was apparently more successful, at least found less opposition, in his lexicographical work than in his grammars. Of these, the first edition of the smaller and best known appeared in 1813; and, at the author's death, thirteen editions had made their appearance. A number of further editions were published by Rödiger, and now the editorship has been entrusted to the capable hands of Kautzsch, who has brought down the work to our own days, in scientific character, and has also added an exercise book. Out of this smaller grammar grew, in 1817, his *Ausfuehrliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, an elaborate and exhaustive treatise on Hebrew grammar, comprising 908 closely printed octavo pages; and it is in this work that we find his system and method both explained and carried out. It is the empiric method, the collection of all the data that the language as such offered, and the deduction of the principles from these data. True, his *Lehrgebäude* makes it a special point to compare, wherever possible, what the cognate tongues have to offer in explanation of Hebrew forms and words, but to these is nowhere given a decisive, but only an illustrative voice. He confines himself to the analysis of the language as found in the Old Testament literature, and has very little sympathy for any abstract, philosophical theorizing. In the introduction to his larger grammar (p. III), he says that it was his object to make a complete and critical collection of the grammatical forms, and, on the basis of these, to give a rational explanation. His *Lehrgebäude* is a faithful expression of this aim, and is a work worthy of much more attention than it receives.

Allied in spirit, though later in date, are the massive two volumes of Böttcher (died in 1863) edited by Mühlau, in 1866–68. There is in no language a more complete collection of the data of Hebrew as given in the Old Testament than in this work. While independent in his treatment of the subject, especially in the use of a new nomenclature in the place of the traditional grammatical *termini technici*, Böttcher too insists upon explaining the Hebrew on the basis of Hebrew alone, and differs from and advances upon Gesenius, chiefly in his protest against the authority of Arabic grammar in the arrangement and explanation of the Hebrew.

A linguistic genius, such as appears but once in a generation, was Georg Hein-

[1] *Theol. Literaturblatt*, June 20, 1884.

Digitized by Google

rich Aug. Ewald, whose career, as remarkable for its excentricities as for its brilliancy, reads almost like a fable. He was born in Göttingen, in 1803, and died there in 1875. His grammar appeared in 1827, as *Kritische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache;* but from the fifth to the present eighth edition it bears the title *Ausfuehrliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes*, 935 pp. Of all the Hebrew grammars that have appeared this is certainly the most philosophical; his method is synthetic and speculative. Not only are the results of Semitic study, but also the principles of philology in general, here allowed to show their influence, and the factors and agencies that combine in the growth and development of the language put into requisition for the explanation of the etymology and word formation in Hebrew. He does not take the facts of the language and then by the process of analysis show how these facts became such, as is the method of Gesenius, but rather, on the other hand, he assumes philological data, and shows how, from the basis of the roots and stems of the language, the gender, cases, tenses and moods grew into what they are now. With Gesenius he endeavors to explain Hebrew from Hebrew alone, at least treats it chiefly as self-explanatory, but. in doing so, follows a course exactly the opposite from the one pursued by his great co-laborer. His views can best be learned in his Introductory, from p. 17—39. His standpoint is further illustrated by the position he takes over against the claims made for the Arabic, in reference to antiquity of form, and utility in the explanation of Hebrew. He says, p. 19:

"Over against the Aramaic languages, which are known to us only in the form they appeared in the last few centuries before Christ, the Hebrew, as it appears in the powerful and mighty language of the prophets and the great poets, is distinguished by a greater fulness and more developed structure, over aginst the Arabic, which is, indeed, more developed in some points, but in its structure of words and sentences has become as peculiar and inflexible (*starr*) as the Arabic desert, and which appears on the stage of history only 400 years after Christ, it is distinguished by greater antiquity and by its mobile and youthful character. . . . Many features, which in the younger languages have been divided, and in this or that dialect have undergone a peculiar development, the Hebrew still retains in an undivided state. Therefore, the study of the Semitic as a family of languages, must begin especially with the Hebrew, because this language exhibits to us the oldest form of the Semitic in its connection and originality."

The system of Justus Olshausen (died 1884) is like and unlike that of Ewald. In its general features his *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, the first and only volume of which appeared in 1861, is similar to Ewald's in its synthetic character, in building up the grammar from philological and philosophical premises, and endeavoring to follow its gradual growth; but it differs from Ewald in its endeavors to show this procession in its historical unfolding from the original Semitic language, and in finding the materials for this historical basis in the Arabic. His antithesis to Ewald finds expression already on p. 2, where he says, "In reference to the primitive character of the whole linguistic structure, both as to sounds and words, the Hebrew is surpassed by the Arabic." This he proceeds to prove from historical and linguistic arguments; and concludes with the remark, "that it is evident from what precedes, that the comparison of no cognate language throws so much light upon the Hebrew as does the Arabic." Proceeding from this standpoint, he gives in his grammar from page 8 to page 30, a complete grammatical scheme, based upon the Arabic, of what he would consider original Semitic forms,

Digitized by Google

and, in his grammar proper, starts out from these philosophicallycons trued forms to explain the character, origin and meaning of the forms as found in the Old Testament. This principle gives form and character to his whole grammatical work. His system can be called the linguistic-comparative, combined with the historical method. Quite a successful attempt to popularize the method and results of Olshausen, we find in Bickell's *Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik*, 1869, translated by Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, Jr., as "Outlines of Hebrew Grammar," 1877.

A synthesis of Ewald and Olshausen we have in the *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik*, published 1879, by Professor B. Stade, in Giessen, who thus endeavors to do for Hebrew what Nöldeke has done for the Aramaic languages. He seeks to work only with the acknowledged correct principles of philology, but at the same time takes into consideration only the materials that are really at hand in the Old Testament, and has quite successfully combined the principles as advocated by these two great grammarians. His object, in doing so, was to give a correct picture of the Hebrew language as really existing. (*Vorwort*, p. v.)

The last on the list is the *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, by Dr. Friedrich Eduard König, of Leipzig, of which the first volume, treating of the script, the pronunciation, the pronoun and the verb, appeared in 1881. His method is partly new and partly old. He virtually returns to the analytic manner of Gesenius and Böttcher, but with many improvements, and is more scientific; he is, further, historical, inasmuch as he endeavors to trace the development of existing forms out of the older, which he, too, finds, for the most part, in the Arabic; he follows out the principles of the physiology of sound (*Lautphysiologie*), which seeks to explain on a rational basis the nature of the letter-sounds, their influence on each other, their changes, etc. A distinguishing feature of the work is the fact that it is a commentary on all other grammars, by presenting the *status controversiae* on all the disputed points of grammar, and by the discussion of the *pros* and *cons* offered by the various grammarians. There is no other grammar that gives so clear an insight into the real questions of Hebrew grammar, its interrogation points and problems, and in general such a complete survey of the whole field of inquiry, as does the work of König.

It may not be out of place here to remark that the studies of Assyriologists have as yet produced but few, if any, tangible or important results for Hebrew grammar; their treasuries have yielded good gold for Hebrew lexicography chiefly, and not for Hebrew grammar. The discussion now going on between the "Arabic" and the "anti-Arabic," or Assyrian schools, is almost entirely in the department of the dictionary. The protest raised by the younger Delitzsch and others against the methods of the editors of Gesenius' Dictionary is exclusively against the use, or abuse, of Arabic for the explanation of the meaning of Hebrew words, and the antithesis of the protestants is that rather the Assyrian should utter the decisive voice in this regard, whenever comparisons with the dialects are made. But in no perceptible manner have the recent Assyrian researchers influenced the methods of Hebrew grammarians.

Digitized by Google

ON A HEBREW MANUSCRIPT OF THE YEAR 1300.

BY CYRUS ADLER.

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Manuscript copies of the Hebrew Bible are comparatively rare, and, considering the antiquity of the books which compose it, extremely modern. Writers vaguely allude to a manuscript of the 9th century, but its existence cannot be verified.[1] The oldest MS. in the Erfurt Library, and, according to Lagarde, the oldest extant copy of the Massora, has been assigned the date of 1100 (Symmicta, p. 137). The oldest Hebrew MS. Bible in the *Bibliotheque Imperiale* (Derenbourg's *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hebreux et Samaritains de la B. I.*) is 1286. Moreover, many of the early MSS., and even some of the early prints, are unpunctuated. The most complete MS. of the Pentateuch and commentaries in the *Bibliotheque Imperiale* is in this condition.[2] Such also is the case with the large number of MS. copies of the Pentateuch now extant, and they labor under the additional disadvantage of all being multiplications of one original. This unfortunate state of affairs leaves us no facts on which to study the history of the vowel points, and makes textual criticism a hazardous undertaking.

With this preface, a MS. of considerable interest may now be introduced. It is at present the property of Mayer Sulzberger, Esq., of Philadelphia, and was purchased by him from the late Dr. Wickersham, who had himself bought it from Professor Vincenzo Gustale, now living at Florence, Italy. It was sold as a MS. of the year 1300, and was pronounced, from an examination of the handwriting (by Rabbi Iesi, of Ferrara), to be of that date. Our first purpose is to ascertain whether there be any internal evidence to corroborate these statements.

The MS. contains סליחות, or rather תחנונים, that is, supplicatory prayers recited by Jews between New Years day and the day of Atonement. Its first part agrees exactly, even to the arrangement, with a collection made by the great Italian scholar, Samuel David Luzzato, except that, where his edition reads "here the reader says any prayer which he pleases," our MS. has always inserted one—a confirmation of both the correctness of the editor and the antiquity of the MS. That it was the custom to insert poetical invocations at these places is proved by a MS. (No. 630 of the Catalogue) preserved in the *Bibliotheque Imperiale*. Its title is סדר התחנונים; and, of the six poetical invocations inserted, five correspond with those in our MS., viz:—

מצירי ערי . . . יעירוני רעיוני . . . אעירה . . . שחר קמתי . . . אלהי

Our MS. possesses three such poems which can be recognized (two from their acrostics, and the third from its having lived even to our own time) and which may furnish some evidence in regard to its date. The first, the acrostic of which is דניאל, is a poem of no merit. It was probably written by an Italian of the twelfth century, though the single name of Daniel is so common, that nothing positive can be asserted concerning him. The next is the famous ברכי נפשי of

[1] Such a MS. was reported to exist in the Parma Library. An inquiry concerning it has not elicited a reply from the Librarian, Abbe Perreau.

[2] In the celebrated collection of MSS. of Rabbi David Oppenheimer, now a part of the Bodleian Library, the oldest MS. is an unpunctuated one of the Pentateuch, of the year 1288. No. 107 of the catalogue is the oldest punctuated text in his collection. It is a copy of the Psalms, no older than the fourteenth, and possibly as late as the sixteenth century.

Digitized by Google

Baḥya ibn Bakoda, who flourished about the year 1100. The third, and for us most important, connects itself, in three ways, with the name of Menaḥem Reganati. The acrostic is מנחם הקטן ב' רבי בנימן חזק ואמץ אמן ואמן "Menaḥem, the little one" being the humble way in which people ordinarily describe themselves. The poem has a superscription,

תחנה שחברה מרנא ורבנא הרב ר' מנחם ז"צל איש ריקאנאטי

and lastly we have the subscription, or signature, of the author, giving his name as it occurs in the acrostic.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions from these statements, it will be fitting to describe, in detail, the arrangements of the MS. It consists of thirty-four leaves, of mingled parchment and vellum, and is written by a hand which can unhesitatingly be pronounced as that of a professional scribe. The leaf is 8¼ inches long, and 12¾ inches broad; and, from the ageing of the edges, this would seem to have been their original size. The formation of the letters is, to some extent, peculiar. The *aliph* is formed thus, א; the *pe* thus, כ—so that *pe* and *fe* are not distinguished except by the *raphe* mark; the *he* thus, ך—*he* with *mapiq* not being differentiated; there is no distinction between ד and ר; ן and ז are distinguished only by the shading of the latter, which makes it identical with the printed ן; נ is followed very closely by ן or י, especially the latter, the two almost appearing to form a compound letter. On the top of the first page there are two lines and a half written in a style of Hebrew known as Cursive Italian. They are much blurred and obscured, and were not written by the person who wrote the MS. As far as the inscription could be deciphered, it reads as follows:

לזכרון טוב יהוה אמן

....כה"ר יצחק מריקאנטי....מכר לי זה התחנונים וקבל מידי....משה רפאיל בן כמוה"ר הרופא יוסף נ"ע....גר ותשב(?)

The top line is merely an invocation, "May this be for a good memorial. Amen;" then a break; then, "Rabbi Isaac, of Reganati;" another break; then, "sold me this book of supplications, and received from me;" another break—probably the price; then comes the name, "Moses Raphael, son of Rabbi Doctor Joseph, son of——(?)"

The above inscription warrants us in concluding that Isaac Reganati either wrote the MS. himself, or, if he was not a scribe, hired one to do it for him. That Isaac Reganati was a contemporary and immediate successor of Menaḥem, we may infer from the fact of his having preserved the poem; for nothing short of filial affection could have induced him to that step. Menaḥem Reganati died in 1290, and is known to the modern world only as a great Kabbalist. From these facts, as well as from the inscription, from the poem of Bakoda and that of Daniel, joined with the tradition and the opinion of the expert referred to, I think it safe to assume that the MS. before us is one of the latter part of the thirteenth, or of the earlier part of the fourteenth century.

And now the question arises, Does any more interest attach to this than to any other antiquarian curiosity? In view of the statements made above, concerning the rarity of early MSS. of the Bible, even unpunctuated, the discovery, in so old a MS. as this, of some part of the Scriptures punctuated, however small that part of it may be, must be of some value.

Scattered among these supplicatory prayers are thirteen Psalms; and a

Digitized by Google

comparison has yielded some points which are of considerable importance from a historical, as well as grammatical, point of view.

The variations in the text, while not very numerous, are striking. In Ps. CXXXVIII., 7, it reads ותאחזני, for ותושיעיני; though the latter is given in the margin. In Ps. XXVIII., 7, we read עזי ומעזי, for עזי ומגני; and the former is certainly the more poetical expression. In Ps. CXLI., 8, the *quadralitarum*, יְהוָה, is written אלהים. In Ps. CVIII., 9, for לי, we have ולי, in the passage לי גלעד לי מנשה. In Ps. XLVI., 7, הארץ occurs in place of ארץ. In XLVI., 9, אלהים is inserted after יהוה. Ps. LXXXVI., 6, לקול for בקול; and with הקשיבה this is an allowable construction (cf. Ps. v., 3, and Is. XLVIII., 18). Ps. XXVIII., 3, the whole passage—ועם פעלי און דברי שלום עם רעהם—is omitted in the text, and is added above in a different handwriting. אדני is frequently abbreviated to double *yod*. We have fifty-six *scriptiones plenæ*, and eight *defectivæ*, which do not occur in the ordinary text.

If we but remember the extreme strictness of the rules which bound the scribes, the Massorah,[1] which counted the letters, the notions about the mystical value of writing the name of God in a certain way, we cannot but conclude that the writer of this little work had before him a text of the Bible differing materially from the *textus receptus*.

An examination of the vowel points proved even more interesting. The appended notes show over five hundred variations; and the table will give some idea as to where they lie. Three hundred are taken up in a confusion of *qames*, *pathah*, and *hatef-pathah*. The pre-tonic *qames*, as in ערב וָבקר . . דור וָדור, is unknown; the article frequently does not take a *qames* before the gutturals; אשר is written with *qames*, instead of *hatef pathah;* on the other hand, על followed by *maqaf*, is pointed with *hatef-pathah*.

It may be suggested that all this results from pure ignorance; but the fact that all the בגדכפת, without the *dagesh*, have the *raphe* marked, is itself sufficient evidence that the MS. has been carefully written. Of course, it would be ludicrous to suppose that one MS. of this kind could overthrow a well established system; nor do I attempt to draw any definite conclusions from the facts gathered. Yet it would seem that we have here an absolutely phonetic system of representation, without a knowledge of some of the rules of Hebrew Grammar which, at best, seem arbitrary.

A study of the consonantal characters, and a comparison with a MS. of the twelfth century, have suggested another point. It seems rather unusual that the Hebrew characters should, with the exception of five terminals, consist entirely of initials; but these two MSS. seem to show that the MS. style, at least, possessed medials as well. The present square characters correspond exactly to the initials, and have only been in exclusive use since the invention of printing.

The peculiarities of punctuation seem to show that Qamḥi's[2] grammatical system was not without opponents. Aben Ezra asserts that there were but seven

---

[1] In Ps. cxlii., 7, there is a punctuation which shows an absence of Massoretic tradition. The word מִרִדְפִי, with the note פתח באתנח, is punctuated מִרִדְפִי. Cf. also note to Ps. cxxxviii., 2.

[2] I write the name Qamhi, because there are three MSS. of his מכלול in the *Bibliotheque Imperiale*, in which it is pointed in that way. See the interesting discussion in the *Athenæum*, March 22, 1884.

Digitized by Google

vowels; and Judah ha Levi confirms this statement.[1] Luzzato's studies resulted in the same conclusion.[2] Comparative grammar will also militate against this system. Even such a complex language as Ethiopic has but seven vowels.

As was remarked before, one MS. is not enough to warrant any positive inferences. Yet I think that these facts are important enough to deserve the attention of editors of future critical editions.

NOTE. In the following presentation, the English spelling of Hebrew words is that of the author of the article; an exception was made in the case of this article for reasons apparent to all. Tsadhe, however, is represented by *s*, and not by *c* with Cedilla, as the author would have had it.—[ED.]

PSALM LXV. סה

1. לַמְנַצֵּחַ — Dagesh wanting in צ.
2. דְּמִיָּה — Ḥatef-qameṣ (ֲ) under ד for qibbus (ֻ).
   יִשָּׁלֵם — Qames (ָ) under ל for pathaḥ (ַ).
3. תְּפִלָּה — Dagesh wanting in ת.
   עֲדֵיכָה — Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for qames (ָ). Sere (ֵ) under ד for seghol (ֶ).
   יָבֹאוּ — Scriptio plena.
4. עֲוֹנֹת — Scriptio plena.
   מֵנִי — Sere (ֵ) under מ for seghol (ֶ).
5. תִּבְחַר — Qames (ָ) under ח for pathaḥ (ַ). Delitzsch points ב with ḥatef-pathaḥ; our MS. follows the ordinary shewa simplex.
   בֵּיתֶךָ — Sere (ֵ) under ת for seghol (ֶ). Daghesh wanting in ב.
   קָדְשֶׁךָ — Scriptio plena.
6. בְּצֶדֶק — Dagesh wanting in ב.
   תַּעֲנֵנוּ — Qames (ָ) under ת for pathaḥ (ַ).
7. בְּכֹחוֹ — Dagesh wanting in ב.
   נְאָזָּר — Ḥatef-seghol (ֱ) under א for shewa simplex (ְ). Dagesh wanting in ז.
8. יַמִּים — Qames (ָ) under י for pathaḥ (ַ).
   גַּלֵּיהֶם — Qames (ָ) under ג for pathaḥ. Sere (ֵ) under ה for seghol (ֶ).
   וְהֲמוֹן — Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).
9. קְצָוֹת — Scriptio plena.
   מֵאוֹתֹתֶיךָ — Scriptio plena.
   מוֹצָאֵי — Shewa simplex (ְ) under צ for qames (ָ).
   וְעֶרֶב — Shewa simplex (ְ) under ו for qames (ָ).
   תְּרַנֵּן — Dagesh wanting in ת.

[1] See the scholarly article of Dr. Felsenthal, in the HEBRAICA for May, p. 64. A discussion of the pre-Qamhi school is beyond the scope of the present paper. May we not hope for a fuller discussion of the subject from Dr. Felsenthal?

[2] Cf. his "Vehoah 'al hagabala," against the antiquity and authenticity of the *Zohar*.

Digitized by Google

10. פָּקַדְתָּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under פ for qames. Dagesh wanting in פ and in ת.

הָאָרֶץ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ); ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under א for qames (ָ).

וַתְּשַׁקְּקָהָ Scriptio plena; dagesh wanting in ת; shewa simplex (ְ) under ק for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ); sere (ֵ) under ק for seghol (ֶ).

רַבַּת Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ); qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

מָלְאוּ Seghol (ֶ) under ל for sere (ֵ).

תָּכִין Dagesh wanting in ת.

תְּכִינֵהוּ Dagesh wanting in ת.

11. נַחֵת Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

גְּדוּדֶיהָ Scriptio plena; sere (ֵ) under ד for seghol (ֶ).

בְּרִבִּים Scriptio plena; dagesh wanting in ב.

תְּמוֹגְגֶנָּה Shewa simplex (ְ) under ג for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) (given as a variant). Sere (ֵ) under ג for seghol (ֶ). Scriptio plena.

12. שְׁנַת Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

טוּבֶךָ Scriptio plena; sere (ֵ) under ת for seghol (ֶ).

וּמַעְגְּלֶיךָ Sere (ֵ) under ל for seghol (ֶ).

דָּשֶׁן Pathaḥ (ַ) under ד for qames (ָ).

13. תַּחְנֹרָנָה Scriptio plena.

14. לָבְשׁוּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ל for qames (ָ); ḥolem (וֹ) with שׁ for shureq (וּ).

כָּרִים Pathaḥ (ַ) under כ for qames (ָ).

בָּר Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ).

PSALM LXXXVI. פו

1. אָזְנְךָ Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under א for qames (ָ); seghol (ֶ) under נ for shewa simplex (ְ).

עָנִי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for qames (ָ).

2. שָׁמְרָה Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under ש for qames; pathaḥ (ַ) under ר for qames (ָ).

נַפְשִׁי Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

חָסִיד Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ח for qames (ָ).

אָנִי Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under א for qames (ָ).

עַבְדֶךָ Seghol (ֶ) under ד for shewa simplex (ְ).

אֵלֶיךָ Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

Digitized by Google

3. הַיּוֹם Dagesh wanting in י.

חָנֵּנִי Ḥatef-qames (ֲ) under ח for qames. Seghol (ֶ) under נ for sere (ֵ).

אֲדֹנָי Written יי

אֵלֶיךָ Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

4. אֵלֶיךָ Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

אֲדֹנָי Written יי.

נַפְשִׁי Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

5. אֲדֹנָי Written יי

וְסַלָּח Qames (ָ) under ס for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְרַב Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

6. בְּקוֹל Our MS. reads לְקוֹל.

תַּחֲנוּנוֹתָי Qames (ָ) under ת for pathaḥ (ַ).

7. צָרָתִי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ר for qames (ָ).

אֶקְרָאֶךָּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ר for qames (ָ).

8. אֵין Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

בָאֱלֹהִים Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ). Seghol (ֶ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

אֲדֹנָי Written יי.

וְאֵין Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

כְּמַעֲשֶׂיךָ Qames (ָ) under מ for pathaḥ (ַ). Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

9. אֲשֶׁר Qames (ָ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

יָבוֹאוּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under י for qames (ָ).

וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ Qames (ָ) under ת for pathaḥ (ַ).

אֲדֹנָי Written יי.

וִיכַבְּדוּ Shewa simplex (ְ) under י.

10. וְעֹשֶׂה Scriptio plena. Seghol (ֶ) under שׂ for sere.

לִבְרֵיךָ Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

11. דַּרְכֶּךָ Qames (ָ) under ד for pathaḥ (ַ). Pathaḥ under כ for qames (ָ).

אַהֲלֵךְ Pathaḥ (ַ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ). Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ה for pathaḥ. Dagesh wanting in ל.

בַּאֲמִתֶּךָ Qames (ָ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

Digitized by Google

שִׁמְךָ Seghol (ֶ) under שׁ for ḥireq. Seghol (ֶ) under מ for shewa simplex (ְ).

12. אֲדֹנָי Written יְיָ.

אֱלֹהַי Qames (ָ) under ה for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְאַכַּבְּדָה Pathaḥ (ַ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ). Qames (ָ) under כ for pathaḥ (ַ).

13. עָלָי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for qames (ָ).

נַפְשִׁי Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

14. קָמוּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ק for qames (ָ).

עָלַי Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for qames (ָ). Qames (ָ) under ל for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְעֶדֶת Qames (ָ) under ד for pathaḥ (ַ).

בִּקְשׁוּ Punctuated thus Delitzsch בְּקָשׁוּ.

נַפְשִׁי Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

שָׁמוּךְ Pathaḥ (ַ) under שׁ for qames (ָ).

15. וְאַתָּה Qames (ָ) under א for pathaḥ (ַ).

אֲדֹנָי Written יְיָ.

רַחוּם Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְחַנּוּן Qames (ָ) under ח for pathaḥ (ַ).

אַפַּיִם Qames (ָ) under פ for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְרַב Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

וֶאֱמֶת Shewa simplex (ְ) under ו for seghol. Seghol (ֶ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

16. אֵלַי Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ). Qames (ָ) under ל for pathaḥ (ַ).

וְחָנֵנִי Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under ח for qames (ָ).

עֻזֶּךָ Seghol (ֶ) under ז for shewa simplex. Dagesh omitted in ז.

לְעַבְדֶּךָ Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

לְבֶן Sere (ֵ) under ב for seghol (ֶ).

אֲמָתֶךָ Qames (ָ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

17. שְׂנָאַי Qames (ָ) under א for pathaḥ (ַ); scriptio plena.

עֲזַרְתָּנִי Qames (ָ) under ת for pathaḥ (ַ).

PSALM CXXXII. The MS. gives it קלא.

1. הַמַּעֲלוֹת Qames (ָ) under מ for pathaḥ (ַ).

Digitized by Google

אֵת Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

2. אֲשֶׁר Qames (ָ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

נִשְׁבַּע Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

3. אָבָא Pathaḥ (ַ) under א for qames (ָ).

אֶעֱלֶה Seghol (ֶ) under ע for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

עַל Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

יְצוּעָי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for qames (ָ).

4. אֶתֵּן Sere (ֵ) under א for seghol (ֶ). Seghol (ֶ) under ת for sere (ֵ).

לְעַפְעַפָּי There is a ו before ל which was afterwards stricken out. Qames (ָ) under פ for pathaḥ (ַ).

5. עַד Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

לְאַבִּיר Qames (ָ) under ל for pathaḥ (ַ).

6. הִנֵּה Seghol (ִ) under נ for sere (ֵ).

שְׁמַעְנוּהָ Qames (ָ) unker מ for pathaḥ (ַ). Shewa simplex (ְ) under ע for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ). Pataḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ).

בְּאֶפְרָתָה Pathaḥ (ַ) under ר for qames (ָ).

יָעַר Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

7. נָבוֹאָה Pathaḥ (ַ) under נ for qames (ָ).

נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Qames (ָ) under ת for pathaḥ (ַ).

לַהֲדֹם Scriptio plena.

רַגְלָיו Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

8. לִמְנוּחָתֶךָ Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ח for qames (ָ). Scriptio plena.

9. כֹּהֲנֶיךָ Shewa simplex (ְ) under ך for qames (ָ).

10. עַבְדְּךָ Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

אַל Qames (ָ) under א for pathaḥ (ַ).

11. נִשְׁבַּע Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

אֱמֶת Seghol (ֶ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

יָשׁוּב Pathaḥ (ַ) under י for Qames (ָ).

בִּטְנְךָ Seghol (ִ) under נ for shewa simplex (ְ).

לְכִסְאֶ Seghol (ִ) under ס for sere (ֵ).

12. וְעֵדֹתַי Scriptio plena.

אֲלַמְּדֵם Qames (ָ) under ל for pathaḥ (ַ). Seghol (ֶ) under ד for sere (ֵ).

Digitized by Google

גַּם Qames (ָ) under ג for pathah (ַ).

בְּנֵיהֶם Sere (ֵ) under ב for shewa simplex (ְ). Seghol (ֶ) under נ for sere (ֵ).

עֲדִי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

עַד Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

14. מְנוּחָתִי Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ח for qames (ָ).

עֲדִי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

עַד Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

אֵשֵׁב Seghol (ֶ) under שׁ for sere (ֵ).

15. צִיָּה Scriptio defectiva.

אֲבָרֵךְ Qames (ָ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ). Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ).

וַחֲסִידֶיהָ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ).

יְרַנֵּנוּ Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

אַצְמִיחַ Qames (ָ) under ח for pathaḥ (ַ).

PSALM XLVI. מו

1. לַמְנַצֵּחַ Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ). Dagesh wanting in צ.

קֹרַח Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

עַל Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

2. אֱלֹהִים Seghol (ֶ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

מַחֲסֶה Qames (ָ) under מ for pathaḥ (ַ). Shewa simplex (ְ) under ח for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

וָעֹז Scriptio plena.

3. עַל Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

4. יֶחְמְרוּ Pathaḥ (ַ) under י for seghol (ֶ).

בְּגַאֲוָתוֹ Qames (ָ) under ג for pathaḥ (ַ). Pathaḥ (ַ) under א for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

5. נָהָר Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ).

פַּלְגֵי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ג for qames (ָ).

יְשַׂמְּחוּ Qames (ָ) under שׂ for pathaḥ (ַ).

קְדֹשׁ Qames (ָ) under ק for shewa simplex (ְ). Scriptio plena.

6. בַּל Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

יַעְזְרֶהָ Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for shewa simplex (ְ). Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ).

Digitized by Google

אֱלֹהִים Seghol under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

7. מַמְלָכוֹת Qames (ָ) under מ for pathah (ַ).

תָמוּג Pathah (ַ) under ת for (ָ).

אֶרֶץ Our MS. reads הארץ.

8. מְשֻׁגָּב Qames (ָ) under ג for pathah (ַ).

9. The word אלהים has been added after יהוה.

אֲשֶׁר Qames (ָ) under א for hatef-pathah (ֲ).

10. מִלְחָמוֹת Ḥatef-pathah under ח for qames (ָ).

עַד Ḥatef-pathah (ֲ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

קְצֵה Seghol (ְ) under צ for sere (ֵ).

הָאָרֶץ Pathah (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ).

יְשַׁבֵּר Qames (ָ) under ש for pathah (ַ).

יְקַצֵּץ Seghol (ְ) under צ for sere (ֵ).

חֲנִית Qames (ָ) under ח for hatef-pathah (ֲ).

עֲגָלוֹת Qames (ָ) under ע for hatef-pathah (ֲ).

בָּאֵשׁ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ). Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

11. אָנֹכִי Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under א for qames (ָ).

בָּאָרֶץ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ).

12. מְשֻׁגָּב Qames (ָ) under ג for pathaḥ (ַ).

יַעֲקֹב Qames (ָ) under ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

PSALM LI. נא

1. לַמְנַצֵּחַ Qames (ָ) under נ for pathaḥ (ַ).

2. בְּבוֹא Scriptio defectiva.

אֲלָיו Seghol (ְ) under א for sere (ֵ).

בָּא Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for qames (ָ).

בַּת Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

שָׁבַע Qames (ָ) under ב for pathaḥ (ַ).

3. חָנֵּנִי Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under ח for qames (ָ). Seghol (ֵ) under נ for sere (ֵ).

אֱלֹהִים Seghol (ֱ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

כְּחַסְדֶּךָ Shewa simplex (ְ) under ד for seghol (ֶ).

כְּרֹב Scriptio plena.

פְּשָׁעָי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ע for qames (ָ).

4. הֶרֶבָּה The ה יתיר is not found in the MS.

Digitized by Google

טָהֲרֵנִי Qames (ָ) under ט for pathaḥ (ַ). Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ).

6. לְבַדֶּךָ Seghol (ֶ) under ד for shewa simplex (ְ).

חָטָאתִי Pathaḥ (ַ) under ט for qames (ָ).

וְהָרַע Pathaḥ (ַ) under ה for qames (ָ). Qames (ָ) under ר for pathaḥ (ַ).

בְּעֵינֶיךָ Sere (ֵ) under נ for seghol (ֶ).

עָשִׂיתִי Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under שׂ for ḥireq.

לְמַעַן Qames (ָ) under both מ and ע for pathaḥ (ַ).

תִּצְדַּק Qames (ָ) under ד for pathaḥ (ַ).

בְּדָבֶרְךָ Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under ד for qames (ָ).

בְּשָׁפְטֶךָ Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under שׁ for qames (ָ).

7. בְּעָוֹן Pathaḥ (ַ) under ב for shewa simplex (ְ). Ḥatef-pathaḥ (ֲ) under ע for qames (ָ). Scriptio defective.

יְחַמַּתְנִי Seghol (ֶ) under ח for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ). Qames (ָ) under מ for pathaḥ (ַ).

8. אֱמֶת Seghol (ֶ) under א for ḥatef-seghol (ֱ).

בַּטֻּחוֹת Scriptio defectiva.

וּבְסָתֶם Shureq (וּ) with ת for qibbus (ֻ).

חָכְמָה Ḥatef-qames (ֳ) under ח for qames (ָ).

9. תְּחַטְּאֵנִי Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

בְּאֵזוֹב Seghol (ֶ) under א for sere (ֵ).

תְּכַבְּסֵנִי Qames (ָ) under כ for pathaḥ (ַ).

אַלְבִּין Qames (ָ) under א for pathaḥ (ַ).

10. תַּשְׁמִיעֵנִי Seghol (ֶ) under ע for sere (ֵ).

תָּגֵלְנָה Pathaḥ (ַ) under ת for qames (ָ).

דִּכִּיתָ Pathaḥ (ַ) under ת for qames (ָ).

[In order to save space, the remaining variations of the MS. under consideration, are placed in tabular form.—*Ed.*]

11.	מְחָטָאַי	מְחָטָאַי	תִּקַּח	תִּקָּח
	עֲוֹנֹתַי	עֲוֹנוֹתָי	14. הָשִׁיבָה	הָשִׁיבָה
	מְחֵה	מְחֵה	15. אַלְמָדָה	אַלְמְדָה
12.	חַדֵּשׁ	חַדֵּשׁ	פּוֹשְׁעִים	פּוֹשְׁעִים
13.	אַל	אַל	דְּרָכֶיךָ	דְּרָכֶךָ
	קָדְשְׁךָ	קָדְשֶׁךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ
	אַל	אַל	יָשׁוּבוּ	יָשׁוּבוּ

Digitized by Google

וְאַתָּה	וְאַתָּה	אֱלֹהִים		16.
אֱלֹהִים	אֱלֹהִים	19. אֱלֹהִי		
תַּחְפֹּץ	תַּחְפֹּץ	21. תְּשׁוּעָתִי		
אָז	אָז	יי		17.
עַל	עַל	שְׁפָתַי		
מִזְבָּחֶךָ	מִזְבָּחֶךָ	תַּחְפֹּץ		18.
		זֶבַח		

PSALM LXXXV. פה.

תִּתֵּן	תִּתֵּן	לַמְנַצֵּחַ	1.
לָנוּ	לָנוּ	אַרְצֶךָ	2.
אֶשְׁמְעָה	9. אֶשְׁמְעָה	שָׁבְתָּ	
מָה	מָה	שְׁבוּת (keri) שְׁבִית	
הָאֵל	הָאֵל	עַמְּךָ	3.
חַסְדֶּיךָ	חַסְדֶּיךָ	אָסַפְתָּ	4.
יְשׁוּבוּ	יְשׁוּבוּ	הֱשִׁיבוֹתָ	
לִירֵאָיו	10. לִירֵאָיו	וְהָפֵר	5.
לִשְׁכֹּן	לִשְׁכֹּן	הַלְעוֹלָם	6.
וֶאֱמֶת	וֶאֱמֶת	תֵּאָנַף	
וְשָׁלוֹם	וְשָׁלוֹם	תִּמְשׁוֹךְ	
נָשָׁקוּ	נָשָׁקוּ	אַפֶּךָ	
אֱמֶת	אֱמֶת	לְדוֹר	
נִשְׁקָךְ	נִשְׁקָךְ	וָדוֹר	
וְאַרְצֵנוּ	13. וְאַרְצֵנוּ	הֲלֹא	7.
וְיָשֶׂם	14. וְיָשֶׂם	תָּשׁוּב	
לַדֶּרֶךְ	לַדֶּרֶךְ	תְּחַיֵּינוּ	
פְּעָמָיו	פְּעָמָיו	וְיִשְׂעֲךָ	8.

PSALM CVIII. קח

בָּעַמִּים	4. בָּעַמִּים	אֲשִׁירָה	2.
מֵעַל	5. מֵעַל	אַף	
שָׁמַיִם	שָׁמַיִם	עוּרָה	3.
חַסְדְּךָ	חַסְדֶּךָ	הַנֵּבֶל	
וְעַד	וְעַד	אָעִירָה	
שְׁחָקִים	שְׁחָקִים	שַׁחַר	

Digitized by Google

וְאֶפְרָיִם	וְאֶפְרַיִם	אַמְתֶּךָ	אַמְתֶּךָ
מְחוֹקְקִי	מְחֹקְקִי	עַל	עַל 6.
רָחְצִי	רַחְצִי 10.	שָׁמַיִם	שָׁמַיִם
עַל	עַל	וְעַל	וְעַל
אֱדוֹם	אֱדוֹם	הָאָרֶץ	הָאָרֶץ
אֶתְרוֹעָע	אֶתְרוֹעָע	לְמַעַן	לְמַעַן 7.
יוֹבִלֵנִי	יוֹבִילֵנִי 11.	יֶחֱלְצוּן	יֶחֱלְצוּן
עַד	עַד	וַעֲנֵנִי	וַעֲנֵנִי
אֱדוֹם	אֱדוֹם	דִּבֵּר	דִּבֵּר 8.
הֲלֹא	הֲלֹא 12.	בְּקָדְשׁוֹ	בְּקָדְשׁוֹ
תֵּצֵא	תֵּצֵא	אֶעֱלֹזָה	אֶעֱלֹזָה
בְּצִבְאוֹתֵינוּ	בְּצִבְאֹתֵינוּ	אַחַלְקָה	אַחַלְקָה
הָבָה	הָבָה 13.	וְעֶמֶק	וְעֶמֶק
וְשָׁוְא	וְשָׁוְא	סְכּוֹת	סְכּוֹת
בֵּאלֹהִים	בֵּאלֹהִים	אַמְדִּיר	אַמְדִּיר
חַיִל	חָיִל	לִי	לִי 9.
יָבוּס	יָבוּס	מְנַשֶּׁה	מְנַשֶּׁה

PSALM XIII. יג

אוֹיְבִי	אֹיְבִי	עַד	עַד 2.
יְכָלְתִּיו	יְכָלְתִּיו	פָּנֶיךָ	פָּנֶיךָ
צָרָי	צָרַי	מִמֶּנִּי	מִמֶּנִּי
וְאֲנִי	וַאֲנִי 6.	עֵינַי	עֵינַי 4.
יָגֵל	יָגֵל	אִישָׁן	אִישָׁן
גָּמַל	גָּמַל	יֹאמַר	יֹאמַר 5.

PSALM CXLII. קמב.

עָלַי	עָלַי	בְּמַעֲרָה	בְּמַעֲרָה 1.
בְּאוֹרַח	בְּאֹרַח		(Some late erasure has been made in the punctuation of ב and מ, with what object does not appear.)
אַהֲלֵךְ	אַהֲלֵךְ		
הָבִיט	הַבִּיט 5.	אִשְׁפּוֹךְ	אִשְׁפֹּךְ 3.
וּרְאֵה	וּרְאֵה	צַרָתִי	צָרָתִי
מָכִיר	מַכִּיר	לְפָנָיו	לְפָנָיו
דוֹרֵשׁ	דוֹרֵשׁ	אַגִּיד	אַגִּיד
אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ 6.	בְּחִתְעַטֵּף	בְּחִתְעַטֵּף 4.

Digitized by Google

אַמְצוּ	אָמְצוּ	הַחַיִּים	הַחַיִּים	
מִמֶּנִּי	מִמֶּנִּי	הַקְשִׁיבָה	הַקְשִׁיבָה	7.
יַכְתִּירוּ	יַכְתִּרוּ	8. דַּלּוֹתִי	דַּלּוֹתִי	
תִגְמוֹל	תִּגְמֹל	מִרְדָּפַי	מִרְדָּפַי	
		Here is a note	פתח באתנח	

PSALM CXXXVIII. In the MS. it is numbered קלז.

מִמְּרַחַק	מִמְּרַחַק	לְדָוִד	לְדָוִד	1.
יִירַע	The MS. contains	אָזְמָרְךָ	אָזַמְּרֶךָּ	
יִרַע	and above ִ probably for ְ	אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה	2.
	as a correction.	קָדְשֶׁךָ	קָדְשֶׁךָ	
תְּחַיֵּינִי	תְּחַיֵּנִי	אַמְתֶּךָ	אַמְתֶּךָ	
אֹיְבַי	אֹיְבִי	כל	The Massoret. note	
יָדֶךָ	7. יָדֶךָ	כ׳ בחולם	is yet we have it	
וְתוֹשִׁיעֵנִי	In place of this word		pointed with qames.	
וְתאֹחֲזֵנִי	the MS. contains, the	וַתַּעֲנֵנִי	וַתַּעֲנֵנִי	3.
	other word being given as a var-	תַּרְהִיבֵנִי	תַּרְהִיבֵנִי	
	iant.	עוֹז	עֹז	
יְמִינֶךָ	יְמִינֶךָ	וְיָשְׁרוּ	וְיָשְׁרוּ	5.
יִגְמֹר	8. יִגְמֹר	וְשָׁפָל	וְשָׁפַל	6.
מַעֲשֵׂה	Writ. inst. מַעֲשֵׂי	וְגָבוֹהַּ	וְגָבֹהַּ	

PSALM CXLI. The number קמא is written by another hand.

וּבַל	Written וְבַל	מַשְׂאַת	מָשְׂאַת	2.
אֶלְחָם	אֶלְחַם	כַּפַּי	כַּפָּי	
בְּמַנְעַמֵּיהֶם	בְּמַנְעַמֵּיהֶם	מִנְחַת	מִנְחָת	
צָדִיק	5. צַדִּיק	עֶרֶב	עָרֵב	
יָנִי	Written יַנִּיא	נִצְּרָה	נִצְּרָה	3.
סֶלַע	6. סֶלַע	עַל	עַל	
שׁוֹפְטֵיהֶם	שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם	דַּל	דָּל	
אַמָּרַי	אֲמָרַי	שְׁפָתַי	שְׂפָתַי	
פּוֹלַח	7. פַּלַּח	אַל	אַל	4.
וּבוֹקֵעַ	וּבְקַע	רַע	רַע	
בַּאֲרָץ	בָּאָרֶץ	בְּרֶשַׁע	בְּרֶשַׁע	
עֲצָמֵינוּ	עַצְמֵינוּ	פּוֹעֲלֵי	פֹּעֲלֵי	

Digitized by Google

8.	אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	פֹּעֲלֵי	פֹּעֲלֵי
	יְהוָה	Writ. in MS. אֱלֹהִים	10. בְּמַכְמֹרָיו	בְּמַכְמֹרָיו
	עִנְיִי	עִנְיִי	יָחַד	יָחַד
	נַפְשִׁי	נַפְשִׁי	אָנֹכִי	אָנֹכִי
9.	שָׁמְרֵנִי	שָׁמְרֵנִי	עַד	Omitted in text
	פַּח	פָּח		and added above the line.
	וּמִקְשׁוֹת	וּמוֹקְשׁוֹת	אֶעֱבוֹר	אֶעֱבוֹר

PSALM XXVIII. כח

1.	אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	הַשֵּׁב	הָשֵׁב
	תֶּחֱרַשׁ	תֶּחֱרָשׁ	לָהֶם	לָהֶם
	תֶּחֱשֶׁה	תֶּחְשֶׁה	5. יָבִינוּ	יָבִינוּ
	וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי	וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי	פְּעֻלּוֹת	פְּעֻלּוֹת
2.	תַּחֲנוּנַי	תַּחֲנוּנָי	מַעֲשֵׂה	מַעֲשֵׂה
	אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	יָדָיו	יָדָיו
	בְּנָשְׂאִי	בְּנוֹשְׂאִי	יְהָרְסֵם	יְהָרְסֵם
	יָדַי	יָדַי	6. תַּחֲנוּנָי	תַּחֲנוּנָי
	קָדְשֶׁךָ	קָדְשֶׁךָ	7. עֻזִּי	עֻזִּי
3.	אַל	אַל	In our MS. וּמָגִנִּי	וּמָעֻזִּי
	וְעִם פְּעֲלֵי אָוֶן דֹּבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם עִם רֵעֵהֶם. This sentence is not in the text but is added in the margin in Rabbinical characters.		וְנֶעְזַרְתִּי	וְנֶעֱזַרְתִּי
			וַיַּעְלֹז	וַיַּעֲלֹז
			8. עֹז	עוֹז
			In our MS. לָמוֹ	לָנוּ
	וְרָעֵה	וְרָעָה	9. הוֹשִׁיעָה	הוֹשִׁיעָה
	בִּלְבָבָם	בִּלְבָבָם	וּבָרֵךְ	וּבָרֵךְ
4.	תֵּן	תֵּן	נַחֲלָתֶךָ	נַחֲלָתֶךָ
	וּכְרֹעַ	וּכְרוֹעַ	וְנַשְּׂאֵם	וְנַשְּׂאֵם
	מַעַלְלֵיהֶם	מַעַלְלֵיהֶם	עַד	עַד
	כְּמַעֲשֵׂה	כְּמַעֲשֵׂה	הָעוֹלָם	הָעוֹלָם
	לָהֶם	לָהֶם		

PSALM XXXII. לב

1.	פְּשַׁע	פְּשַׁע	3. בְּשַׁאֲנָתִי	בְּשָׁאֲנָתִי
	חַטָּאָה	חַטָּאָה	4. יוֹמָם	יוֹמָם
2.	יַחְשֹׁב	יֶחְשֹׁב	וַלַּיְלָה	וְלַיְלָה

Digitized by Google

	לְעֵת	לְעֵת	עָלַי	עָלַי			
	מְצוֹא	מְצֹא	יָדֶךָ	יָדֶךָ			
	לְשַׁטְּךָ	לְשַׁטְּךָ	קָיִן	קָיִן			
	מָיִם	מַיִם	וְעָוֹנִי	וְעָוֹנִי	5.		
	רָבִים	רַבִּים	עָלַי	עָלַי			
	יָגִיעוּ	יַגִּיעוּ	פִּשָׁעַי	פִּשָׁעַי			
7.	אַתָּה	אַתָּה	חַטָּאתִי	חַטָּאתִי			
	סֵתֶר	סֵתֶר	יִתְפַּלֵּל	יִתְפַּלֵּל	6.		
	מִצַּר	מִצַּר	אֵלֶיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ			

The last page of the MS. is so blurred that it was impossible to continue the notes to this Psalm.

TABULAR VIEW.

for	ֵ	141	for	ֵ	13	for	ֶ	90
	ֶ	13		ֶ	2		ֶ	24
	ֶ	2						

for	ֵ	13	for	ֵ	26	for	ֵ	47	for	ֵ	8
	ֵ	36					ֶ	23		ֶ	6
							ֶ	9		ֶ	3

There are eighteen differences occurring once each.

Scriptiones plenæ, 56

Scriptiones defectivæ, 8

Digitized by Google

מלכים–משרתים.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE TERMINOLOGY OF HEBREW GRAMMAR.

By Professor Dr. Wilhelm Bacher,
Budapest, Hungaria.

In the May number of HEBRAICA (p. 64) Dr. Felsenthal says of the oldest ante-Qimḥi grammarians: "They called them the seven kings (מלכים), and the sh'wâ they called the servant (משרת)." This remark is based upon the common view that the appellation "kings" for vowels was used by the ancient Hebrew grammarians to mark the contrast with the "serving" sh'wâ. That this view is erroneous I have already shown in my work *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, (Strassburg i. E., 1882) p. 61, Anm. 1. What I have stated there I will briefly repeat here and supplement this with some further considerations.

Already Ben Asher calls the vowels מלכים, cf. Digdugê ha-ṭ'amim, ed. Baer and Strack, § 10: והם שבעה מלכים בכ"ב מומלכים, "they (the vowels) are the seven kings, appointed as rulers over the twenty-two consonants." They are accordingly called "kings," because they are the lords of the consonants and the sounds giving them motion. M'naḥem b. Sarug, in the same sense, though not using the expression מלכים, says: ותכון המלה תחת ממשלתם והמה מושליה ואוחזיה, "the word is confirmed under their government, and they are its rulers and possessors." (Maḥbereth ed. Filipowski, p. 4a). According to M'naḥem then, the vowels are the rulers of the word; they determine its pronunciation and meaning; but at another place (l. c. p. 7b) he calls them "those set over the letters and their rulers: אלה האותיות . . . . . יש שוטרים עליהם ומושלים אותם." The same thing, although from another point of view, we find also in Dunash ben Labrâṭ the opponent of M'naḥem, who in his anti-critique of the latter calls the vowels "the seven fathers of speech"—אבות המבטא שבעה (criticae vocum recensiones, p. 5). In Jehuda Hayyug, the founder of the new science of Hebrew grammar, there appears in the midst of the Arabic text the traditional Hebrew term שבעה מלכים (cf. my work über die grammatische Terminologie des...Ḥajjûg [Wien, 1882], p. 18; also Derenbourg, Opuscules et Traités d'Abou'l Walid, p. 274). But neither in him nor in Ibn Ġanâḥ is there the least indication that sh'wâ is considered as "serving" and the vowels, over against the sh'wâ, as "rulers." The contrast between מלכים and משרתים is known to the old grammarians in reference to the root-letters and function-letters. The former are called מלכים, the latter משרתים by Dunash ben Labrâṭ, l. c. p. 5b, as also by his pupil Jehudî ben Shesheth, in his criticism of M'naḥem's pupils (Liber Responsiorum, ed. Stern, p. 28, l. 22) cf. Die grammatische Terminologie etc., p. 25, Anm. 2.

Joseph Qimḥi with whom a new theory of Hebrew vowels begins to assert itself, namely the division into five long and five short vowels, cannot emancipate himself entirely from the old terminology. His definition of sh'wâ begins with the following words: "Know that the sh'wâ is not a vowel by itself, and that it has not been made a ruler among the seven kings, for the glory of kingship was not bestowed upon it (דע כי השבא אינה תנועה בפני עצמה ולא המליכוה בשבעה מלכים כי לא נתן עליה הוד מלכות). I quote this passage from

Digitized by Google

the ספר הזכרון, from the manuscript copy kindly put at my disposal by Mr. S. J. Halberstam.

The sh'wâ then is for him also not yet a "servant" of the vowels; it is only not a king like them, simply because it is not a vowel. In Moses Qimḥi's short handbook מהלך שבילי הדעת no definition of the sh'wâ is found. David Qimḥi, however, says in his מכלול, in the beginning of the section on the sh'wâ (ed. Lyck, fol. 138 b; ed. Fürth, fol. 154 b), but without any reference to the term מלכים, "The sh'wâ is not a vowel, but serves the vowels." (השוא איננה תנועה אך היא משרתת התנועות). With this the term "servant" came to be used for the sh'wâ in the same degree as Qimḥi exerted an influence on the later grammarians. Benjamin ben Jehudâ, of Rome, who lived at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, says concerning the sh'wâ in his little work, which is often printed as an introduction to Moses Qimḥi's grammar (cf. the collection of דקדוקים, edited by Elia Levita, in Bomberg's printing officin, Venice, 1546): ואינה בעצמה תנועה רק היא משרת את התנועות" (probably משרת is to be read as feminine, as in 1 Kgs. i., 15, or to be emended into משרתת). Two hundred years later, Elia Levita, next to the Qimḥis the most influential grammarian, transferred the name of "kings," which formerly was the designation of the seven vowels in the old system, to the ten vowels of the new system, and he says in his grammar (which is partly metrical) פרקי אליה (in the collection of דקדוקים mentioned above) p. 55, b.

אלה מלכים העשרה המולכים בהברה
חמש משרתות לחמש קטון לגדול כשורה
אחד משרת לכלם ושמו שוא ולכך נברא

That is, of the ten kings, the five short ones serve the five long ones; but all are served by the sh'wâ set apart for this purpose. P. 58 a, of the same book we read of the sh'wâ: אשר נקרא משרת למלכים.

We will refer here only to Abraham Balmes, who in מקנה אברהם (Venice, 1523) introduces section three (שער הנקודות), with a long explanation of the division of the vowels into מלכים and עבדים. Also Prophiat Duran (Efodi) may be referred to, who ascribes the use of the word מלכים for the seven vowels to Ibn Ezra (Ma'sé Efod, ed. Friedländer and Kohn, (Wien, 1865) p. 34, וכבר הניחו אותם מפני זה קצת החכמים שבעה וקרא אותם האבן עזרא מלכים להתנהג תנועת הסימנים על פיהם), but he still has the correct idea that the vowels are called kings "because the letters (סימנים = אותיות, as signs of the sounds, קולות) are governed by their command," i. e., just as Ben Asher expressed it, because the vowels govern the consonant signs.

I will improve this opportunity to refer also to an appellation of the seven vowels which is found in the Arabic commentary of Saadya on the book Jetsira, quoted in Derenbourg's *Manuel du Lecteur*, p. 207. אלסבע נגמאת, the seven sounds. נגמה = Heb. נעימה has in other connections a musical meaning.

Digitized by Google

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.

BY PROF. E. KAUTZSCH, D. D.,
Tuebingen, Germany.

TRANSLATED FROM KAUTZSCH'S GRAMMATIK DES BIBLISCH-ARAMÄISCHEN.
By Professor Charles R. Brown, Newton Centre, Mass.

§ 1. THE RELATION OF BIBLICAL ARAMAIC TO THE REMAINING SHEMITIC LANGUAGES.

The Aramaic dialect occurring in a few sections of the Old Testament (Dan. II., 4b—VII., 28; Ezra IV., 8—VI., 18; VII., 12-26; Jer. X., 11, as well as in two words of Gen. XXXI., 47) is a member of the West-Aramaic group of dialects. The latter, together with the closely related East-Aramaic group, forms the Aramaic branch of the Shemitic, or more narrowly, of the North-Shemitic family of languages.

Concerning the ramification of the Shemitic family generally, cf.: *E. Renan*, histoire générale des langues sémitiques. 4. ed. Paris 1864; *Gesenius-Kautzsch*, hebr. Grammatik §§ 1, 2, and the literature there under § 1. No. 6; *B. Stade*, Lehrbuch der hebr. Gramm., Leipzig 1879, §§ 2–11 (with searching consideration of the later literature); *E. König*, histor.-krit. Lehrgebäude d. hebr. Sprache, Leipzig 1881, § 3. Concerning the Aramaic in particular: *Th. Nöldeke*, "Aram" in *Schenkel's* Bibellexicon I, 229 sq., as well as in the "Ausland," for 1867, p. 778 sq. ("Namen und Wohnsitze der Aramäer") and in Ztschr. der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. XXV. (1871), p. 113 sq. ("Die Namen der aram. Nation und Sprache"); *Schrader*, "Aram" in *Riehm's* Hdwörterb. des Bibl. Alterthums, p. 79 sq.; *Volck*, "Aram" in *Herzog-Plitt's* Protestant. Realencyklopädie, 2. ed., I, 601 sq. (with copious references to the literature); *H. Strack*, Einleitung ins A. Test., in *Zöckler's* Handb. der theolog. Wissenschaften I, 191 sq. (Add to these: *David*, grammaire de la langue araméenne [in the Syriac language], Paris 1880; *R. Duval*, traité de grammaire syriaque. Paris 1881).

The above definition presupposes a division of the Shemitic dialects into (1) the Arabic-Ethiopic branch, as the South-Shemitic, as distinguished from (2) the North-Shemitic, including the other three chief-branches of the Shemitic family (the Canaanitic, the Aramaic and the Assyrian-Babylonian).

§ 2. GRADUAL EXTENSION OF THE WEST-ARAMAIC DIALECT.

The home of the West-Aramaic dialect was the territory between the upper Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea (with the exception of course of the Phœnician coast-line). This territory includes the regions South and South-West of Damascus, extending, therefore, as far as the boundaries of the kingdom of Israel (cf. 1 Sam. X., 6, concerning the conflict of David with the Aramæans of Bethrehob, who, according to Judg. XVIII., 28, lived in the immediate neighborhood of Dan). In early times, however, the Aramaic began to advance further South and to dispossess the Canaanitic dialects (including Hebrew) until finally—about the middle of the second century B. C.—it became the common language of the country in Syria, Palestine and the adjacent countries on the East.

Detached points of contact with the Aramaic, not all borrowed directly therefrom, however, can be established even in pre-exilic books of the Old Testament composed on the soil of the Northern kingdom, certainly, e. g., in the Song of Solomon and in certain parts of Judges. A direct influence of Aramaic was doubtless opened by the deportations of Israelites spoken of in 2 Kgs. XV., 29 and XVII., 6 (734 and 722 B. C.); for after that, according to 2 Kgs., XVII., 24, (cf. also Ezra IV., 2, 10) the thoroughly depopulated land was occupied by colonists who had come in part from territory where Aramaic was spoken (e. g. Hamath).

Digitized by Google

In Judah, as far as we can judge, the written language was maintained, almost without Aramaic influence, until the close of the seventh century. It is shown by 2 Kgs. XVIII., 26, however (cf. Isa. XXXVI., 11), that toward the end of the eighth century (the occurrence relating thereto falls in the year 701) Aramaic was understood, at least by the principal men in Judah, and, consequently, already was a language of international trade, or, at any rate, of diplomacy. This fact is confirmed in the Aramaic legends which have been preserved (beside an Assyrian text) on tablets of clay, as well as on fragments from the ruins of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces (afterwards, also, on old Persian coins); cf. *Schrader*, ZDMG, 1872, p. 167, and the literature there; further, *Levy*, Gesch. der jüd. Münzen, Lpz., 1862, p. 147, sq.; *de Vogué*, Mélanges d'archéologie orientale, Paris, 1868, p. 193, sq.[1] The first direct influence of Aramaic on the Hebrew is to be found in Jeremiah[2] (cf. *Zimmer*, Aramaisme Jeremiani I, Halle, 1880), more certainly, and already of a grammatical sort, in Ezekiel; while the writers of the last part of the Exile (Isa. XIII., sq., XXXIV., XXXV., XL.—LXVI.) and shortly after the same (Haggai, Zechariah, and even Malachi and the memoirs of Nehemiah worked into the book of Nehemiah) are distinguished by a comparatively pure Hebrew. In the exilic and post-exilic parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, which formerly were designated as the Original Writing, or Elder Elohist (now as the Priests' Codex, or Q) the influence of Aramaic is shown more in the domain of lexicon than of grammar (cf. concerning this especially *Riehm*, in the Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken, 1872, p. 283, sq., and *V. Ryssel*, de Elohistæ Pentateuchici Sermone, Lpz., 1878, both holding fast to the pre-exilic composition of the Priest's Codex, though *Ryssel* especially, by his careful and profound investigations, has produced much evidence for the opposite view); *Giesebrecht* opposes *Ryssel* ("Zur Hexateuchkritik," in the Ztschr. f. die Alttest. Wissensch., 1881, p. 177, sq.) and his conclusions are modified again, in some particulars, by *Driver*, "On Some Alleged Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist" (in the Journal of Philology, Oct., 1882, p. 201, sq.). Still stronger is the Aramaic coloring in several post-exilic books; in particular, Chronicles, Esther and, to the most marked degree, in Koheleth and certain Psalms (cf. for Koheleth the commentaries of *Franz Delitzsch*, Lpz., 1875, p. 197, sq. and *C. H. Wright*, The Book of Koheleth, London, 1883, p. 488, sq.; concerning Books II.—V. of the Psalms, cf. *Giesebrecht*, "Ueber die Abfassungszeit der Psalmen," in Ztschr. f. die Alttest. Wissensch., 1881, p. 276, sq.).

§ 3. CONTEMPORANEOUS USE OF ARAMAIC AND HEBREW.

It is presupposed by documents in Ezra (IV., 8–22; V., 6–17; VI., 6–12; VII., 11–26) that, under the Persian supremacy, Aramaic was used in diplomatic intercourse with Western Asia. The fact, however, that the author of the present book of Ezra (toward the end of the fourth century B. C.), after giving the Aramaic documents (IV., 8, sq.), carries on his own narrative in Aramaic, and that the author of Daniel (about 167 B. C.), after the conversation between Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans (II., 4–11), continues, up to the end of chapter

---

[1] Of course we must not conclude from these Assy. Baby. parallels, with *v. Gutschmid* (Neue Beitraege zur Gesch. des alten Orients, Leipzig, 1876, p. 18, sq.) that the business world in Nineveh then spoke Aramaic and no longer understood the official [Assyrian] language. (As it is said to follow also, according to *v. Gutschmid*, from 2 Kgs. XVIII., 26, that a dialect of the Aramaic was the popular language in the territory of the Euphrates and the Tigris already in the eighth century). For the contrary cf. *Schrader*, Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung (Giessen, 1878), p. 62 sq.—Least of all may we conclude from the above facts that the Aramaic idiom naturalized in Palestine in the last centuries B. C. could only have been imported from Babylonia; cf. concerning that below § 6, 2.

[2] In this statement, we designedly leave out of consideration the Book of Job, as linguistically peculiar; besides unquestionable Aramaisms (such as the frequent מִלִּין and כְּלִים instead of the Hebrew דְּבָרִים) the book contains no less frequent points of contact with the Arabic store of words.

Digitized by Google

VII., in Aramaic, satisfactorily show that, at that time, both writers and readers must have been equally familiar with both dialects.

The above conclusion would still remain valid, if we had presupposed, with *Strack* (Einleitung ins A. T., p. 165), that, at least after Alexander the Great, there was an Aramaic book of the narratives of Daniel, which, at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was interwoven with the recently written book of visions. Similarly affirms *v. Orelli*, die Alttest. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches (Wien, 1882), p. 515, sq. On the contrary, *Merx* ("Cur in libro Danielis juxta Hebræam Aramæa adhibita sit dialectus?" Hal., 1865) explains the occurrence of two languages in the book on the assumption that the Aramaic text was for the people, and the Hebrew for the learned men. In that case, however, the same would have to be affirmed of Ezra, which, in regard to the Hebrew chapters in that book, is impossible.—We here mention, further, the ingenious fancy which the so-called Græcus Venetus (ed. by *O. Gebhardt*, Lpz., 1875) realized in his translation of Daniel, by rendering the Hebrew parts into Attic, and the Aramaic into the Doric dialect.

§ 4. HEBREW SUPPLANTED, AS A LANGUAGE OF INTERCOURSE, BY ARAMAIC.

The actual dispossession of Hebrew, as the language of conversation, by Aramaic, must be dated from the end of the third century B. C.; previous to that an influence had been exerted, through the government of the Ptolemies and of the first Seleucidæ, in favor of Greek rather than Aramaic. For a time, two languages may have had sway, even in ordinary intercourse, as they do to-day upon the border of territories where different languages are spoken, until finally Hebrew was preserved only as the language of the schools, and, at last—perhaps after the last pre-Christian century—only as the language of worship. As late as the first century A. D., however, Hebrew as such was understood, even by the people, at least in Palestine. This can be proved by such passages as Luke IV., 17 sq.

That acquaintance with Aramaic on the part of the post-exilic colony at Jerusalem must take place, as it were, of itself is shown by a glance at the configuration of its territory. On the North, a population speaking Aramaic extended tolerably near to the gates of Jerusalem; in some places, the new Jewish settlers were evidently entirely surrounded by neighbors speaking Aramaic. Add to this the fact that, for the satisfaction of most their wants, the Jews were dependent upon foreign traders, with whom business could be transacted hardly otherwise than in the common language of the rest of Palestine; cf. Neh. XIII., 16, 20, according to which even Tyrians were then settled in Jerusalem, and other traders from abroad were accustomed to come to the city. That a common familiarity on the part of all the inhabitants of a district where two languages are spoken (even though they be quite different from each other) is possible, may be observed to-day in certain regions of Switzerland, Belgium (especially in Brussels) and elsewhere.

That Hebrew was understood for a long time after the decided victory of the Aramaic as the language of conversation, was due, on the one hand, to the zeal of the learned men and, on the other, to the significance of Hebrew as the sacred language of the entire people. The first is attested by the fact that much which is undeniably old in the language has been handed over to the post-biblical Hebrew. The exclusive use of Hebrew in the reading of the Old Testament is attested by the uniform Jewish tradition that, in the public use of Scripture, the most that was allowed, for a long time, was the oral interpretation of the same into Aramaic. From the latter fact, it might be explained how the hearers gradually became familiar with the Aramaic form of certain parts of the divine Word, as appears to follow from Matt. XXVII., 46 and Mark XV., 34 (cf. also *Reuss* Gesch. der hl. Schriften des A. T., p. 723); but the demonstrative force of such passages as Luke IV., 17 sq., where there is not the least intimation of an interpretation after

Digitized by Google

the reading is not thereby annulled.[1] It is true that in the Mishna, the habitual interpretation of what is read appears presupposed, when, in Megilla IV., 4 the reader of the Law is directed to read no more than one verse to the translator, while three are permitted in the prophetical reading (cf. also IV., 6 regarding the reading and interpretation of the Law by minors, and IV., 10 concerning the parts which may be read indeed, but not translated). But it is another question whether this mode of procedure had arisen at the time of Jesus. We might decide certainly, only if we were accurately informed as to the nature of the "verses" (פְּסוּקִים) here intended and the date of their introduction. Just as little may we conclude with *Zunz* (gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden, p. 61 sq.) from the existence of a written Targum of Job about the middle of the first century and still older Targums of Esther and the Psalms, all of which are affirmed in the Talmud, that there was already a Targum of the Law on record. Cf. on this subject *Bleek-Wellh.* Einleitung ins A. Test., p. 606 and the citation there from the Jerusalem Talmud, in which it is forbidden to read the interpretation from a book. Concerning the (infrequent) prayers in the Aramaic language, as e. g. the so-called Qaddîš, originally "Concluding prayer after haggadic discourses in houses of mourning," cf. *Delitzsch*, Gesch. der jüd. Poesie, p. 136, Note.

§ 5. THE REMAINS OF THE WEST-ARAMAIC DIALECT.

Whether a pagan and profane literature ever existed in the West-Aramaic (or indeed in any Aramaic) language,[2] must remain undecided. The remains of West-Aramaic yet existing belong chiefly to the domain of Jewish (including Samaritan) religious writings. Here belong:

1. The Aramaic portions of the Old Testament (cf. above § 1 and below § 7).

Whether any one of the so-called Apocryphal books of the Old Testament was composed originally in West-Aramaic, it is entirely impossible to show. Jerome

---

[1] Compare the very noteworthy treatment of this question by *Franz Delitzsch* in "The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society" (Leipzig, 1883), extracts from which (in Translation [German T.]) might be of interest in regard to other questions. It is said there on pp. 30, 31: "A friend of mine does not cease to entreat me to translate the New Testament into the Aramaic idiom which was spoken in Palestine in the days of Christ and his apostles; that is, into the language of the Palestinian Talmud and the Palestinian Targums. But his desire rests on an illusion. The Hebrew remained even after the Exile the language of Jewish literature. The Ecclesiasticus of Jesus Sirach was written in Hebrew, as its fragments in the Talmud show. The original of the first book of Maccabees and of the so-called Psalter of Solomon was Hebrew. The inscriptions on coins, the epitaphs, the liturgic prayers were Hebrew. The form of the laws was Hebrew, as appears from their codification in the Mishna, also the book, in which, as Papias says, Matthew had collected the sermons of the Lord, was written ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ. It is true, that in that time ἑβραϊστί and χαλδαϊστί [? cf. concerning this below § 6, 1, Rem.] were not accurately distinguished. Nevertheless it is quite unlikely that Matthew wrote in Aramaic; for the Aramaic dialect of Palestine—which in the Talmud is called סורית....—was the language of daily life, the vulgar language, in which the people and also the learned were wont to converse and to hold controversies, but ἡ ἑβραὶς διάλεκτος, in which St. Paul was accosted by the exalted Savior, Acts xxvi., 14, and in which he himself addressed the people of Jerusalem, Acts xxi., 40; xxii., 2, [cf. below § 6, 3] was the holy language, the language of the temple worship, of synagogical and domestic prayer; of all formulas of benediction, of the traditional law; further, the parables, the animal fables, the lamentations for the dead in the Talmuds and Midrashim are mostly Hebrew; the holy language continued to be the language of the higher form of speech, even the popular proverbs were only partly Aramaic. Josephus stating in the preface of his work on the Jewish war, that his narrative was originally drawn up for his compatriots of inner Asia in the common mother-tongue, certainly means the Hebrew, not the Aramaic language. Knowledge of Hebrew was then, as now, universal among the educated of the nation. Aramaic, on the contrary, was understood only by a small portion of the Diaspora [Dispersion T.].... Therefore it would be a useless attempt to translate the New Testament into the Palestinian Sursi. The Shemitic woof of the New Testament Hellenism is Hebrew, not Aramaic. Our Lord and his apostles thought and spoke [?] for the most part in Hebrew."

[2] Renan (Histoire generale, p. 259) regards this as at least probable.

Digitized by Google

(see the proof passages in *E. Schuerer's* article, "Apokryphen des A. Test." in *Herzog's* protest. Real-Encykl. I², p. 491 sq.) names the books of Tobit and Judith as composed Chaldaico sermone (i. e. West Aramaic) and translated them from this idiom into Latin, but that by no means shuts out the conclusion (which in the case of Judith is almost indubitable, cf. *Schuerer* p. 505 and in other places), that the actual original of both texts was Hebrew, the Aramaic text consequently itself a translation. (For the more recent discussions of this controversy, occasioned by *Ad. Neubauer's* issue of an Aramaic text of the book of Tobit from a Bodleian MS., Oxford 1878, see in my report of O. T. studies of 1878 in the "Wissenschaftlichen Jahresbericht der deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellsch." [Leipzig 1881], p. 23; *Graetz* declares himself in favor of a modern Hebrew original of Tobit. See his essays on "The Book of Tobit" etc. in "Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenth." 1879, p. 145 sq.). Likewise the Aramaic proverbs of Sirach, which have been handed down to us, partly in Talmudic citations and partly as a compilation by themselves (as the so-called "small Sirach" or "Alphabet of the son of Sirach" in connection with an alphabet of the Hebrew proverbs of Sirach) prove nothing against a Hebrew original of the Greek book of Sirach. These proverbs are, rather, in part translations of Hebrew matter, in part independent additions of a later compiler; cf. *Delitzsch*, zur Gesch. der jüd. Poesie (Leipzig 1836, p. 20 sq.), *L. Dukes*, Rabbinische Blumenlese (Leipzig, 1844), p. 31 sq., and especially p. 67 sq. (where may be found more details concerning the literature of these proverbs); according to the text of *Paul Fagius* (Isny, 1542) *Dukes* gives here twenty-three Aramaic proverbs of Sirach (besides forty-two Hebrew ones).

2. Detached Words and Clauses in the New Testament and in the writings of Josephus.

The samples of the language of intercourse in Palestine at the time of Jesus and the apostles, which appear occasionally in the N. T., would of themselves be sufficient to contradict any fables which have arisen concerning the idiom spoken by them. Cf. with regard to this *Reiske*, de lingua vernacula Jesu Christi, Jen. 1670, and particularly *de Rossi*, dissertazioni della lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da tempi Maccabei in disamina del sentimento di un recente scrittore Italiano, Parma, 1772.'4. By the latter is meant the Neapolitan *Domin. Diodati* and his book de Christo Graece loquente (Neap. 1767). Further: *H. F. Pfannkuche* "Ueber die palästinische Landessprache in dem Zeitalter Christi und der Apostel, ein Versuch, zum Theil nach *de Rossi* entworfen" in *Eichhorn's* Allgem. Bibliothek der bibl. Litter. Vol. VIII. (1798) 3, p. 365 sq. *H. E. G. Paulus*, verosimilia de Judaeis Palaestinensibus, Jesu etiam atque apostolis, non aramaica dialecto sola, sed graeca quoque aramaisante locutis. Jena 1803. *Winer*, Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms § 3 (Hebrew-Aramaic coloring of the N. T. diction; with many references to the older literature). *Franz Delitzsch* "Ueber die palästinische Volkssprache, welche Jesus und seine Jünger geredet haben" in the year 1874, No. 27 of the "Daheim" (also in the Zeitschrift "Saat auf Hoffnung" 1874, p. 195 sq.); *the same*, "Traces of the vernacular tongue in the gospels" in the "Hebrew Student" (Chicago), Nov., 1882, p. 81 sq.; Dec., p. 104 sq.; Sept., 1883, p. 1, sq. Concerning the bad pronunciation of the Galileans indicated in Matt. XXVI., 73, Mark XIV., 70 (Acts II., 7), which appeared especially in the complete ignoring of gutturals, cf. the Talmudic proofs in *Wetstein*, Nov. Test., on Matt. XXVI., 73; *Meuschen*, Nov. Test. ex Talmude etc. illustratum (Lipz. 1736) p. 119. The reproach was raised in particular with reference to the Galilean pronunciation of Hebrew.

Below we give an alphabetical list[1] of the samples of Palestinian Aramaic found in the N. T. with the addition of the most important witnesses, namely, the Codex Sinaiticus [S], Alexandrinus [A], Vaticanus [B], Ephraeme Syri [C], Cantabrig. [D]; WH signifies the readings which are adopted in the critical edition of *Westcott* and *Hort* (London 1881), Tisch. the readings of the editio octava critica major of *Tischendorf*.

[1] This list, sifted critically, seemed so much the more necessary, as, up to to-day, not only in the New Testament commentaries, but also in the excellent Clavis novi test. of *W. Grimm*, many errors and inaccuracies in reference to these words have been dragged along.

Digitized by Google

A. Single Appellatives and Proper Names.

Ἀββᾶ (Tisch., on the contrary WH ἀββά; the same fluctuation regarding the accentuation of final *a* of the so-called Emphatic state is seen elswhere—cf. below γαββαθᾶ, γολγοθᾶ, μαμωνᾶ—although properly speaking, only the circumflex is justifiable[2] = אַבָּא ὁ πατήρ, Mark XIV., 36 and elsewhere.

Ἀκελδαμάχ (so WH with B; on the contrary Tisch. ἀχελδαμάχ with S A. In favor of ακ, against αχ however is also ακελδαιμαχ of codex D and ακελδαμα of codex E, i. e. Laudianus Oxoniensis; cf. the same difference, in the transcription of ק, below in σαβαχθανεί = שְׁבַקְתַּנִי and in ῥακα) = חַקַל דְּמָא χωρίον αἵματος Acts I., 19.—ακελ (for ακαλ) is probably due simply to the influence of λ upon the preceding vowel, δαμα for δεμα to the inclination elsewhere shown to conform the sound of the Sh'wâ mobile to that of the following vowel; cf. *Gesenius-Kautzsch*, hebr. Gramm. § 10, 1, 2), Rem. and the literature in Note 3).—Δαμάχ instead of δαμά (so cod. E) reminds us of Σειράχ = סִירָא. If the Greeks here actually heard such a sharp sound, why not in similar cases? or must we conclude that there was a misunderstanding of the writing דמה, סירה, if not even that דמח occurred as an error of the copyist? Concerning the addition of κ (e. g. Σαραδακ, Num. XXXIV., 8 = עֲרָדָה), elsewhere of δ, θ, μ, ν, σ to final vowels in the Septuagint cf. *Frankel*, Vorstudien zu den LXX. (Leipzig 1841), p. 97 sq.

Βαραββᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος, Βαριησοῦς, Βαριωνᾶ, Βαρνάβας, Βαρσαββᾶς, Βαρτιμαῖος, all proper names compounded with בַּר *son*.

Βεεζεβούλ (so WH Matt. X., 25; XII., 24; Mark III., 22; Luke XI., 15, 18 sq. with S B while A C D [also S in Mark III., 22] present Βεελζεβούλ, the reading adopted by Tisch.; the suppression of the λ in the popular pronunciation, however, would be scarcely striking) = בְּעַל זְבוּל (not בַּעַל as even Grimm has it). Now זְבוּל is certainly not equal to the modern Hebrew זֶבֶל *dung*, but only the signification *dwelling* can be supported. In spite of this, the meaning of Βεελζ. as "*Master of the dwelling*, or *of the kingdom*" (so e. g. *Meyer* on Matt. X. 25, who finds a confirmation of this empty appellation in the preceding οἰκοδεσπότης) is to be rejected. Zebûl is rather a modification of zebûb (cf. בַּעַל זְבוּב 2 Kgs. I., 2 and elsewhere), although in this modification may have co-operated not merely convenience of pronunciation (so *Baudissin*, art. "Beelzebub" in Herzog's PRE[1]), but also the thought of זֶבֶל *dung*, זְבוּל *dunging* (and also the *offering of idolatrous sacrifices!*).

Βηθεσδά (more correctly, according to what was remarked under ἀββᾶ—δᾶ) = בֵּית חִסְדָּא, *House of Grace*, is the reading of A C in John V., 2; for חִסְדָּא (instead of the elsewhere usual חַסְדָּא) one need not appeal to the Syriac chesdā: reference to the Biblical-Aramaic חֶלְמָא *dream* is sufficient. On the contrary Tisch. and WH according to cod. Sin. have adopted βηθζαθά (WH place βηθσαιδα in the margin, as the reading of B). In the appendix p. 76, WH express the opinion that both readings (of S and B) are perhaps only bad

[1] Cf. *de Lagarde*, gesammelte Abhandlungen (Leipzig, 1866), p. 39, Note: "I always change the accents of foreign words according to my judgment; in 1 Cor., XVI., 22, one must write μαρὰν ἀθᾶ, or renounce the reputation of being an intelligent man." This accentuation for אַבָּא, and similar words restored without doubt the actual tone as it existed in the living language, but it is to be remembered, on the other hand, that, when the penult is closed (not merely sharpened) the accent is carried over as paroxytone, cf. πάσχα, Μάρθα; properly speaking σίκερα also is clearly for σίκρα (שִׁכְרָא). Do these examples rest upon an accommodation to the Greeks and Romans, or may we derive from them a law (the accentuation of a closed penult before an open ultima), which afterwards had been entirely ignored by Jewish tradition? It is to be remarked, moreover, that, contrary to the above, in Jos. Antiq., 3, 7, 1 χαναίας (כְּנַנְיָא) and 3, 10, 16 ἀσαρθά (עֲצַרְתָּא), appear to be transferred.

Digitized by Google

modifications of the same name, whose correct form is probably *βηθζαιθά* [בֵּית זֵיתָא *House of Olives*]; nevertheless *βηθσαιδά* equalling בֵּית צַיְדָא (cf. the local name in John I., 45) *place of fishery* is not impossible.

Βοανηργές (so Tisch. and WH with S A B C) is explained in Mark III., 17 by *υἱοὶ βροντῆς*. The word offers, however, manifold difficulty. That *βοανη* is impure pronunciation for בְּנֵי, which the uncultivated Galileans spoke for בְּנֵי (so e. g. *Bretschneider* in his Lexicon novi testamenti), is a monstrous assumption; not much better is the assertion, which *Lightfoot*, appealing to *Broughton*, has made current (Horae hebr. on Mark III., 17), that the Jews had always pronounced sh'wâ as *oa*, e. g. *noabhyim* for נְבִיאִים and that hence *Strabo* writes Μοασαδα for Masada [מְצָדָא ?]. As little does רְגֵשׁ mean *thunder*, but *a noisy crowd of people* and the Aram. רְגוֹשׁ and רַגְוֹשׁ is *rustling*, *noise*, not *thunder*. *Jerome* is right in demanding for the meaning "son of thunder" *Benereem* (בְּנֵי רֵעֵם, commonly, to be sure, רַעַם). It is another question, however, whether *Jerome* (on Dan. I., 8) on this account has a right to affirm: "Non ut plerique putant Boanerges, sed emendatius legitur Benereem," especially as he himself on Matt. X., 4 explains the name boanerges "ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei."[1] It appears to me in every way most probable that רְגַז (רְגִיז) *anger*, *angry impetuosity*, rather than רְגֵשׁ, is contained in the word, and it is conceivable that this might be expressed by *υἱοὶ βροντῆς*. Or are we to assume with *Delitzsch* (Saat auf Hoffnung 1874, p. 208) a peculiar provincialism?

Γαββαθᾶ (Tisch.; WH *γαββαθά*, cf. above on *ἀββᾶ*) John XIX., 13 = גַּבְּתָא (emph. state of גַּבָּא *hill*, which is fem. of גַּב). Concerning the transcription of sh'wâ by *α* cf. above *ἀκελδαμάχ*.

Γολγοθᾶ (so Tisch.; WH *γολγοθά*) with S A B D in Matt. XXVII., 33; for the elision of the *λ* cf. above under *βεελζεβούλ*; according to *Levy*, neuhebr. und chald. Wörterbuch, the pronunciation גַּלְגַּלְתָּא as emph. state of גַּלְגַּלְתָּא had been usual. In the Syriac gāgultā, the first *l* is elided and compensated by lengthening the vowel.

Ἐφφαθά (WH and Tisch.) Mark VII., 34 with the best witnesses (S[3] D *ἐφφεθα*, which would point to אֶתְפַּתַּח) = אִתְפַּתַּח *open thyself!* It is true that the Pattaḥ under פ could be for the purpose of conforming sh'wâ to the full vowel (see above on *ακελδαμαχ*) and the form consequently could be Ethp'el; but in favor of Ethpa'al is the fact, that this form anyway is in use as passive to פְּתַח, and not less, that the Targum on Is. XLII., 7 expresses the opening of the eyes by Pa'il. With regard to *θ* for ת (with Dag.) cf. *γολγοθα*. Since moreover this Imperative, properly speaking, can refer only to the eyes, we must ask whether originally אִתְפַּתְּחוּ (with a suppression of the unaccented final vowel in Syr. fashion; cf. below *κουμ* in Mark V., 41) was not intended.

Κῆφας John I., 43 and elsewhere כֵּיפָא, emph. state of כֵּיף *rock*.

Λεγιών Mark V., 9 with S B C D, the Latin *legio*, but probably first by accommodation of the Aramaic לְגִיוֹן.

Μαμωνᾶ (so Tisch.; WH *μαμωνά*, see above on *ἀββᾶ*) = מָמוֹנָא emph. state of מָמוֹן. The etymology is uncertain; for the writing מַאמוֹנָא (so Grimm) rests upon the very doubtful derivation from אמן (= object of confidence). The root מון, assumed by *Levy*, (= מני, מנה *to allot*) does not exist.

[1] Did *Jerome* have *ἐνεργής* in mind? We can suppose a great deal in his case!

Digitized by Google

De Lagarde, Gött. gel. Anz., 1884, p. 278, refers μαμωνας to מעמון, whose stem עמן corresponds to the Arabic ضمن; מעמון weakens to מאמון, which is authenticated in one instance, became ממון or ממון, in a way similar to the change of יאמר finally to יאמר.

Μάρθα (cf. for the accentuation the Note under ἀββᾶ) Luke X., 38 and elsewhere = מָרְתָא *the mistress*, emph. state from מָרְא, the fem. of מָר *lord*.

Μεσσιὰς John I., 42 and elsewhere = מְשִׁיחָא emph. state from מְשִׁיחַ *anointed* (Hebr. מָשִׁיחַ); for the transcription, *Nöldeke* reminds us of Ιεσσαί for יִשַׁי.

Πάσχα (cf. for the accentuation the Note under ἀββᾶ) Matt. XXVI., 2, elsewhere = פַּסְחָא emph. state of פַּסַח, which would correspond to the Hebrew פֶּסַח; Jewish tradition, on the contrary, demands פִּסְחָא to which the Syr. peschā also corresponds.

Ῥαββουνί (so Tisch. Mark X., 51 and John XX., 16 with S A C; on the contrary WH ῥαββουνεί with B; far more badly attested is the reading ῥαββονί, although in John XX., 16, D also presents ῥαββωνεί) *my Lord*. The vocalization is surprising, for all other tradition knows only the forms רַבָּן and רִבּוֹן. Is ῥαββουνί also a Galilean provincialism?

Ῥακά (so WH Matt. v. 22 with S² B, on the contrary Tisch. ῥαχά with S¹ D; cf. for this vacillation in the transcription of ך what was said above on ακελδαμαχ. according to what was remarked on ἀββᾶ, the word must be accented ῥακᾶ); The word is not emph. state from רִיק, but abbreviation from רֵיקָן *empty*, as יוֹחָנָא (proper name) from יוֹחָנָן. The vocalization is again surprising.

Σατανᾶς Matt. IV., 10 and elsewhere, emph. state of סָטָן; the form σατᾶν adopted by *Grimm*, with the Textus Receptus, 2 Cor. XII., 7, is only attested by S³ A² D² and ³.

Σίκερα (cf. for the tone under ἀββᾶ) Luke I., 15 = שִׁכְרָא, emph. state of a presupposed שִׁכָר (not however directly for the Hebrew שֵׁכָר as *Grimm* states).

Ταβειθά (more correct would be again —θᾶ) so WH Acts IX., 36 with B C, on the contrary Tisch. Ταβιθά with S A (cf. concerning the vacillation between ι and ει above in ῥαββουνι) = טַבְיְתָא emph. state of טַבְיָא δορκάς (cf. Hebrew צְבִי). That instead of ṭabhy°tha people spoke ṭabhitha with a resolution of the consonant Yodh, or to the Greek ear appeared so to speak, is not improbable; on the contrary, the form טַבִיתָא, with which *Grimm* identifies ταβιθά, is rather Syriac (cf. below at ταλιθα).[1]

I am reminded by *Siegfried's* Miscellanea II., 10 (in *Hilgenfeld's* Ztschr. f. wissensch. Theol. XXVII., 3, p. 358 sq.) that, after ταβειθα, ὡσαννα (in Matt. XXI., 9 and other passages) should have been established. Cf. *Siegfried* in the passage cited: "In the New Test. Commentaries, as far as we have observed, Ὡσαννά is reduced to the הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא of Ps. CXVIII., 25 (cf. also Grimm, Lex. N. T. 1879, p. 473ᵃ). No doubt this was the passage intended, but the form ὡσαννά can not be identified with נָא "ה. As follows from Elias Levita's exposition in his Sefer Tisbi, the word is the Greek rendering of an abbreviated pronunciation of that petition, הוֹשַׁע־נָא, with which may be compared ܗܘܫܥ ܢܐ in Payne Smith, Thes. Syr. T. I., 1879, p. 1639." In a Note *Siegfried* says: "Since writing the above, my attention having been called to *Hilgenfeld*, Nov. test. extra canon. receptum, fasc. IV., p. 26, I see that others also have taken exception to the derivation of ὡσαννά from the form in Biblical Hebrew, and that *Anger* with *Hilgenfeld's* approval has referred to the Aramaic

[1] Levy in the neuheb. W B writes טְבִיתָא and explains this from the Arabic *Sabbîjjat* maid, girl (!), citing in addition to his own opinion *Fleischer*, who set the matter right already in a remark to *Levy's* Chald. WB ueber die Targumim (I., 426), with the formula "according to F. &c."!

Digitized by Google

אוֹשַׁעְנָא. There appears to be no doubt, therefore, as to the correctness of such an explanation." Cf. with this also *Hilgenfeld* (Evangeliorum secundum Hebraeos, etc. quae supersunt, Lips. 1884, p. 25), who gives the meaning *serva nos*, and appeals to *A. Merx* for the same.

As a characteristic of the popular language of that time, we may mention the striking abbreviations of many names, such as *Jose* for Joseph, *Lazaros* (לַעְזָר) for אֶלְעָזָר, מַתַּי (from which Matthaios, Matthäus) for מַתִּתְיָה, *Salome* for שְׁלֹמִית and others; cf. *Delitzsch*, in the place mentioned, p. 206 sq.

B. Aramaic Sentences.

In Matt. XXVII., 46, Jesus cites from Psalm XXII., 2, according to WH, Ἐλωί, ἐλωί (so S, B on the contrary ἐλωει, Λ ηλι, D ηλει, hence Tisch. ἡλεί) λεμὰ (S B; more correct would be, moreover, again λεμᾶ) σαβαχθανεί (S A; B has σαβακτανει, cf. above on ακελδ. and ῥακα); the same in Tisch. leaving ἡλεί out of account. This would be accordingly אֱלָהִי א' לְמָא שְׁבַקְתַּנִי, in which of course the Hebrew, אֱלָהִי (instead of the Aramaic, אֱלָהִי) before the Aramaic, ל' ש is very striking, since elsewhere, the pronunciation of ā like ō can not be established; on σαβ, for שְׁבַ cf. above under ακελδαμαχ. Of the oldest Uncials, only D gives the citation in Hebrew: ηλει, ηλει, λαμα ζαφθανει (= עֲזַבְתַּנִי). This reading is adopted by WH in the margin and, in the Appendix p. 21, is designated as "Western" (Gr. Lat.); probably it is an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew as distinguished from the Aramaic forms. In the parallel passage

Mark XV., 34, S A B C give ελωι (hence WH ἐλωί, Tisch. ἐλωί), next S C λεμὰ (so also Tisch., on the contrary WH with B D give λαμὰ, although this in Aramaic would be לָמָא *nothing*); finally, σαβαχθανεί (so WH and Tisch.) with S³ C; S¹ σαβακτανει, as in Matthew, on the contrary D again ζαφθανει, which also has got into the twisted reading of B (ζαβαφθανει).

According to this condition of things, the oldest tradition appears to be that the verse was cited by Jesus in Aramaic, and indeed with אֱלָהִי at the beginning; for ελωι, testifies moreover the circumstance that it agrees far less with the play upon Elias which was united with it than ηλι or ηλει. *De Lagarde* GGA, 1882, p. 329, finds in all this a proof of early and systematic corrections in the N. T. text.

Mark V., 41: ταλιθὰ (more correct would be once more —θᾶ, as well as κοῦμ afterwards) Tisch. with S A C (WH ταλειθά with B) κούμ (so WH and Tisch. with S B C; on the contrary A D κουμι). Ταλιθά is nevertheless again (cf. above in ταβιθα) not equal to טְלִיתָא (so *Grimm*), which would be Syriac, still less to טָלִיתָא (*Meyer*), but, properly speaking, to טְלִיתָא, fem. of טָלְיָא *juvenis*. The best attested reading κούμ points to the suppression of the toneless final vowel in pronuciation, as in Syriac.

1 Cor. XVI., 22: μαρὰν ἀθά (better ἀθᾶ, cf. above on ἀββᾶ) WH and Tisch. according to all old witnesses: *our Lord is coming*, (or *has come*, see Appendix. T.) i. e. not מָרַנָא אֲתָה (*Grimm*), with the confluence of the *a* of both words when these words were combined (μαρανα θα), but probably מָרַן אָ, as the form also sounds in Syriac; it is not in consistent with that, that in fact מרנא was written (cf. Bib. Aram. נָא; perhaps more correctly נָא), the toneless final vowel being suppressed in pronunciation.

Concerning the traces of the West-Aramaic dialect in Josephus, cf. *B. de Rossi* in the work already mentioned p. 55 sq.; *Pfannkuche* p. 459 sq. (both needing sifting); *Bleek*, Einl. ins A. Test., 3. ed., p. 54 sq. Concerning the influence which West-Aramaic exercised upon Josephus in his use of the Old Testament, an essay in *Joh. David Michaelis'* oriental. und exeget. Bibliothek V. (1773), p. 221 sq. contains something.

Digitized by Google

3. The so-called Targums or Translations of the Old Testament. The most important are: The Targum on the Pentateuch ascribed to *Onkelos* and the Targum to the prophets named after *Jonathan ben Uzziel*. There exist still, in addition to these, two Targums to the Pentateuch, called Jerusalem I., or Targum of Pseudo-*Jonathan* and Jerusalem II.; the latter is preserved only in fragments, or originally, was only a collection of Glosses belonging to an older Targum, a remodeled form of which lies before us in *Pseudo-Jonathan* (so *Geiger*, Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel, Breslau, 1857, p. 455). On the Hagiographa also (except Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel) there are Targums by different, some of them by very late, hands. The foundation may have been laid for the older Targums (*Onkelos*, *Jonathan*) as early as in the first century B. C., since, at the reading of the Scriptures in the Synagogues, single words and expressions which were no longer understood (see above, § 4) were to be orally interpreted by so-called תַּרְגְּמָנִים, or Translators. Nevertheless, the process of fixing these interpretations in writing, and the gradual extension of them unto whole books continued for centuries, and was first brought to a comparative conclusion in the Babylonian Schools of the fourth century A. D. On the other hand, the final compilation of Pseudo-Jonathan was not earlier than the seventh century, and other Targums were still later. Even to-day we are far from having a critically-sifted consonant-text of the Targums, to say nothing of a unified and in a measure plausible vocalization.

Concerning the Targums generally, cf. the introductions to the O. T., especially *Bleek-Wellhausen*, p. 287 sq., and *Strack*, in *Zöckler's* Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften I., 172 sq. (with abundant and careful references to the literature); further *Volck*, Art. "Thargumim" in *Herzog's* PRE,[1] 1862, Vol. XV.; *Th. Nöldeke*, die alttestam. Literatur (Leipzig, 1868), p. 255 sq.; *Schuerer*, neutestam. Zeitgeschichte (Leipzig, 1874), p. 475 sq., likewise with abundant specifications of the literature; *Weber*, System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie (Leipzig, 1880), p. xi.–xix. A survey of the editions of the Targums is given by *Petermann*, porta chaldaica, ed. II. (Berlin, 1872), p. 82 sq. Noteworthy "Bemerkungen über die Vocalization der Targume" are given by Merx in the Abhandlungen des Berliner Orientalistencongresses, I., 142 sq.

4. Single sentences of the Mishna, the Gemaras of the so-called Jerusalem Talmud and detached traces in the Babylonian Talmud and the Midraschim.

For finding one's way in regard to the Mishna and the Talmuds in general, we refer here only to the excellent survey in *Schuerer's* Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte, p. 37 sq. In the Bab. Talmud, the Tractat *Nedarim* approaches the West-Aramaic idiom, and, in certain peculiarities, the Tractat *Nazir* also; cf. *Luzzatto*, Gramm. der bibl.-chald. Sprache und des Idioms des Thalmud Babyli (German by Krüger, Bresl., 1873), p. 54. There belongs here, from the Midrash-literature, the *Megillath Ta'anith*, or book of fasts cited already in the Mishna: cf. *Schuerer*, p. 54; *Strack*, art. "Midrasch" in Herzog's PRE[2], Vol. IX., 759; *Braun*, "Entstehung und Werth der Meg. Taanit" " in the Monatsschr. f. Gesch. und Wissenschaft des Judenth., 1876, p. 375 sq., 410 sq., 445 sq.

5. The Samaritan Targum to the Pentateuch. This was probably composed in the first century A. D., though the final compilation, as far as we can speak of such a thing, may have been delayed until the fifth or sixth century. Besides this, there have been preserved only scanty remains of the Samaritan-Aramaic, in liturgies and songs.

This Aramaic *Translation* of the Pentateuch must not be confounded with the Samaritan Recension of the *Hebrew* Pentateuch. For the literature on the Samaritan Targum and the linguistic character of the same, cf. *Kautzsch*, art.

Digitized by Google

"Samaritaner" in Herzog's PRE,[2] Vol. XIII. (1884), especially p. 349 sq. In this place, also, it may be permitted to remind the reader emphatically, that every judgment of the Samaritan-Aramaic dialect based upon the editions of the Targum which have hitherto appeared, must fall necessarily into the gravest errors. This is true, alas, of the expensive Pentateuchus Samaritanus of *H. Petermann* (Fasc. I. Genesis, Berol. 1872; II. Exodus, 1882; III. Leviticus, 1883, the last edited by *C. Vollers*), after that, *Kohn* ("Zur Sprache, Litteratur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner," p. 103 sq. and 206 sq.) had proved conclusively that the usual assumption of peculiar (so-called Caucasian) roots and words in Samaritan-Aramaic, rests solely upon such a corruption of the MSS. of the Targum, as is incredible; according to *Kohn*, we possess, of the original Targum, perhaps only a few fragments (a relatively pure text is given only in the Petersburg fragments edited by Kohn, p. 215 sq., in the fragments of a Samaritan Targum, which *Nutt*, London, 1874, issued from a codex of the Bodleian Library and one of the Cambridge City Library, and, finally, in the "Pessach-Haggadah" edited by Kohn, on p. 1 sq., from a codex belonging to *Franz Delitzsch*). The original Samaritan—leaving out of account, perhaps, a somewhat large admixture of Hebraisms, as well as of Greek and Latin words—is as good as identical with the Palestine-Aramaic otherwise known to us.

6. The Written Remains of Aramaic on Stone and Papyrus, which originated (at least in the majority of cases) with Jews in Egypt.

Cf. *Gesenius*, scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ monumenta, I. 226 sq.; III. tab. 4 (Alphabet) and tab. 29–33. Concerning the written characters cf. *Euting*, in the large table of characters in *Chwolson's* Corpus inscriptionum Hebraicarum (Petersb., 1882), col. 10–16, according to inscriptions dating from 482 to about 100 B. C.—The most important monuments of this kind were lately published by the Palæographical Society, Oriental Series, and they are; Part II. Table XXV. and XXVI., Papyrus CVI. of the British Museum (from the collection belonging formerly to the Duke of *Blacas*), with a description by *Wright* and *Nöldeke*, and the literature down to 1877. According to these men, this document dates from the last part of the Ptolemaic, or the earlier Roman period, composed either by a pagan Aramæan, or (more probably) by an Egyptian Jew, as a sort of Haggada to Exod. I. The Aramaic is strongly alloyed with Phœnician and Hebrew.—Further, Part V., Table LXIII., the column found in 1877, at Sakkara, now in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which represents a libation before Osiris, and bears a parallel Egyptian-Aramaic inscription, dating from the fourth year of Xerxes (482 B. C.); cf. *Lepsius*, concerning eine ägyptisch-aram. Stele, Ztschr. für ägypt. Sprache und Alterthumskunde, XV. (1877), p. 127 sq.; *Lauth*, ägypt.-aram. Inschriften, Report of the Session of the Munich Academy, 1878, I., philosophical-histor., class II., p. 97 sq. and 148; *Prætorius*, ZDMG XXXV., 442 sq.—Table LXIV: the celebrated stone with a four-line inscription, which is now kept in the Museum at Carpentras, in Southern France, and represents, above the inscription, a female mummy, and over this an adoration before Osiris. According to *Lepsius* and others, the stone belongs to the time of the Ptolemies; according to *Clermont-Ganneau* (see below) these Egypt.-Aram. monuments belong to the time of the Persian dominion over Egypt, i. e., 527–405, or 340–332, when Aramaic was the official language in Egypt; and the person named Taba upon the stone was daughter of a Persian officer and native Aramæan who had married an Egyptian woman. [If so, it is true that Hebraisms such as אִישׁ and קָחַי await an explanation]. Discussion over the stone has lately become animated again, since *Schlottmann* (ZDMG XXXII., 187 sq. and 767 sq.; XXXIII., 252 sq.) supposed that metre and rhyme are to be found upon the same; cf. *Halevy*, ibid., XXXII., 206 sq.; *de Lagarde*, Nachrichten der Gött. gel. Ges., 1878, p. 357 sq. (also Symmicta, II., 56 sq. and 79 sq.) Of further documents, we mention the inscription upon a vase of the temple of Serapis, now in the Louvre (cf. *Levy*, ZDMG XI., 65 sq.; *Merx*, ibid., XXII., 693 sq.; *Prætorius*, ZDMG, XXXV., 442; *Clermont-Ganneau*, Rev. Crit., 1883, No. 21, p. 415 sq.); for the Egyptian-Aramaic inscriptions generally. cf. *Clermont-Ganneau*, origine perse des monuments araméens d'Egypte, Rev. archéolog., vol. 36, p. 93 sq. and 37, p. 21 sq. (also separately, Paris, 1880).

Digitized by Google

Of extra-Jewish origin are:

7. The Palmyrene Inscriptions found in the ruins of Tadmor (Palmyra) and for the most part bi-lingual (Aram.-Greek).

Facsimiles of these inscriptions were given first by *R. Wood*, The Ruins of Palmyra (London 1753; see the older literature in *de Wette-Schrader*, Einl. ins A. T., p. 79); in later times: *Levy* ZDMG XV., 615 sq. and XVIII., 65 sq., where nineteen inscriptions are given, dating from 396-578 of the Seleucidan era (85–267 A. D.); an addition thereto ibid. Vol. XIX., 314 and XXIII., 282 sq.; further in Count *de Vogue's* Syrie centrale (Paris 1868 sq.), as well as in extract 5 of the Journal asiat. 1883; more than all however by *Euting* in the Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum II., Table 17–28 (Inscriptions from 9 B. C. to 270 A. D.). *Blau* ZDMG XXVIII., 73 sq. (über ein palmyr. Relief mit Inschrift); *Mordtmann*, Neue Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyras in the Report of the Munich Academy 1875, Vol. II., Suppl.-Number III., 1–88; *Ed. Sachau*, palmyr. Inschriften, ZDMG XXXV., 728 sq., Remarks thereupon by *Nöldeke* XXXVI., 664 sq. For other matter see *Euting* in the report of the DMG for 1878, p. 63 and in *Baethgen's* Report for 1880, ibid. p. 154. Concerning the linguistic character of this inscription, cf. *Merx* ZDMG XXII., 674 sq. and especially *Nöldeke* ibid. XXIV., 85 sq.; *Sachau* ibid. XXXVII., 562 (without any notice of *Nöldeke's* previous work). In content, they are partly pagan dedicatory inscriptions, partly inscriptions in honor of deserving persons and partly epitaphs.

8. The Numerous Inscriptions and Coins of the Nabateans on the Sinai-Peninsula, in Idumea, the Hauran and elsewhere, from the last century B. C. and the first A. D.

Misled by the numerous Arabic names, which occur in these inscriptions, they were regarded by scholars, for a long time, as Arabic. So particularly *Tuch*, ZDMG II., 395 sq.; III., 129 sq. and so yet *Böttcher*, Ausführl. Lehrb. der heb. Sprache 1, p. 6, where these inscriptions are explained as North-Western Arabic (set right by *Muehlau* in the Supplement p. 644, where also is the older literature). A more correct judgment on this question was established by *Levy*, ZDMG XIV., 363 sq.; XVII., 82 sq.; XVIII., 630; XXII., 261 sq.; XXIII., 435 sq. and 652 sq.; XXV., 429 sq. and 508; XXVII., 133; further *Blau* ibid. XVI., 331 sq., *Meier* ibid. XVII., 575 sq.; and in particular *Nöldeke* ibid. XVII., 703 sq. and XIX., 637 sq., as well as *de Vogue* in the Revue archéol. 1864, p. 284 sq. (Inscriptions from the Hauran); *the same* in the Mélanges d'archéol. orient., p. 149 sq. and Appendice p. 21 sq. (Coins of the Nabatean kings from 95 B. C. to 104 A. D.; concerning two such from Petra, cf. also *de Saulcy* in the Mél. de Numism. 1878, 193 sq.) and in Syrie centrale (1868) p. 89 sq., finally *Euting* in the Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum II. (Paris 1883), tab. 29–35; and Table LXV., Part V. of the Oriental Series issued by the Palaeograph. Society.

9. More voluminous remnants of the West-Aramaic dialect and likewise of extra-Jewish origin lie before us in a translation of the Bible, preserved in a Vatican MS. of the Gospels, which was completed 1030 A. D., as well as in London and Petersburg MSS. (These last contain it in union with other fragments of religious matter).

The text of the Vatican MS., which embraces about two-thirds of the Gospels, was edited by *F. Miniscalchi Erizzo*, 2 tomi, Verona 1861 and '64. For the "Christian-Palestinian" dialect of this version, cf. *Nöldeke*, ZDMG XXII., 443 sq.; according to him, the translation originated between the third and the sixth centuries A. D. and probably upon Judaean soil (*Blau*, ibid. XXIII., 266 sq., seeks to refer the localities mentioned in the annotations of the Vat. Codex to the ancient Decapolis). Further fragments of this version (for the most part Palimpsests) are to be found in London and St. Petersburg; the latter were collected by *Tischendorf* upon his second and third journeys (59 and 70 leaves). All these fragments (except the Vat. Codex), with fragments of Biographies of Saints, Hymns etc., were edited by *Land* as "fragmenta syropalaestina" in Tom. IV. of his Anecdota syriaca (Lugd. Bat. 1875), including fragments from the Psalms (which are trans-

Digitized by Google

lations from the Septuagint, as the arithmetical figures [Bezifferung] show), from the London and Petersburg Gospels (of which the London exhibits, according to Land, a Melk—[a celebrated Benedictine Abbey founded in 1089. T.] Ritual older than the Roman Codex, while, in the Petersburg Bible, an older and quite peculiar and a younger Codex are to be distinguished), finally London fragments from Deuter., Isaiah, Proverbs, with Petersburg fragments from the Gospels, Deuter., Isaiah and Job. According to Land, the Roman Codex is later than almost all the other fragments. (The London ones are placed by *Wright* between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries.) At the time of its origin, accordingly, at the beginning of the eleventh century, Aramaic was no longer the language of intercourse in the circles concerned with it, as the Arabic inscriptions show. The writing, according to *Land*, is a variety of the capitals used for books at Edessa, which withal the Greek capitals have imitated in the rude and angular character of the letters.

10. Living remains of this dialect, once so widely diffused, are found at present only in Ma'lula and two neighboring villages upon the Eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon, of course in a bad state of decay and, as the entire population speaks Arabic as well, near its end.

This fact was made clear long ago by *Brown* and *Volney* (cf. *Renan*, histoire générale p. 268). Closer information with reference to the language itself was first given by the missionary *Jules Ferrette* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society XX., 431 sq.; *Nöldeke* discusses the same ("über den noch lebenden syrischen Dialekt im Antilibanon") ZDMG XXI., p. 183 sq.; cf. the remarks of *Merx* thereupon ibid. XXII., 271 sq. A farther list of words of the Ma'lula-dialect was published by *Cl. Huart*, who visited Ma'lula in the autumn of 1877, in the Journal asiatique, Ser. VII., Vol. XII., 478 sq. (Oct.–Dec. 1878; cf. the notice of *R. Duval* ibid. XIII., 465 sq. and L'universe Israélite, 1879, No. 16). Accurate and comprehensive disclosures are still to be expected from *Socin* and *Prym*, who passed several weeks in Ma'lula in the latter part of the summer of 1869, and carefully transcribed, from the mouth of a Christian woman[1] of the Greek confession, a series of narratives with Arabic translation. The following sample, for which I am indebted to Prof. *Socin*, may give an idea of the condition of this Aramaic: vōṭ áhād ishme froz lalō īle ḥōna, i. e לה (ת)אי(א) אישמה פרג לאלה(ה)ות אחד חונא(א) = there was a man whose name was Faragh 'allah, he has (had) a little brother etc.

§ 6. CONCERNING THE CORRECT NAME FOR THE ARAMAIC DIALECT FOUND IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. In the designation of the Aramaic dialects generally, and of the Biblical-Aramaic in particular, such confusion prevails even yet in many ways, that it is necessary to supplement what has been said with a confirmation of the terminology employed (§ 1). The view derived from Dan. II., 4, that the Aramaic dialect in Daniel and Ezra was the language of the Chaldean people, has, as its first consequence, the misconception that, not only this dialect, but also the nearest related dialect, that of the Targums, etc., were designated as "Chaldaic;" secondly, however, there flowed out of it the inverted distinction of this pretended Chaldaic, as the East-Aramaic, from Syriac, as "West-Aramaic," while the reverse is correct. The distinction proposed by Fürst[2] of the (so-called) Chaldaic and of the Syriac as "Jewish and Christian Aramaic," is

[1] One of these villages has gone over to Islam, but speaks its Aramaic dialect. Moreover, the tradition of the language is maintained chiefly by women; the language of the men is already greatly corrupted by the influence of the Arabic.

[2] Lehrgebaeude der Aram. Idiome, Chald. Gramm. (Leipzig, 1835) p. 5; there again, however, Fuerst distinguishes Jewish East-Aramaic (the language of the Bab. Talmud) as "Bab.-Aram.-Heb." from the "Palest.-Aram.-Hebrew," as well as from the Syriac.

Digitized by Google

not altogether suitable, according to what is laid down in § 5; for to the East-Aramaic dialects belongs, not only the dialect of Edessa used by the Christian Syrians, but also the language of the Babylonian Talmud; it follows no less from § 5, No. 7-10, that extra-Jewish monuments have been preserved, which belong to the West-Aramaic group. More suitable is the designation of the West-Aramaic as *Palestinian Aramaic*,[1] inasmuch as the remnants of this dialect yet existing arose for the most part (except the Palmyrene, the Egyptian and almost all the Nabatean inscriptions) upon the soil of Palestine. In the list of these (South) West-Aramaic or Palestinian Aramaic dialects belongs now the dialect lying before us in Daniel and Ezra, which we most fitly designate as "Biblical Aramaic."

In Daniel II., 4ª, we are informed that the Kasdîm, or Chaldeans, summoned by Nebuchadnezzar, addressed him in Aramaic (אַרְמִית), and, in fact, their dialogue with the king (v. 4b sq.) is reported in the Aramaic language. Accordingly, it was plainly the opinion of the author of the book of Daniel (or of ch. I.–VII.) that this Aramaic dialect was the language of conversation at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, instead of the East-Semitic dialect whose Babylonian form lies before us in numerous inscriptions—among others, those of Nebuchadnezzar himself. This *real* "Chaldaic," which is mentioned in Jer. V., 15, as a language unintelligible to the Jews (cf. the similar verdict of Isa. XXVIII., 11 and XXXIII., 19, with regard to Assyrian), the author of Daniel conceives as the secret or learned language of the Magians, since he (I., 4) lets the Jewish boys be instructed in the language and literature of the Chaldeans; כַּשְׂדִּים is here used surely in no other sense than everywhere else in Daniel (except V., 30, in the connection מֶלֶךְ כ' and IX., 1, מַלְכוּת כ'); and the dialect designated correctly in Dan. II., 4 (also Ez. IV., 7) אַרְמִית has been termed, since Jerome (on Dan. II., 4), the "Chaldaic," just on account of a misunderstanding of the word כַּשְׂדִּים.[2] The author of Daniel uses the word as a title for the members of the Babylonian guild of priests, as already Herodotus regards *οἱ Χαλδαῖοι* as a designation of the priests of Baal, and the name was subsequently the customary one for the Magians, Astrologers, Soothsayers, etc., of the East. Jerome, however, and those who followed him, confused therewith the use of כַּשְׂדִּים as name of the people; and since, in Dan. II., 4, the "Chaldeans" speak Aramaic, so "Chaldaic" and "Aramaic" were held to be identical. And the matter has stood thus in the "Chaldee grammars" and the "Hebrew and Chaldee lexicons," in spite of all protests,[3] up to this day.

2. In possession of the correct terminology there falls to the ground the fable (still stated up to the latest date), that the Jews in the Babylonian exile forgot their Hebrew and, instead of it, brought the "Chaldaic," the language of conversation, with them to Palestine (cf. e. g. *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge

---

[1] This terminology has already been proposed by *Pfannkuche* in *Eichhorn's* Allg. Bible., viii., 3, p. 469.

[2] It is, to be sure, questionable, whether this misunderstanding comes upon Jerome himself or upon his Jewish teachers. For the latter, might be cited the fact that, in the Massora to the Targum of Onkelos (cf. *Berliner's* Edition of the same, p. xviii. sq.), the Targum-Aramaic (as distinguished from the Biblical) is designated repeatedly as לישנא דכסדאי *language of the Chaldeans*. Without doubt, the composition of this Massora belongs, according to *Berliner* (ibid., p. ix.), as late as about 900 A. D., though *Berliner* at this point reminds us of the passage Chullin 24 *a*, according to which לשון כשדים in Dan. i., 4, means the Aramaic language.

[3] Cf. already *Schloezer* in *Eichhorn's* Repertorium, viii. (1781!), p. 118 sq.; the correct distinction of East-Aramaic (Syriac) and West-Aramaic (Biblical Aramaic and the language of the Targums) was expressly drawn again by *Geiger* ZDMG, xviii., 654, and *Noeldeke*, ibid. xxi., 183 sq., and particularly xxv., 113 sq. (die Namen der aram. Nation und Sprache.)

Digitized by Google

der Juden, Berl. 1832, p. 7 sq.; *Herzfeld*, Gesch. des Volkes Israel III., 44 sq.; *Böttcher*, ausführliches Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache I., 18). Leaving out of account that it was the normal practice in Jerusalem about 430 B. C., according to Neh. XIII., 24, to speak יְהוּדִית,[1] and that the slow overthrow of Hebrew by Aramaic may be shown upon valid grounds (cf. above p. 4 sq.), the Jews could not take a dialect from Babylon which was not spoken there.

3. With regard to the designations of the West-Aramaic dialect used in antiquity, the following is yet to be brought forward:—In the New Testament, this dialect is designated as ἑβραϊστί *Hebrew* (so certainly in John v., 2; XIX., 13, 17, perhaps also in XIX., 20 and with the obscure αρμαγεδων Rev. XVI., 16), although the same word is elsewhere applied (so surely in Rev. IX., 11, perhaps also in John XIX., 20 and Rev. XVI., 16; certainly, moreover, already in the Prologue of Jesus Sirach) to designate the old Hebrew language. The meaning of the expression ἡ ἑβραὶς διάλεκτος, Acts XXI., 40 and XXII., 2, as well as XXVI., 14, (as already the ἑβραὶς φωνή 4 Mac. XII., 7 and XVI., 15) is doubtful. In the first two passages, the deep silence of the people reported in XXII., 2 favors the old Hebrew, for this silence is less easily explained, if the Apostle used the vernacular familiar, for the most part, to all hearers in the neighborhood; on the contrary, he could place on record his Pharisaic education and his *future* zeal for the Law (cf. v. 3) no better than in the use of the sacred tongue. In Acts XXVI., 14 also, it corresponds more to the importance and solemnity of what is recorded, to think of the old Hebrew and not of the Aramaic vernacular.[2] With the New Testament, Josephus also uses *Hebrew* (γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων), as well of old Hebrew, as of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

4. Further on, within the Christian era, *Syrian* and *Syriac*, which, for a long time, had been used for the purpose almost invariably by the Greeks, were fixed as designations of the whole department of Aramaic just as, already, the LXX. had everywhere rendered אֲרַמִּית by συριστί. According to *Nöldeke* (ZDMG XXV., 116), this name was adopted by the Christian Aramæans and for the reason that, to a Jew, "Aramean" had become identical with "Heathen" and, in the same sense, had passed over to the Syriac translation of the New Testament (e. g., Acts XVI. 1 and XIX., 10, for Ἕλλην; Gal. II., 14, ארמאית for ἐθνικῶς). Just so, the Palestinian Jews called all Aramaic סוּרְסִי, while the designation ארמי was preserved (at least for the language [לשון ארמי]) by the Babylonian Jews; see the evidence in *Nöldeke*, 116 sq. as well as the proof, *the same* p. 117 sq., that the form 'armâjê is to be regarded as the original designation of the nation: "as however the idea of 'Heathen' was united with this form, 'arâmâjê was artificially set apart from it as name of the people" —a distinction which can be proved from the Jewish sources (cf. *Levy*, neuhebr. u. chald. W.-B. under אֲרַמִּי and אֲרַמָּאִי). The Aramaic portions of the Old Testament (including Jer. X., 11 and the two words in Gen. XXXI., 47)

---

1 Quite mistaken is the appeal of the Talmud to Neh. viii., 8 as proof that the people then needed an "interpretation" of the Law; מְפֹרָשׁ does not mean in that passage any more than in Ezra iv., 18, "interpreted," but simply "clearly, distinctly" (Vulg. manifeste).

2 So also *Delitzsch*, the Hebrew New Testament, p. 30 (cf. above § 4, Note); in "Saat auf Hoffnung" 1874, p. 210 *Delitzsch* still supposed that: "with a call in this (Palestinian Aramaic) language *Schaul, Schaul, lema redaft jathi*, the ascended Lord brought Saul of Damascus to his senses."

Digitized by Google

are curtly called תַּרְגּוּם in the Mishna and Talmud (see the proofs in *Nöldeke* p. 128), because written in the language which is elsewhere employed for the interpretation (targŭm) of Scripture, as contrasted with מִקְרָא, the Scripture composed in the sacred language.[1]* The designation of the vernacular of Palestine at the time of Jesus as the "Syro-Chaldaic," which was for a long time customary (though of course very unfortunate), might likewise be traced to *Jerome;* cf. *Jerome* adv. Pelag. III., 1: The Gospel of the Hebrews is "chaldaico syroque sermone, sed hebraico literis scriptum."

§ 7. CONCERNING THE BIBLICAL-ARAMAIC TEXTS IN GENERAL.

Of the remnants of the West-Aramaic idiom in the Old Testament enumerated in § 1, the two words transmitted in Gen. XXXI., 47 might reach back to sometime in the ninth century B. C., in case the verse containing them belonged to one of the old sources of the Pentateuch. Even if this verse can be shown to be an addition by the last (post-exilic) redactor of the Pentateuch however—and, in fact, an activity in the direction of redaction is very prominent in the welding of the sources of vv. 45 sq.—we should have in it probably the oldest sample of the Biblical-Aramaic dialect, since there can be no doubt that Jer. X., 11 is a gloss, introduced at some time or other into the text of the prophet, and the redaction of the present text of Ezra can not be placed earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century B. C.

1. If Gen. XXXI., 47 originated from one of the ancient sources of the Pentateuch (J or E) it could not be shown, from the form of the two words in question, that their use as words of Laban the "Aramæan," (cf. vv. 20 and 24) from Haran in Mesopotamia, prove them to be *East-Aramaic;* for the Massoretic writing שָׂהֲדוּתָא with Qāměts in the first syllable might be vowelled correctly for West-Aramaic (as for Syriac); from initial שׂ (instead of ס in the Targums and in Syriac, cf. § 9, Rem. 2), no conclusion can be drawn; moreover the same corresponds in this root regularly to the Arabic šîn. The noun יְגַר may be verified as well from the Syriac as from the Targums.

2. That Jer. X., 11, in spite of the LXX., who seem to have had the verse before them, is a gloss introduced wrongfully into the text, follows directly from the troublesome interruption of the original connection between vv. 10 and 12; indirectly, however, from the fact that no reasonable ground for the sudden insertion of an *Aramaic* verse can be discovered; for that this verse was meant to indicate to the Jews how they must answer the Chaldeans, to whom they could have spoken only in "Chaldaic," is too trifling an argument to deserve serious refutation. It is striking that, in this gloss, together with the usual אַרְעָא *the Earth* is found the form אַרְקָא, which seems to have belonged to the East-Aramaic and perhaps was intruded into the verse at some time in Babylonia.[2] The remaining forms, such as דִּי (almost invariably דְּ in East-Aramaic), תֵּאמָרוּן (Syr. תְּאַמְּרוּן, in Babylonian also תֵּימְרוּן), לָהֹם (cf. Ezra V., 3 and elsewhere) correspond to the

[1] In the Midrasch Beresith rabba to Gen. xxxi., 47, is ascribed to Samuel bar Nachman the verdict that the "Persian" language should not be lightly esteemed, since God has honored it in the Law (here, at Gen. xxxi., 47), the Prophets (Jer. x., 11) and the Kethubhim (Dan. ii., 4 sq., Ezra iv., 8 sq.). Here לשון פרסי can be only an ancient error of the text for לשון סורסי.

* This Talmudic terminology might be cited as evidence for the opinion of *Lenormant*, followed by *Dr. W. H. Ward*, that Daniel and Ezra were originally written entirely in Hebrew, and that portions of them being lost, their place was supplied by the corresponding Aramaic Translation (Targum). See *Old Testament Student* for Nov., 1883, pp. 90, 91. [T.]

[2] ארקא is not protected, indeed, from the suspicion of an ancient copyist-error, a suspicion which lies near at hand, by the fact that it is enumerated by the Jews (naturally according to

Digitized by Google

West-Aramaic idiom. The clearly Hebrew word אֱלָהּ added at the close, if it belongs to the gloss at all, must have been added by a Hebrew copyist.

The Aramaic sections in Daniel and Ezra are distinguished more by lexical, than grammatical peculiarities. At all events, the few differences, which we will mention in their proper places, do not justify the verdict, that in the book of Daniel, the decomposition of the Aramaic has already advanced much further (Renan, hist. générale, p. 219).

§ 8. THE TEXTUAL TRADITION AND GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE BIBLICAL ARAMAIC.

The Aramaic texts, of a religious content, proceeding from Jews and Samaritans, are all, in the nature of things, originally more or less strongly influenced by the Hebrew;[1] and, in this sense, the distinction mentioned above (§ 6, 1), of Jewish and Christian Aramaic (the latter largely influenced by the Greek) is justified. Similarly, the Biblical Aramaic also bears strong traces of the Hebrew influence; only, a great part of the Hebraisms might be placed to the account of later copyists, of whom some were ignorant of Aramaic, and some designedly adjusted it to the Hebrew. The text has suffered no less corruption in the printed editions, however; until such a multitude of asserted variations has arisen as, e. g., the stereotype edition of *Hahn* finds it necessary to present. The prevailing confusion was very recently checked, for the first time, by the superior text which *S. Baer* fixed in his edition of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah (Lpz., Tauchnitz, 1882) on the basis of the best manuscript and other witnesses. Hence, we have everywhere based our assertions upon it. In so doing, it must never be forgotten that even this text is only the relatively oldest and most certain form of the *Massoretic tradition*, and in no wise offers security that we have before us, in all particulars of writing and pronunciation, the texts intended by the authors of Daniel and Ezra. This assumption is impossible; because the Massoretes, in certain cases, have, without reason, substituted another pronunciation for the one demanded by the consonant text; in other places, have conspicuously wavered in the vocalization of the same form, and sometimes have made mistakes which may be demonstrated. Not rarely, also, reference to the form of West-Aramaic, acquired from the Targums, may have influenced the pointing (cf. Renan, in the work mentioned, p. 220). Although, therefore, the grammatical exposition must everywhere proceed from the critically fixed Massoretic tradition, it must, nevertheless, at least not withdraw from a criticism of this tradition, when the text, by its deviation from analogous phenomena of the Biblical Aramaic, or of West-Aramaic in general, is suspicious.

The literature of grammars for Biblical Aramaic is considered in *Steinschneider's* "bibliograph. Handbuch über die theoret. und prakt. Liter. für hebr. Sprachkunde" (up to 1850), Lpz. 1859. Cf., further, the survey in *Petermann's* Porta Chaldaica, ed. II., p. 80 sq.; by *Volck*, in *Herzog's* PRE²I, 604 sq.; *Reuss*, Gesch. der hl. Schriften des A. Test., p. 511; *Strack*, Einleitung ins A. Test., p. 191 sq.—

Jer. x., 11), among the four, seven, or ten names of the earth, but is so by its unquestionable occurrence upon the large fragments brought from the Assyrian Royal-palaces to the British Museum (cf. *Levy*, Gesch. der jued. Muenzen, Leipzig, 1862, p. 149). For ארקא in Mandaic, cf. Noeldeke, Mand. Gramm., p. 73. The change of sound appears sufficiently guaranteed by the Aramaic עַטַר, *to smoke*, beside the Hebrew קָטַר, *to burn incense*.

[1] For the Hebraisms in the Targum of Onkelos, which is commonly regarded as the most genuine monument of the South-Western Idiom, cf. *Geiger* in ZDMG, xviii., 653 sq.

Digitized by Google

There have been added, since these were published: the Paradigms placed at the beginning of the edition of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah by *Baer* (see above); tolerable caution is necessary in using these, since, for the sake of completeness, many forms are adopted which cannot be made good, and which even contradict the remaining analogy; further, the third edition of *Winer's* "chaldäische Grammatik für Bibel und Targummim," enlarged by directions for the study of the Midrasch and Talmud, edited by Rabbi *B. Fischer*, Lpz., 1882. Fortunately, the editor has distinguished his own additions by cursive type, and, in that way, has facilitated the omission of them, which, for the beginner, is, in the highest degree, necessary.

CORRECTION.—P. 102, l. 5. For "cf. *Schuerer* p. 505 and in other places," read "cf. *Schuerer* in the place mentioned p. 505."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

BY PROF. JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D.

Philadelphia, Pa.

In the 9th edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, in the article "Amalekites," occurs what seems to be a curious case of the propagation of error. We read: "It has been generally supposed that the Haman of the Book of Esther, called "the Agagite," belonged to the royal line of the Amalekites; but it is now found, from Assyrian records, that Agagi was the name of a country east of Assyria, from which it may be assumed that the title was derived. See Lenormant, *Lettres Ass.* I., 45." M. Lenormant mentions as eighth among the minor cantons of Media "Agazi...., called Agagi.... in the inscriptions of the *Fastes*. It is the Agagi of the Book of Esther." In the *Fastes* M. Oppert gives the cuneiform characters for *Agazi*, but transliterates falsely *Agagi*. M. Lenormant has copied his error, and on that error the article in Enc. Brit. has based a new theory regarding Haman. It is curious to observe that at Esther III., 1, the Septuagint reads for הָאֲגָגִי, *βουγαῖον*, while in III., 10; VIII., 3, 5, the Gentile name is omitted, and in IX., 24, *ὁ Μακεδών* is used. Josephus *Ant. Jud.*, XI., 6, 5, translates Agagite by *Ἀμαληκίτης*. M. Lenormant cites from *Ptolemaeus* the name *Ἄζαγα* or *Ἄζαξα* as probably the Median canton called *Agazi* by the Assyrians.

Prof. Noeldeke, in the *Sitzungsberichte der koeniglich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, gives a provisional account of an Aramæan inscription discovered bp Prof. Euting at Teima (תֵּימָא), in an oasis of Northern Arabia, on the borders of the Syrian desert. In Gen. XXV., 15; 1 Chron. I., 30, תֵּימָא appears as a son of Ishmael. It is mentioned in Is. XXI., 14, in the מַשְׂאֵ֖ בָּעֲרָ֑ב. In Jer. XXV., 23 and Job VI., 19 (תֵּמָא) it appears as a commercial place or people. The Septuagint writes it *Θαιμάν*, confusing it with the famous Edomite canton of that name. Ritter and Wetzstein identify תֵּימָא with Taimâ in the Haurán, whom Cheyne has followed in his commentary on Isaiah. A somewhat similar confusion will be found to exist regarding דְּדָן, which is connected in Isaiah and Jeremiah with תֵּימָא. The inscription, which is confidently assumed to antedate the Persian conquest, belonging to a period between 500 and 800 B. C., has been, so far as preserved, transliterated into Hebrew characters, as follows:

Digitized by Google

(Lines 1—9 are gone almost entirely.)

10. הגם להן אלהי
11. תימא (י)חצן לצלם שזב בר פטסרי
12. ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם וגבר
13. זי יחבל סותא זן אלהי תימא
14. ינסחוהי וזרעה ושמה מן אנפי
15. תימא והא [ז]א צדקתא זי . . .
16. צלם זי מחר . ושנגלא . . אשז . א
17. אלהי תימא לצלם [זי] הגם א .
18. מן חקלא דקלן . . . ומן שימת א
19. זי מלכא דקלן ווו ווו כל דקלן
20. זו . . . [ש]נה בשנה ואלהן ואנש
21. לא יהני בצלם שזב בר פטסרי
22. מן ב . תא זן . ול[זר]עה ושמה
23. כמן . . . . לא . . .

For this is suggested the translation:

10. הגם. But may the gods
11. of Teimâ protect (?) the image of שזב, son of Petosiri,
12. and his seed in the house of the image of הגם. And a man
13. who injures this? . . . . . may the gods of Teimâ
14. remove him and his seed and his name from the surface
15. of Teimâ! And this is the duty which . . . .
16. the image of . . . .
17. the gods of Teimâ to the image of הגם:
18. from the field ten date-palms and from the treasure
19. of the king ten date-palms, altogether of date-palms
20. twenty-one . . . . year by year. And gods and men
21. shall derive no profit from the image of שזב, son of Petosiri.
22. . . . . and to his seed and his name . . . . .

To the left hand, above, is a sceptre-bearing image, which Euting describes as "the portrait of king in pure Assyrian costume." Below this is a priest offering at an altar, underneath which is written צלם שזב כמרא, "Image of שזב, the priest."

The language of the whole is Aramæan, and the characters are said to belong to the oldest type, resembling those on the Babylonian contract tables and the lion of Abydos. For the wide-spread use of the Aramæan language, in the time of the Assyrian supremacy, Noeldeke and Landauer compare 2 Kgs. XVIII., 26, and Is. XXXVI., 11. The name Petosiri is explained as the Egyptian Pet-Osiri. The stone itself is now on the way to Germany.

In the possession of a gentleman in New York is a fragment of a synagogue roll which claims a romantic history. In the last Kurdo-Persian war the little town Meyandop was sacked by the Kurds, and among the other plunder was a synagogue roll. This was purchased by a shoemaker, who used the greater part of it in his trade. Before it was entirely destroyed, however, a missionary from Oroomiah saw and bought it. From him part passed into the hands of an Armen-

Digitized by Google

ian student, who brought it to this country, but the larger part is said to have gone to the St. Petersburg Museum. The part in this country contains Ex. XXIX., 32, to end of book. The length of the roll is twenty inches, about six inches of which are margin. There are fifteen columns of manuscript. It does not seem to be old.

In his *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, Dr. Lyon adds one word to our knowledge of the Hittite language. In the *Stier-Inschrift*, 67–69, we read: "bît appâtê tamšil êkal Ḫattê ša ina lisân mât aḫarrê bît ḫilâni išassûšu ušêpiša mêḫrit bâbêšin." (A portico after the manner of a Hittite temple, which in the language of the Westland bît-ḫilâni they call, I caused to be built before their doors.) For this particular form of architecture compare also 1 Kgs. VI., 3.

In his latest work, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, note on p. 61, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch practically announces his acceptance of the view of Schrader and Hommel, that the כּוּשׁ in Gen. II., 13, X., 8, is a mistake for כַּשׂ. Such a mistake would be a natural and easy one to make, both being originally written כש. In Assyrian inscriptions we find Ku-u-šu or Ku-su, Ethiopian, the כּוּשׁ of Gen. X., 7, and Kaššu, which is the כּוּשׁ (or כַּשׂ) of X., 8. In *Wo lag das Paradies*, Delitzsch maintained a different view, supposing כּוּשׁ of Gen. X., 7 to be identical with כּוּשׁ of Gen. X., 8, and similarly connecting the Kûšu and the Kaššu. The Kaššu were the "Elamite-Sumerian" stratum of peoples to the north and west of the Persian gulf. He was also inclined to connect them with the Kašda or Kaldu (כַּשְׂדִּים). In the present work, on the other hand, he attempts to prove, from an examination of the forty or more Kossæan words now known, that no linguistic connection existed between the Kaššu and either the Sumerian-Accadians or the Elamites. Mr. Theo G. Pinches writes, in opposition to this view, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI., Part 2, maintaining the linguistic connection of Kossæan and Sumerian-Accadian. Prof. Haupt, writing in the *Andover Review* (July), also seems to think that the little we know points in the direction of such a connection. Prof. Delitzsch holds that the Kaššu came from the mountains of the north-east, and gained control of Babylonia about 1500, B. C. Karduniaš (his גַּן עֵדֶן) was the special seat of their settlement. The nine kings of an Arabian dynasty, mentioned by Berosus, he regards as Kossæan, and, like Karduniaš, they have names ending in aš. He still inclines to connect the Kašda, or Chaldees, with the Kaššu. Mr. Pinches, on the other hand, seeks the origin of the Kaššu in the north-west. "The cuneiform style of writing was in use in early times in Cappadocia, and the country around seems to have borne the name of Cush." Thence, in his opinion, the Accadian race, including the Kaššu, emigrated to Babylonia. On the ground of some newly discovered texts, Prof. Delitzsch also deals considerably with the difficult subject of early Babylonian chronology. In the May number of the *Proceedings of Biblical Archæology*, Mr. Pinches also deals with the same subject, on the ground of still more recent discoveries. The two together leave the matter in a very unsatisfactory condition.

By the liberality of Miss C. L. Wolfe, of New York, an American expedition to Babylonia has at last been rendered possible. The main object of the expedition is exploration. One of the members is the Rev. W. H. Ward, D. D., of the *Independent*.

In his *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, p. 118, Prof. Wellhausen says: "As a lunar festival, undoubtedly the Sabbath also reached back to a great antiquity. Among the Israelites, however, this day acquired a quite peculiar significance,

Digitized by Google

by which it was distinguished from all other festivals; it became the day of rest κατ' ἐξοχήν. Originally the rest was only a consequence of the festival, etc." With this compare the following from the summing up in Dr. Lotz's *Quaestionum de Historia Sabbati:* "11) Sabbata [apud Babylonios] non erant dies atri sed otii severe quidem imperati, verum minime tristis. 12) Non ad Lunae cultum sabbata principio pertinuerunt. 13) Sunt fortasse ex eo orta, quod numerus senarius Babyloniis numerus principalis (*Grundzahl*) mensurarum erat, quare senum dierum laboris quasi plenus videbatur esse laboris modus, quem subsequi diem quietis consentaneum esset. 14) Israelitae Sabbata a Babyloniis acceperunt, etc."

Dr. Carl Abel, of Dresden, the well-known Coptic scholar, has in the press a book on the relations between the Japhetic, Semitic and Hamitic families of languages.

W. A. I., vol. V., 2nd part, has appeared. Among its plates is an edition of the "Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I.," published last year by Dr. H. Hilprecht as "Inaugural-Dissertation" under the title "Freibrief Nebuchadnezzar's I." It is in archaic characters; and, in addition to the original, the editors have, therefore, given us a transcription into the common later Babylonian characters. A similar transcription of this inscription, together with transliteration and translation, the latter differing in some particulars from those of Dr. Hilprecht, were published by Messrs. Pinches and Budge, in the April number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* Messrs. Pinches and Budge, as well as Dr. Hilprecht, have assigned Nebuchadnezzar I. to the middle of the 12th century B. C. Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch did the same in his *Sprache der Kossäer*, on the ground of the so-called synchronous history in II. R, 65, where a Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon seems to be the cotemporary of Aššurešiši, father of Tiglathpileser I., king of Assyria. In the list of Babylonian kings, published by Mr. Pinches, in the *Proceedings* for May, we find the 12th century filled up from 1175 onward. From 1154 to 1146 ruled a king whose name Mr. Pinches has failed to transliterate. Unless this should turn out to be Nebuchadnezzar, it would seem as though the synchronous history, the list of Babylonian kings, or the Assyriologists had made a mistake. In the July number of the *Andover Review*, Prof. Haupt ascribes to the monarch in question the date 1300 B. C., but does not give his reasons. The above mentioned list also seems to show that the name which Prof. Delitzsch (p. 15) conjectured to be Nabûkudûrusur was Ninipkudûruṣur, who reigned in the 10th century B. C. This is important, on account of the ingenious use Prof. Delitzsch made of this conjecture in the work above referred to. Besides Nebuchadnezzar, the most important king affected by the change is Simmas-sigu, whom Delitzsch placed about 1175 B. C., now dated 1003—985.

Among the texts published in the new part of V. R., which have been already described or discussed, in the *Transactions* or *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, we notice especially Plates LX. and LXI., a "stone tablet from the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara, containing an inscription of Nabû-bal-iddina." Of this stone there appeared a photo-lithograph, with description and general summary of contents, in *Transactions*, Vol. VIII., Part 2, and in the *Proceedings* for May will be found a further notice of the same.

Plate XLIV. contains the "list of names of ancient Sumerian and Accadian kings," of which Prof. Delitzsch has made such large use in the *Sprache der Kossäer* (cf. pp. 20, 21), and which was discussed by Mr. Pinches, in the *Proceedings* for January, 1881.

Digitized by Google

The famous Nabonidus cylinder from Sippara, which carried us back to the date 3800, B. C. (Sargon of Akkad), a portion of which was published and discussed in the *Proceedings* for November, 1882, appears as Plate LXIV.

The texts of this latest publication are almost, if not quite, all from the discoveries of Mr. Rassam, and are chiefly Babylonian, in distinction from Assyrian. A new edition of IV. R is now in press.

In the *Independent* of September 4th, Dr. I. H. Hall gives some account of a valuable Syriac MS., belonging to Mr. R. S. Williams, of Utica, N. Y. Its chief value lies in the fact that it contains 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. The date of writing is 1471, A. D. The text is in substantial agreement with the "Bodleian manuscript, as reported by Pococke. It is also a little closer to the Greek text of the critical editions than is the text of Pococke." It comes from Further Asia, where it was probably written by a trinitarian Christian; but it is written "in a rather western Syrian hand." It attempts to be critical, and has a number of Syriac and Arabic marginal notes about points, vowels, and the like, "which give the manuscript a high value in linguistic science."

PIRKE ABOTH; or, SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D.,

Allegheny, Pa.

Translated from the Hebrew Edition of Prof H. L. Strack, of Berlin, Germany.

[What is included in brackets is by the translator.]

CHAPTER II.

1. Rabbi[1] saith, Which is the right way that a man should choose for himself? All such as is honorable to him who treads therein, and gets him honor from man.[2] Moreover, be as careful about the performance of a light precept as of a weighty one, because thou canst not estimate the award due to the respective precepts. Compute always the temporal damage sustained by the performance of a duty by its eternal reward, and the temporary gain acquired by transgression by the damage in eternity. Contemplate three things, and thou wilt avoid the occasions for transgressions. Consider what is above thee: an All-seeing eye, and an hearing ear,[3] and all thy deeds are written in a book.[4]

2. Rabban Gamaliel,[5] the son of Rabbi Judah, the prince, said: The study[6] of the law accords well with worldly pursuits; the twofold occupation causes sin

[1] Rabbi plainly is Rabbi Jehuda ha-nasi, also Rabbenu ha-gadosh, son of Simeon, mentioned i., 18, editor of our Mishna, flourished in the last quarter of the second century, A. D. On him comp. Abr. Krochmal, *Hechaluz* ii., 63-94; A. Bodek, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus als Zeitgenosse und Freund des Rabbi Jehuda ha-nasi*, Leipz. 1868; S. Gelbhaus, *Rabbi Jehuda Hanasi und die Redaction der Mishna*, Vienna, 1876 (in fact 1880, only to be used with precaution). [Comp. Strack's review in Schuerer's *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1881, No. 3.]

[2] Phil. iv., 8: καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος ταῦτα λογίζεσθε.

[3] Ps. xxxiv., 16, 17; 1 Peter iii., 12.

[4] Dan. vii., 10. [Comp. Rev. iii., 5; xiii., 8; xx., 12; xxi., 27. Comp. also the word in the *dies Irae*: Liber scriptus proferetur, In quo totum continetur, Unde mundus judicetur].

[5] [About 210-225 A. D., He was named *Bathraa*, i. e., the "Last," because he terminated the long dynasty of the house of Hillel.]

[6] Study; so also iv., 13*a*; vi., 5, 6; different v., 21.

Digitized by Google

to be forgotten. And all the study of the law, that is not supported by business, will become of none effect, and will be the cause of sin. And whoever is engaged in the service of the congregation ought to act for God's sake; then will the merit[1] of their ancestors support them, and their righteousness endure forever. As for you, I entitle you to great reward as if ye had performed them.

3. Beware of the powers that be, for they do not patronize except for selfish purposes; they appear as friends while men are useful[2] to them, but they do not stand by a man when he is in distress.

4*a*. He used to say: Make His (God's) will[3] as if it were thine own, that He may make thy will as if it were His will.[4] Nullify thy will on account of His will,[5] so that He may nullify the will of others on account of thy will.

4*b*. Hillel[6] said: Separate[7] not thyself from the community; and have no confidence in thyself until the day of thy death; and judge not thy fellow-man until thou art placed in his position;[8] and utter not a word that is incomprehensible, (under the impression) that it will eventually be comprehensible; and say not, When I shall be at leisure, I shall study; mayhap thou wilt not have leisure.

5. He also said: A boor cannot be fearful of sin, nor can a rustic[9] be a saint;[10] the bashful[11] will not become learned, nor the passionate man a teacher; nor will the engrossed[12] merchant be a sage; and where there are no men, strive[13] thou to be a man.

6. He having also seen a skull floating on the water, said: "Because thou hast caused others to float, thou hast been floated; and the end of those who floated thee will be that they will be floated."[14]

---

[1] Merit זְכוּת; on the זכות comp. F. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palaestinischen Theologie*. Leipz. 1880, chap. 10; on אבות ז׳ [i. e., merit of the fathers] especially pp. 280–285.

[2] הֲנָאָה *use, profit;* נֶהֱנָה (Niphal of הנה) iv., 5*b*, vi., 1, *to profit by*.

[3] [Comp. Matt. vii., 21.]

[4] [Comp. Matt. xxi., 22.]

[5] [Comp. 1 John ii., 15, 17. In Xenoph. *Memor.* ii., 1, 28 we read: "Wilt thou have the favor of the gods, serve the gods."]

[6] With Hillel's maxims § 4*b*–7 (others, see above i., 12–14), the traditional chain is again taken up, which was interrupted by the inserted sentences of men from the house of Hillel (i., 16–2, 4*a*).

[7] פָּרַשׁ to separate. Heb. x., 25 *μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες κτλ.* [Dean Stanley quotes Ewald as saying on this maxim: "Separate not....death." "This," Ewald remarks, "is a strange truth for a Pharisee to have uttered; one which, had the Pharisees followed, no Pharisee would have ever arisen. Yet," he adds, with true appreciation of the elevation of the best spirits above their party, "it is not the only example of a distinguished teacher protesting against the fundamental error of his own peculiar tendencies."]

[8] [Comp. Ecclus. xi., 7: Blame not before thou hast examined; think over first, and then rebuke.]

[9] עַם הָאָרֶץ (an expression already occurring Ezek. vii., 27, though not in that same signification) denotes the great mass devoid of the knowledge of the law, John vii., 49: *ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον.* Here, as in other passages, e. g. v., 10, an individual is meant [comp. גּוֹי = gentile), then plur. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ iii., 10*b*. Observe the special prominence which is attached to the intellectual above the ethical.

[10] Only a seeming contradiction with *Shabbath*, fol. 63, col. 1, towards the end: [when the rustic is a saint] live not in his neighborhood.

[11] Bashful, here: he that is ashamed of putting a question.

[12] סְחוֹרָה also vi., 5 *traffic*) cf. Ezek. xxvii., 15), comp. *Eruvin* fol. 55, col. 1, where it is said on Deut. xxx., 13: Rabbi Jochanan said: לֹא בַשָּׁמַיִם [not in heaven], the law is not found among the high-minded; [neither is it beyond the sea], neither is it found among the merchants. [Comp. also *Ecclus.* xxvi., 29: "A merchant will hardly keep himself free from doing wrong, and a huckster will not be declared free from sin."]

[13] The same maxim is given in the Aramaic *Berathoth*, fol. 63, col. 1.

[14] Comp. *Sota* i., 7: "With the measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you," and Hillel's dictum *Shabbath*, fol. 31, col. 1: "What is hateful to you, do not unto thy neighbor."

Digitized by Google

7. He also said: He who increases flesh increases worms; he who increases riches, increases cares; he who increases wives, increases witchcraft; he who increases maid-servants, increases lewdness; he who increases men-servants, increases robbery; he who increases his knowledge of the law, increases life; he who increases his study in college, increases wisdom; he who increases counsel, increases prudence; he who increases justice, increases peace; if a man has gained a good name, he has gained it for himself; if he has gained the words of the law, he has gained for himself eternal life.

8*a*.[1] Rabban Jochanan,[2] the son of Zaccai, received the tradition from Hillel and Shammai. He used to say: If thou hast studied the law much, do not consider it as a good deed on thy part, since thou wast created for that very purpose.[3]

8*b*. Rabban Jochanan, the son of Zaccai, had five disciples, and these are they; Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Hyrkanos,[4] Rabbi Joshua, the son of Hananya, Rabbi José, the priest, Rabbi Simeon, the son of Nathanael, and Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Arach. He thus estimated their worth: Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Hyrkanos, is as a well-plastered cistern, which loses not a drop; Joshua, son of Hananya, happy are his parents; R. José, the priest, is a saint; R. Simeon, the son of Nathanael, fears sin; and Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Arach, is an ever-flowing spring. He used to say: If all the sages of Israel were in one scale of the balance, and R. Eliezer, the son of Hyrcanos, in the other, he would outweigh them all. Abba Saul[5] said, in his name: If all the sages of Israel were in one scale, and Eliezer, the son of Hyrcanos, with them, and Eleazar, the son of Arach, in the other, he would outweigh them all.

9. He said to them: Go forth and consider which is the good path to which a man should cleave. Rabbi Eliezer said; A good eye;[6] Rabbi Joshua said, A good comrade; Rabbi José said, A good neighbor; Rabbi Simeon said, One who perceives the future; Rabbi Eleazar said, A good heart.[7] He said to them: I prefer the words of Eleazer, the son of Arach, to your words; as his words include yours. He also said to them: Go forth and consider which is the bad way[8] that man should shun. Rabbi Eliezer said: a bad eye[9]; Rabbi Joshua said: A bad comrade; Rabbi José said, A bad neighbor; Rabbi Simeon said, The borrower who does not repay, for when one borrows from man, it is as if he borrows from God,[10] for it is said: "The wicked borroweth and payeth not again; but the

---

[1] Continuation to i., 15.

[2] A disciple of Hillel; according to *Rosh ha-shana*, fol. 31 col. 2, he became 120 years old, the same age—the Mosaic—which was ascribed to Hillel and R. Agiba.

[3] Comp. Luke xvii., 10; 1 Cor. ix., 16.

[4] Ὑρκανός. The meaning of this name, which already occurs in the second century B. C. (John Hyrcanus, 135-105) is not yet ascertained.

[5] In the first half of the second century A. D.

[6] According to v., 19, the disciples of Abraham have "a good eye," those of Balaam "a bad eye." Comp. also Prov. xxii., 9 [and Matt. vi., 22].

[7] [i. e., susceptible of every good, comp. Matt. v., 8; Luke vi., 45.]

[8] [i. e. the way which leads to destruction. In the Scriptures רַע means often "darkness," for the evil one likes the darkness. Thus Prov. ii., 13: "who leave the paths of uprightness to walk in the way of darkness;" comp. also 2 Peter ii., 15.]

[9] [the eye is the mirror of the soul, comp. Matt. vi., 23.] עַיִן רָע means to be envious, malicious.

[10] [Literally, "place," which is often used in Jewish writings for God, because there is no place which is not pervaded by His presence. Philo *de somn.* says: *ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος τῷ περιεργεῖν*, *κτλ.*]

Digitized by Google

righteous showeth mercy and giveth."[1] Rabbi Eleazar said: a bad heart.[2] He said to them: I prefer the words of Eleazer, the son of Arach, to your words, as his words include yours.

10. They[3] also said three things: Rabbi Eliezer[4] said: Let the honor of thy companion be as dear to thee as thine own; and be not easily provoked, and repent one day[5] before thy death, and[6] warm thyself by the fire of the sages, and be careful that their coal does not burn thee, for their bite is as the bite of a jackal, and their sting like the sting of a scorpion, and their burn is the burn of a fiery serpent, and all their words are as fiery coals.

11. Rabbi Joshua said: The bad eye, the bad thought[7] and misanthropy draw man out of the world.[8]

12. Rabbi José said: Let the property of thy companion be as dear to thee as thine own, and prepare thyself to study the law, for it will not be bequeathed to thee by inheritance;[9] and let all thy deeds be to promote the name of God.[10]

13. Rabbi Simeon said: Be careful of reading the Shema[11] and the Prayer;[12] and when thou prayest consider not thy prayer as fixed,[13] but pray for mercy and supplicate for grace in the presence of God, "for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abundant in mercy, and repenteth him of the evil,"[14] and be not impious in thine own sight.

14. Rabbi Eleazer said: Be diligent to study the law, and consider what thou mayest rejoin to an epicurean,[15] and consider also for whom thou workest, and who is thy employer,[16] who is to pay the wages for thy labor.

15. Rabbi Tarphon[17] said: The day is short,[18] and the labor vast,[19] but the

---

[1] Ps. xxxvii., 21.

[2] Mark vii., 21, 22.

[3] Each of them.

[4] Comp. C. A. R. Toetterman, *R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanos sive de vi qua doctrina Christiana primis seculis illustrissimos quosdam Iudaeorum attraxit.* Leipzig, 1877 (comp. *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 1877, col. 687—689).

[5] One day, i. e. to-day, since you may die to-morrow, *Shabbath*, fol. 153, col. 1. Comp. Hillel's words, I. 14 and II. 4*b* toward the end.

[6] The words "and.... fiery coals" probably a later addition, comp. Aboth Rabbi Nathan.

[7] There are two inclinations in man, a good and an evil one. The good is to conquer the evil, and can do so, according to Jewish teaching. Comp. Weber, *Altsyn. Theol.* esp. p. 208 sq., 221 sq. The evil inclination is also called יֵצֶר without addition, see *Aboth*, IV., 1.

[8] "Draw out of the world," refers here, III., 10*b* and IV., 21, to the physical life. Comp. Prov. xiv., 30.

[9] Comp. Deut. xxxiii., 4.

[10] [Comp. 1 Cor. x., 31.]

[11] The prayer, which every grown-up male Israelite (excepting women, children and slaves) has to recite twice every day (in the morning and in the evening). It contains the three sections of the law, Deut. vi., 4–9, xi., 13–21; Num. xv., 37–41, and bears its name from the first word שְׁמַע. [Comp. also Pick, art. *Shema* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.]

[12] [It is the eighteen benedictions or *Shemoneh Esreh*. Comp. Pick, art. *Shemoneh Esreh* in McClintock and Strong, l. c.]

[13] Comp. *Berachoth* IV., 4, where we read as R. Eliezer's word: "If one makes his prayer fixed, his prayer is not supplications."

[14] Joel ii., 13.

[15] Freethinker, i. e., the non-Israelitish freethinker, according to *Sanhedrin*, fol. 39, col. 2.

[16] God, see § 16.

[17] Τρύφων, a contemporary of the five disciples of Jochanan, often mentioned as the opponent of Agiba. [Some maintained that he is the same Trypho, who is the interlocutor in Justin Martyr's Dialogue. Comp. Pick, art. *Tarphon* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.]

[18] [Comp. John ix., 4.]

[19] [Comp. ibid. iv., 35.]

Digitized by Google

laborers are indolent,[1] though the wages be large and the master of the house[2] is pressing.

16. He used to say: It is not incumbent upon thee to finish the work,[3] and yet thou art not at liberty to be idle about it.[4] If thou hast studied the law much, great reward will be given thee; for faithful is thy employer, who will award to thee the hire of thy labor;[5] but know that the reward of the righteous is in the future.

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Remarks on the Ethiopic.—That a magazine which is devoted to the interests of Hebrew study, which looks at the language of the Old Testament rather from a philological standpoint than as the medium of pre-Christian revelation, should not pass by unnoticed the claims of the cognate tongues, will probably be accepted without debate. Indeed it is one of the objects of HEBRAICA to encourage such discussions. Accordingly the language and literature of Ethiopia, "the Switzerland of Africa," have a right to a hearing in its columns from time to time. And this they richly merit. Both the character of the Ethiopic language, in that it has worked out the common Semitic genius in its own peculiar way, and thus contributes its portion to the solution of the problems of this group of languages, as also the large literature which is treasured up in this language, are well worthy of study. Ethiopic is not a mere twig from some larger limb, not a mere dialect of which only fragmentary remains or a few enigmatical inscriptions have been preserved; but possessing an extensive literature, it has a complete grammar and a full lexicon, and thus offers ample material for wide research.

It is not a matter of difficulty to assign to this language its position in the Semitic group. Geographical reasons point to a closer affinity between the Ethiopic and the Arabic, an affinity which would appear all the closer from the historical reason that both languages about the same time became the vehicles of an extensive literature, and that they thus would have reached about the same stage of development. Of course this latter feature, in consideration of the well known conservatism of the Semitic languages, as this is apparent, e. g., in the virtually uniform character of Biblical Hebrew and in the primitive character of the Arabic, would seem of little moment, yet for the purpose of comparing the two languages it has its importance. An examination of the language shows that what history and geography suggest is correct. The Ethiopic language belongs to the Southern Semitic group, of which the Arabic is the representative and most important member. This connection is evident e. g. in the partition of ס and צ into two letters of different intensity (like the Arabic ح and خ for ח, and ص and ض for צ although it no longer splits the ת, ד, מ and ע into two each, as is the

[1] [Comp. Matt. ix., 37, 38.]
[2] God [οἰκοδεσπότης, Matt. xx. 1].
[3] [Comp. Rom. xii., 4, 5.]
[4] [Comp. Matt. xx., 6.]
[5] [Comp. ibid. xx., 8, 9.]

Digitized by Google

case in Arabic, but in the room thereof has developed an emphatic *p* sound and a number of *u*-containing gutturals and palatals); further, in the frequency of the short vowels at the end of words, in the wealth of verbal forms, making use of every possibility offered in this connection, and thus producing twelve regular and full conjugations of the triliteral verb; in the large number of verb roots of four and more letters; in the inner, or broken and collective plural and formatonis; in the regular accusative; in the separating of the subjunctive and voluntative from the imperfect; in the possibility of suffixing two personal pronouns to a single verb, and in a number of other less important grammatical peculiarities. In the lexicon the relation is equally close and apparent. The *copia verborum* indeed contains quite a number of what are probably African vocables, or at least can as yet not be explained from a Semitic basis, but yet the great mass of words and meanings are the same as in Arabic; and in many cases where the latter has developed roots and significations of its own, not found in the North Semitic branch, the Ethiopic has the same peculiarities as its southern neighbor. One very marked feature of the Ethiopic language is its syntax. The Arabic has surpassed exceedingly the stiff and stereotyped character of Hebrew and Syriac syntax, but the pliability of the Arabic is nothing compared with the elegance and variety of the grammatical structure of the Ethiopic. The latter language, probably because its literature was nourished under Greek example and Greek incitement, has a fineness of syntax unequalled by any other of its sister Semitic languages, and yet it cannot be said that any of its syntactical features are unnatural or un-Semitic. While the Greek may have furnished the models and idea, the syntax of the Ethiopic grammar exhibits only the development of what is contained in germ in the structure of the other languages, partly in the Arabic and partly in the North Semitic.

And yet the Ethiopic is by no means merely a dialect of the Arabic. Already the fact that many of the words for the most common objects in existence and for the most frequently occurring acts are in Ethiopic not the same as those used in Arabic, shows that at a comparatively early period the Ethiopic language entered upon a development of its own. Its vowels are not so abundant, ă and ĕ being its only short vowels; its nominal and adjective formations are not as varied and numerous; its prepositions and conjunctions are nearly all peculiar; it has no diminutive or elative forms, and no genitive; its alphabet is syllabic and reads from left to right, although this is a later development, the older inscriptions still showing the *βουστροφηδόν* style, and thus pointing to an original method from right to left. And while a number of facts seem to show that the language of Ethiopia occupied an independent position over against the Arabic, which was the classical tongue at least of Northern and Middle Arabia, whatever its nearer relation may have been to the comparatively unknown but nearer languages of Southern Arabia; a number of other facts, both in grammar and lexicon, point to a closer connection with the North Semitic languages, or, rather, indicate that the Ethiopic retained and developed some features of the one original and undivided Semitic tongue which the northern branch also developed, but which the Arabic did not develop, or at any rate dropped. Still another class of peculiarities show that in the Ethiopic the process of decay had already commenced when it became a literary language. All these features combined will aid in giving the language its proper position as a branch, but one marked by individuality in character and development, of the Semitic family.

Digitized by Google

The Ethiopians call their tongue "lezâna Geĕz," the language of the free. Originally it was the language spoken in Tigre, a district in the northern part of Ethiopia; but when a powerful government was established at Uxum, the capital of Tigre, and spread over the rest of the country, the language of the district became the language of the country. This is a phenomenon often observed in history. The Arabic of the Koran and of literature was originally the dialect of the tribe Kinânâ, to which the Kuraisch family, of which Mohammed was a member, belonged. With the conquests of the new religion it spread also. In the Germany of the reformation period a similar transformation took place through Luther's Bible and other writings. Although the alphabet and beginnings of Ethiopic literature cannot be ascribed to Christian influences, as is proved from the fact that these old inscriptions date back to pre-Christian days and convey sentiments decidedly heathenish, yet the literature of the language as such is entirely of a Christian and ecclesiastical sort. And to the present day, although the Amharic and other dialects have supplanted it in the mouths of the people, and even the priests and educated people understand but little of it, it continues to be used in the services of the Church as the *lingua sacra*.

At the head of Ethiopic literature stands the version or versions of the Bible; and with these words the two chief characteristics of this literature have been expressed—it is κατ' ἐξοχήν churchly, and a literature of translations partly from the Greek and partly from the Arabic. The position here assigned to the Ethiopic translation of the Bible is based not only or chiefly on chronological grounds, but rather on the fact that this translation gave character and form to all the literature that followed. Dillmann, the greatest of Ethiopic scholars, in the Prolegomena to his Lexicon, says, "Inter ea (i. e. Ethiopic literature) primum locum obtinent Biblia Æthiopica, quæ omnium literarum Abyssiniarum fundamentum sunt et norma, et quam reliqui scriptores suum dicendi scribendique genus conformaverunt." These words in nowise overestimate the importance or influence of this version for the literary life of Ethiopia. This translation made from the Septuagint soon after the Christianization of Ethiopia, is a fair and reliable one, and should be heard in settling one of the vexed questions of old Testament Science, viz., the text of the LXX. As yet the whole Old Testament has not been published. In 1701 Job Ludolph published the Psalms, and in 1853 Dillmann issued a critical edition of the Octateuchus (i. e. the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Ruth) and of 1 and 2 Kings, and lately also of the prophet Joel. The New Testament was published in Rome as early as 1548 by the Abyssinian Tesfa-Zion, which version was received into the great London Polyglot Bible, and in 1830 Th. P. Platt issued an edition for the British Bible Society; but neither of these can be called critical. About the same time with the Bible, or soon after, a number of other books were translated, which, owing to the vague ideas of Biblical canon among the Ethiopians are sometimes found among the canonically received books. Fortunately a large number of these translations are of works of which the originals have been lost, and in this case the translations have a greater than the mere literary value of aiding in determining or understanding the original texts. A number of Pseudepographi of the Old Testament have thus been preserved to the church. Without doubt the chief of these is the enigmatical Book of Enoch, of which a new translation, with extensive introduction and notes, by the writer appeared at Andover in 1882. Dillmann has published the Ethiopic text and a German translation. Allied in spirit to Enoch is the haggadistic production

Digitized by Google

called the Kufale, or the Book of Jubilees, or also the Smaller Genesis, CH λεπτὴ γένεσις, in which the contents of Genesis are reproduced under the scheme of Jubilee periods, and filled out with all kinds of rabbinical stories. Dillmann published the Ethiopic texts in 1859 and a German translation in the *Goettinger Gelehrter Anzeiger*, but no English translation has as yet been made. Other works of this kind, well known through the patristic citations, are the *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Apocalypse of Ezra. The Ethiopic text of the former was published by Dillmann in 1876, and of the latter by Platt in 1820. A most peculiar work is the *Physiologus*, the representative of a strange class of Christian literature in the early middle ages, in which the objects of nature are used to teach and illustrate Christian doctrine and morality, and of this Hommel edited the Ethiopic text and made a German translation in 1877. The latest work of this kind issued is the contest of Adam, edited in Ethiopic by Trumpp, and translated into English by Malan. The literature is also rich in liturgical work, of which, however, but little has been translated. Trumpp in 1878 published the Ethiopic Baptismal Book of which the present writer soon after made a translation in the Luthern Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.; and Rodwell, in 1864 and 1867, published in London, chiefly from MSS., a large collection of Ethiopic Prayers and Liturgies. Some few works are extant on other subjects, such as exegesis, mostly translations from Chrysostom; a collection of Monastic commands called the Rules of Pachominy; confessions of faith, both of the Church as a whole and of prominent individuals; and one or two works on philosophy, law and medicine. The ascetic literature, as can be expected, is very large, the lives of the saints being described *in extenso*. The Ethiopic almanac has a saint for every day, and a biography of every saint. Wüstenfeld recently published a German translation of this saints' biographical calendar, called the Synaxarium. Poetry also is to be found, but it has stood in the service of the Church, consisting chiefly of antiphones, prayers and laudations of Mary and the saints. A kind of a Specilegium Æthiopice in English translation was given by the writer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of January 1882. Of course we have not given here anything like a complete list of Ethiopic works, not even of all that have been published, but have endeavored to furnish only enough material for readers to form a judgment as to the character and scope of this literature.

The facilities for studying Ethiopic are very good for any one who understands German, but very poor for a person who does not. And this is nearly all the work of a single man, Professor A. Dillmann, of Berlin, a pupil of Ewald. It is true that before his day we had the grammar and lexicon of that enthusiastic scholar Job Ludolf, the author of the very valuable *Historie Æthiopica* and the accompanying *Commentarius in Hist. Æthiop.;* but Dillmann's work threw all this into the shade. His *Grammatik*, *Lexicon Æthiopic Latinum* and *Chrestomathia Æthiopica* offer not only the beginner, but also the advanced student vast material for work. They are all the fruit of ripe scholarship, written upon the solid basis of comparative Semitic philology, and will repay study. Other aids also are at hand. Schrader, the well known Assyrian scholar, has written a well digested and careful treatise on the relation of the Ethiopic to the other Semitic tongues, entitled "*De Linguae Æthiopicae Cum Conatis Linguis Comparatae Indole Universae;*" Stade, now Professor in Giessen and the author of a new and excellent Hebrew Grammar, wrote a dissertation on the pluraliteral stems in Ethiopic; Hommel has made some contributions to the Ethiopic lexicon in his *Physiologus* and his

Digitized by Google

Namen der Längethieres beiden Suedsemit. Völkern; Trumpp has also done something in this direction in his various contributions to Ethiopic; König, the author of the new Hebrew grammar based on Qimḥi, has published two series of studies on the alphabet, pronunciation and forms of the Ethiopic language, and others have done similar work. From this last, which of course is by no means exhaustive, it is apparent that there is plenty of material at the disposal of scholars for both the critical and the literary study of the Ethiopic language. It is only to be regretted that so few find inclination and time to devote more attention to this interesting subject. G. H. S.

Kautzsch's Aramaic Grammar.—This work deserves special commendation from the fact that the author has restricted himself to the Aramaic as presented in the Old Testament, and that he did neither intend, nor pretend, as some others before him have done, to write a grammar of the Aramaic in general. The Aramaic dialects, as we have them preserved in Daniel and Ezra, in the various Targums, in the two Talmuds, in the Midrashic and in some other branches of the ancient Jewish literature, differ very considerably, grammatically as well as lexically. In time and in place the remains of the Aramaic literature lie almost as widely asunder as the writings of Chaucer and of Macaulay, as the Scotch dialect and that of Wales. Could we now reasonably expect that one grammar of the English language should give us at the same time the rules governing modern English and old English, the English of Northumberland and the English of Sussex County? Any attempt to do so, would result in our confounding one dialect with another, and would be misleading.

So we find in some of the Aramaic dialects the verb חֲמָא (*to see*), while in others only חֲזָא is used. In some, *water* is designated by the noun מַוֵי, in others by מַיִין, or מַיָא. In some the plural of masculine nouns ends in ין־, in others the ending is ין־, com. גַּבְרִי and גּוּבְרִין (*men*). In some the 1 p. Sing. Perf. of the verb ends in ית־, in others in י־, comp. אֲמָרִית and אֲמָרִי (*I have said*), חֲזִית and חֲזָאי (*I have seen*). And thus there are hundreds of differences to be found.

Facts enough are recorded proving that even in Judea the dialect of the neighboring Galilee was understood with diffculty in the Talmudic age, and *vice versa*. In Talmud Babyl. Erubhin 53b, for instance, we find several anecdotes showing this. For example: A Galilean had come to Judea, and there he asked, Who has an אמר? Who has an אמר? And they answered him, Thou foolish Galilean, what dost thou desire with thy אמר? Dost thou mean a חֲמוֹר (*donkey*) to ride upon, or חֲמַר (*wine*) to drink, or עֲמַר (*wool*) to clothe thyself with, or אִימַר (*a lamb*) to kill it? In Genesis Rabba, chap. XXIV., Rabbi Eliezer is quoted as having made the remark that in Galilee they say עִיוְיָא instead of חִיוְיָא (*serpent*). If such grammatical and lexical differences were prevailing in the speech of the inhabitants of Southern and of Northern Palestine, how still more marked must have been the difference between the Eastern Aramaic spoken in the Euphrates valley and the Western Aramaic spoken on the shores of the lake of Genesareth?

On page 16 of his grammar, Prof. Kautzsch gives a specimen of the Aramaic as still spoken in three villages on the eastern slope of the Anti-Lebanon mount-

Digitized by Google

ain. If from this short specimen we would be justified in determining the characteristics of the Aramaic as still living in the mouths of a few hundred Syrians of the present day, we might say that in that dialect even radical letters are often dropped. For אחונא (*brother*) they say חונא, for הות (*it was*) they say ות. The same peculiarity we find in the old Aramaic literature, especially in the Jerusalem Talmud, where for אנן (*we*) the form נן appears, for אמר (*to speak*) the form מר, for the proper noun אלעזר the shortened form לעזר, and so forth.

In § 5, No. 3 of his book, Prof. Kautzsch says that we are still lacking a good critical edition of the Targum, both in regard to the consonant-text and to the vocalization thereof. This complaint has now happily become groundless, at least in part. For within a few months, A. Berliner's excellent edition of the Onkelos Targum has left the press (Berlin, 1884), accompanied by notes, introduction, and indexes,—an edition which will satisfy the demands of every student.

B. FELSENTHAL.

The Study of Arabic in the University of Cincinnati.—The study of Arabic has been carried on in the University of Cincinnati for more than five years. The whole number of students that have taken it as a part of their curriculum, amounts to twelve or thirteen. The course, as laid down in the catalogue, is one of two years, but in many instances students have given four or five years to Arabic, making it a main or a secondary branch in a post-graduate course. The authorities of the Hebrew Union College strongly urge those under their charge to engage in the study thereof as long as possible.

At first the students were supplied by the instructor with different books in Arabic, by which aids they were taught to read the text. By means of dictation, paradigms and a vocabulary were acquired, and this was followed by the translation of simple sentences from Arabic into English and vice versa. A knowledge of the most common rules of Syntax was imparted in the same way. The students then took up Wright's Arabic Grammar and Arnold's Chrestomathy, omitting much in the former as being unnecessary. At least two thirds of the Chrestomathy were read, and it was succeeded by the Muallakat, with commentary (Arnold's edition). There was some doubt about the expediency of laying before young students a text so difficult. It was very hard, for a while; but in a short time, there were very few passages that they could not translate. There were four of the Muallakat read.

The last book that is given to the students is the Koran, with Beidhawis' Commentary (Fleischer's edition). The most important Suras with commentary are selected, translated, and the commentary pointed. It is best to accustom students very early to unpointed text. They will not find it, by any means, so difficult as they would think.

Every other year a course of lectures is given on the Semitic languages. These are more of an encyclopedic than philological nature.

Hebrew is not taught in the University of Cincinnati, on account of the advantages offered by the Hebrew Union College. Nearly all of the students that take Arabic have already received instruction in Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac. The University of Cincinnati has not yet any professor that devotes his time exclusively to teaching the Semitic languages. It will, without doubt, not be very long before such a chair has been established.

Digitized by Google

One great hindrance to the study of Arabic is the cost of books, and, it might even be added, the lack of the right kind of books at any cost. There is not one grammar that gives, in a succinct and clear form, such an insight into Arabic as is furnished by fifty Latin, or Greek grammars to those wishing to pursue either of these languages. W. SPROULL.

גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן.—"Eden" (Heb. עֵדֶן) had originally nothing to do with עֵדֶן, pl. עֲדָנִים. The Hebrews received the word (meaning "field," "plain") from the Babylonians. The usual Assyrian ideograph for "field," "Steppe," "plain," is explained in the syllabaries (vid. *Haupt*, ASK, 18, No. 312) by í-di-n u, *i. e.*, עֵדֶן, and as this word appears, at the same time, in the left column of the syllabary (as í-di-in), it may be supposed that it was an old (*uraltes*), non-Semitic word, which later passed over into the Semitic (Del.). Eden, as used by the Hebrew writer, is, of course, a *proper name*, which the Hebrews, as often happens in such cases, interpreted after their own etymology, and which they probably connected with עֵדֶן in the meaning "joy," "pleasure."—In this "field" Jahveh planted a "garden," in which he placed the man. The ideograph in Assyrian for the conception "garden," read k a r and g a n, is explained, as regards its meaning in the syllabaries (vid. III., R, 70, 96; ASK, 15, 217) by Assyr. g i n û (g i-nu-u), Accad. g a-n a, and, aside from this, it is, for the Assyrian, made clear through i k-l u, *i. e.*, חָקַל, "field." It must remain undecided whether this word which is found in *all* the Semitic languages, also in the Ethiopic, is to be regarded as non-Semitic, but Sumero-Accadian (*Sayce*, *Haupt*, *Del.*), *i. e.*, as a foreign word in these languages, as "Park" in ours. The possibility that this word passed from the Semitic into the Accadian is, in our opinion, equally as probable, because (vid. F. Del. PD. 135) the proper and, at all events, older word for "garden," in the Accadian, seems to have been k a r; g u n, g i n replaced k a r, as far as we now see, for the first in the time of Asurbanipal (Assurb. *Smith*, 183). The etymology of the word is also, to say the least, made no less satisfactory by the acceptance of its Semitic origin than by the acceptance of its coming out of the Accadian.—*Schrader's KAT.*[2] R. F.

חִדֶּקֶל (Gen. II., 14), the Hebrew name of the Tigris, occurring also in Dan. X., 4. Noteworthy, as is known, is the pronunciation with prefixed ḥ i, which we meet neither in the Aramaic, nor in the Arabic, nor, finally, in the Persian form of the name. It is, however, not specifically Hebraic. It is found also in the Assyrian, but not, however, in the usual texts; these also present only the form "Diglat," *e. g.*, the Behistun (*l. c.*) inscription, Babyl. text l. 35 (D i-i g-l a t). We meet it, however, in the more complete syllabaries. One of these (II. Rawl. 50, 7) explains the ideograph in Beh. 34, and known to represent the Tigris (BAR.TIK.KAR) by I-d i-i g-l a t, *i. e.*, as the syllables a, i, u, in the Assyrian represent also h a, h i, h u,=H i d i g l a t, a form which, as proposed, corresponds very nearly to the Hebrew pronunciation, and joins itself with the Samaritan הִדְקֶל. The hardening of h(i) to ḥ(i), in transfer from one language to another, is, in general, not infrequent. As the Persian A h u r a m a z d â, in the inscription of N a k s c h-i-R u s t a m, certainly became the Babylonian A ḥ u r m a z d a' (together with U r i m i z d a or U r a m a z d a, also U r i m i z d a' of the Behistun inscription), and as the same probably holds good in the Assyrian

Digitized by Google

itself in the case of the foreign names Hamattu and Amattu "Hamâth," Ha-mîdi and Amîdi "Amid," so it is also probable that this Assyrian and Aramaic דקל(ח) is only hardened in pronunciation from an original דקל(ה)— and that the pronunciation with ק goes back to a still earlier form with ג. Probably the matter stands thus, that Idiglat, especially Diglat (the latter in the Behistun inscription) was the weaker *Babylonian* pronunciation, as reflected in the Persian Tigrâ, and as retained to the present day in the Arabic دِجْلَة, while, in the Hebrew and (cf. دِمَشْق) Aramaic, the specifically *Assyrian* pronunciation received precedence. In other cases it is also known that, in Assyrian, a hard, emphatic ק corresponds to a weak ג in the Babylonian, and that, in still other respects, differences exist between the Assyrian and Babylonian pronunciations, is no less well known. Worthy of notice is the rejection of the fem. ending (a,t) in the Hebrew and Aramaic; while the Assyrian and the other languages mentioned above, including the Neo-Persian, have constantly retained it. Cf. the reverse in the Assyrian-Himjaritic-Aramaic עשתר, عشتر, عثتر, in contrast with the Hebrew-Canaanitic עשתרת.—*Schrader's KAT.*[2]

R. F.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Study of Assyrian.—The impression prevails that, unless one has a life-time to devote to it, little can be accomplished in the study of Assyrian. This impression is a mistaken one. It is true, of course, that one's entire life might profitably be devoted to the study; that, to become recognized as an authority in Assyrian, one must give himself up exclusively to this and kindred subjects. But are we to take it for granted that, unless a man is to become a *specialist* in a given department, there is nothing in connection with that department which he may profitably study? Shall no man study Latin except the prospective professor of Latin?

It is probable that the difficulties of Assyrian study have been exaggerated. Or, perhaps the statement may better be made thus: The difficulties which originally existed,—and, it must be conceded, they seemed almost insuperable,—thanks to the arduous labors of such men as Delitzsch, Schrader, Oppert, Sayce, are now largely removed. Difficulties, to be sure, still remain; but, compared with those which have been overcome, they are of a minor character. The greatest difficulty for the student is the mastery of the syllabary, now that it has been quite definitely determined. But we think that an important and helpful step in advance was made during the past summer, when it was decided by an eminent Assyriologist—a practical instructor—that it was expedient, first to get some knowledge of the language through transliterated texts, and then, gradually to master the signs. This method has two advantages: it will encourage the student; and it will enable him to acquire the syllabary all the more rapidly and thoroughly, because he will know the meaning and signification of the roots and formative elements for which the signs stand.

The adoption of this method will induce five men to take up Assyrian where, otherwise, one would have hesitated. Nor need we fear that men will not learn the syllabary, after having gained some knowledge of the language. Surely that

Digitized by Google

which he would earlier have been compelled to do, will now be done all the more willingly; for not only will the student find it more easy, but he will be more fully persuaded of its importance.

The question arises: For whom is a study of Assyrian important? Whom will it pay? We answer:

1) *The professors of Hebrew.* We cannot understand how any one whose business it is to instruct in Hebrew, or to teach the Old Testament, can well afford to be without some knowledge, at least, of that language and literature which has already affected so largely the very questions which he is called upon daily to discuss in the class-room, viz., the forms of Hebrew words, the meaning of Hebrew words, the history of a nation so closely connected with that of Israel. The example of a learned professor of Hebrew, nearly sixty years of age, in a Southern seminary, who has spent his vacation, just closing, in the class-room study of Assyrian, because, indeed, he felt that a knowledge of this language was necessary to fit him for the better performance of his duties as a professor of Hebrew,—the example of this man deserves to be imitated by younger men. There is much time spent in these days by our theological professors in the discussion of questions which are of no possible moment, however they may be settled. Why not devote a portion of this time to the study of Assyrian? We profess to follow the historico-grammatical method in our interpretation of Scripture. Are there any questions then so fundamental as questions of grammar, of lexicography, of history? Is there any one source from which so much aid may be gained as from Assyrian?

2) *Ministers who know Hebrew.* There are some clergymen, let us thank God, who are familiar with Hebrew, who read the Hebrew of the Old Testament, as they read the Greek of the New. These, as compared in number with those who do not possess this knowledge, are, it must be confessed, few. But they are growing more numerous. Ten years ago they might be counted by tens. To-day they may be counted perhaps by hundreds. For this class of men, we can think of no more profitable linguistic study. Even a slight knowledge of Assyrian will enliven their Hebrew, and make it again as fresh as when first learned. Besides, who ought to be more fully equipped for the study of the Divine Word than the minister? Not even the specialist. If the Assyrian language and history will assist one in understanding the Hebrew language and history, shall it not be studied?

3) *Students of Ancient History and of Comparative Religions.* The discoveries in Assyria have opened a new field in Ancient History. What student in this department or in that of Comparative Religions,—now a science in itself,—can well afford to be ignorant of a language, of a literature, and of a history which promise so much to the investigator. Nor need one suppose that he can understand the history or religion of a people, any more than its literature, without an acquaintance with its language. The greatest of all Hebrew historians, Ewald, was likewise the greatest of all Hebrew scholars.

It is objected, *first*, that the books for the study of Assyrian are very expensive. This is true; but what library is worthy of the name that has not an Assyrian apparatus? and, besides, what are a few dollars in a matter of this kind. It may not be long, perhaps, until we shall have Assyrian text-books prepared by American professors, and then the objection of expense will no longer exist.

It is objected, *secondly*, that it is impossible to obtain instruction. This was

Digitized by Google

true three years ago, but is no longer true. At Cambridge, Professor D. G. Lyon has classes in Assyrian; in New York City, Professor Francis R. Brown; in Philadelphia, Professor John P. Peters; in Baltimore, Professor Paul Haupt. There was, during the past summer, and there will also be, the coming summer, an opportunity for gaining this instruction. Shall all this kind of work be done in Germany? Shall not American scholars show that they have a deep interest in whatever concerns the Word of God, or the language in which that Word is written?

Unaccented Open Syllables with a Short Vowel.—With Professor Strack's admirable treatment of "Syllables in Hebrew" the discussion in HEBRAICA of the so-called "Intermediate" Syllable will close. We regret that we cannot take space for the publication of other articles on this subject which have been received.

In closing the discussion, a few words may be regarded as in place:—

From the lack of a clear treatment of this subject by grammarians, and from the opinions of eminent teachers expressed orally and by letter to the writer, it is inferred that the subject is one not deemed worthy of attention. But what are the facts?

1) The Hebrew vowel-system, "while not authentic, and by no means to be regarded as an intrinsic part of the text," is not merely valuable, but indeed *necessary*, as an aid in learning the language. No accurate knowledge of the Hebrew can be obtained aside from an absolute mastery of the principles of the Massoretic system of punctuation, whether these be regarded as natural or artificial, real or imaginary. And the regularity of the system is all the more a reason why seeming departures from it should be closely examined.

2) There are in the first chapter of Genesis 454 syllables ending with a vowel, including those ending with a quiescent letter. Of these, 181 are accented, 273 unaccented (the Měthĕgh not being regarded as an accent). In all grammars the law is laid down that unaccented simple (or open) syllables must have a long vowel; but of the 273 unaccented syllables, 39, i. e., one in seven, has a short vowel. There is, of course, a clear reason in every case for this seeming violation of the rule. But why, when so large a number of such cases occurs, should no mention be made of them?

3) That student who fails to notice this deviation, and to classify the instances of it, cannot be called a critical student. That teacher who will not take into account a fact which, in violation of a most fundamental principle, occurs at least twenty times on every page of the Hebrew Bible, is not a critical teacher.

4) In our study of the Hebrew upon the basis of the Massoretic punctuation, we find, as a matter of fact, repeated instances of unaccented syllables ending in a short vowel. Why not, for the sake of convenience, designate these syllables by some definite and appropriate term? Professor Green has used the expression "intermediate;" Gesenius (Kautzsch) "half-open;" Strack suggests for some "loosely closed," for others, "opened." For our own part, any one of these terms would be satisfactory.

[In the article on "The Aramaic Language," § 1, the spelling "Shemitic" was allowed to stand, by an oversight, instead of "Semitic." Hereafter ש will be transliterated by w, and שׁ by š.—*Ed.*]

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

KAUTZSCH'S GRAMMAR OF THE BIBLICAL-ARAMAIC.*

This is a complete *Reference*-grammar for *Biblical*-Aramaic, and will make a convenient companion volume to the edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar by the *same author*. It is about half as large as that work, and follows, in the main, the arrangement pursued there. The Introduction (a translation of which is given in this number) contains twenty-three pages; Orthography comprises seventeen pages; Etymology, ninety-one; and Syntax, forty-one. The real excellence of the book consists in the thoroughness with which the comparison with Hebrew is maintained, and differences noted, and in the free communication of the author's opinion on difficult questions. In dealing with the latter, everything which may shed light upon the matter in hand seems to have been consulted. The Index to Scripture passages shows that all but forty-seven Aramaic verses have been cited in the body of the work, and one passage has eleven such references.

For details, it may be sufficient to refer to what our author has done for the noun. This subject, so difficult of treatment and, hitherto, so loosely treated, is here handled with scientific accuracy and with a fullness never attempted. Forty pages, more than half of them in minion type, are given to the Etymology alone. In this division of the grammar, the Biblical citations are very numerous, at least one passage being referred to in the case of every form, and all forms occurring in Biblical Aramaic are said by the author to be enumerated in the classification which he gives. The general method of classification is like that in Gesenius, except that feminine nouns of a particular class are discussed with the masculines of the same class. Many interesting facts are here brought into prominence, as, e. g., in the statement, on p. 84, that ה_ of the fem. and emph. masc. is not used by Hebraism for א_, but is to be regarded as just as good Aramaic and at least as old as the latter; and in the one on page 91, that forms like צֶלֶם are really Segholates of the A-Class, while forms like עֵשֶׂב are I-Class Segholates. The remarks on *foreign* words, though brief, are, for the most part, satisfactory. In the discussion of the noun, as everywhere else in the book, forms not actually occurring in the Bible are distinguished by a special sort of type.

The Syntax of the Noun may be so estimated by the following list of sections printed in the contents. They are:—The Genders; The Numbers; The Emphatic State; The representation of the Genitive relation by the so-called Const. State; The Genitive by circumlocution with דִּי; The Noun in exclamation; The Noun in apposition; The Noun governed by Verbs; The Adjective as attributive and the expression of it by circumlocution; The Numerals.

For purposes of *reference* the volume before us renders all other books of the sort well nigh useless, so far as concerns *Biblical* Aramaic; and the author deserves the thanks of all friends of Semitic study. C. R. B.

* GRAMMATIK DES BIBLISCH-ARAMAEISCHEN, MIT EINER KRITISCHEN EROERTERUNG DER ARAMAEISCHEN WOERTER IM NEUEN TESTAMENT. Von E. Kautzsch, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Tuebingen. VIII and 182 pp. Leipzig: *F. C. W. Vogel*, 1884.

Digitized by Google

BROWN'S ARAMAIC METHOD.*

In the title to his work, Professor Brown seems to have been obliged to choose between unscientific inaccuracy and a correctness that is slightly indefinite. For he has rejected the old, but really inaccurate, name of Chaldee, and substituted for it the more correct, but also more indefinite name Aramaic. Yet his book is only designed to be an introduction to the more thorough study of the so-called Chaldee of the Bible and the Targums. It is not easy to see, however, how one possessed of the scholarly spirit of which Professor Brown's book gives evidence, could have done otherwise.

It is certainly to be regretted that we cannot have some name more true to the philological facts of the case than the old name of Chaldee, by which to distinguish the language of the Targums from that other offshoot from the old common stock, i. e. the language, or dialect, known as the Syriac.

Professor Brown's excellent book consists substantially of three parts; (1) Selections from the Targums, (2) scholarly and helpful Notes on these selections, and also on the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament (for the text of these the student is referred to the Hebrew Bible), and (3) a carefully prepared Vocabulary. Thus the book is essentially, as is stated in the Preface, a Reading Book, or Chrestomathy. The Preface also informs us that it is only the First Part of a work yet to be completed by the issue of Part II, which will consist of a Grammar. The Chrestomathy is published before the Grammar, because the design of Professor Brown is that his completed work shall be used in the "acquisition of the elements of Aramaic by the so-called *Inductive* Method." In this method, the student is first led to see the facts in the language itself, and learns the principles and laws underlying these facts afterwards.

To aid in the accomplishment of his purpose, Professor Brown has printed in his book the text of the first ten chapters of the Targum of Onkelos, with the corresponding portions of the Hebrew text on the opposite pages. By this means, the student will be able, with the help of a skilful instructor, to discover for himself all the important resemblances and differences between the Hebrew and the Chaldee, and thus become prepared for a systematic study of the Chaldee Grammar. As a partial compensation for the yet unpublished Part II, Professor Brown has inserted in this Part I, before the title page, a complete set of Chaldee paradigms, so that the book, as it now stands, will form, in the hands of a competent teacher, a complete apparatus for giving the student command of the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, and such a knowledge of the language of the Targums, as will fit him to enter upon the more thorough study of them.

The print, both English and square character (Hebrew and Chaldee) is good and clear, and the appearance of the pages is very pleasing to the eye. To those who know anything of the difficulty of securing good work of this sort in our country, the press-work reflects no small credit upon the publishers.

Professor Brown has made a real and valuable contribution to the study of the so-called Chaldee; and one proof of the excellence of his work is, that his book already, so soon after its publication, has been adopted as a text-book in at least five important Theological Seminaries. S. B.

* AN ARAMAIC METHOD, a Class-Book for the study of the Elements of Aramaic from Bible and Targums, by Charles R. Brown. Part I. Text, Notes, and Vocabulary. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew*, Morgan Park, 1884.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

AMAND, A. Quelques observations sur les inscriptions des statues de Tell-Lah. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, April '84.

BACHER, W. Die Hebräisch-Arabische Sprachvergleichung d. Abulwalîd Mer-Wân ibn Ganâh. Wien: *Gerold's Sohn*.....M.1.20

BADGER, G. P. An English-Arabic Lexicon. London: *Paul Trench & Co.* .80s.

BASSETT, J. Grammatical note on the Simnúní dialect of the Persian Language. *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, Jan., '84.

BERGAIGNE, A. Manuel pour étudier la Langue Sanscrite. Chrestomathie, lexique, principes de grammaire. *Vieweg*.....12fr.

BERGK, T. Zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabete in Pamphylien. *Ztschr. f. Numismatik*, XI, 4.

BERLINER, A. Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrash. (By Kroner.) *Juedisches Litteratur-Blatt*, July 31, '84.

BERLINER, A. Targum Onkelos. Herausgegeben und erläutert. I. Thl. Text, nach Editio Sabioneta d. J. 1557. II. Thl. Noten, Einleitung und Register. Mit Unterstützung der k. Academie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Berlin: *Gorzelauczyk & Co.*, 1884.....M.10.—

BERLINER, A. Targum Onkelos. (By G. F. Moore.) *Andover Review*, Oct., '84.

BLOCH, J. S. Beiträge zur Einleitung in die Talmudische Literatur. Einblicke in die Geschichte der Entstehung der Talmudischen Literatur. Wien, *D. Löwy*. Gr. 8vo, pp. X, 139.

BROWN, C. R. An Aramaic Method. A Class-Book for the study of the Elements of Aramaic from Bible and Targums. Part I. Text, Notes and Vocabulary. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew*, 1884.....$1.75

DELITZSCH, FRIEDR. Hebrew Language viewed in light of Assyrian Research. (By H. L. Strack.) *Theol. Litbl.*, 25.

DUVAL, R. Sur la contrée araméenne, appellée pays supérior, par les lexicographes syriaques. *Journ. Asiatique*, Feb., Mar. '84.

DVORAK, RUD. Ueber "tinûru" des Assyrisch-Babylonischen and die entsprechenden Formen der übrigen semitischen Sprachen. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschung*, April, '84.

FISCHER, B. Talmudische Chrestomathie. (By H. L. Strack.) *Theol. Litblt.*, 24.

GAINET. Le déluge de Noé et les terrains quaternaires des geologues. Besançon: *Jacquin*. 8vo, pp. XLII, 194.

GENZ, H. Die Lokalkenntniss der Bibel. Anklam: 1884. 8vo, pp. IV, 39. M.—.50

GESENIUS, W. Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. 9. Aufl. v. F. Mühlau u. W. Volck. (By H. L. Strack.) *Theol. Litblt.* 22; (By P. de Lagarde.) *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 7; (By C. Siegfried.) *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 6.

GUYARD, ST. Une nouvelle racine assyrienne; barû. *Journ. Asiatique*, Feb., Mar., '84.

GUYARD, ST. Questions suméro-accadiennes. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforsch.* Apr. '84.

HALEVY, J. Coup d'oeil retrospectif sur l'alphabet libyque. *Journ. Asiatique*, Feb., Mar., '84.

HARING, I. Die עֲנִיִּים und עֲנָיִים im Alten Testament. *Theol. Studien aus Wuerttemberg*, 1884, 2.

Digitized by Google

HARTMANN, M. Presserzeugnisse Syriens in den Jahren 1882–83. *Literatur-Bl. f. Orient. Philol.*, March, '84.

HEIDENHEIM, M. Bibliotheca Samaritana. Herausgegeben und mit Einleitung, textkritischen Noten, Scholien und Beilagen versehen. I. Leipzig: *O. Schulze*.....M.3.50

HIRSCH, S. R. Ueber die Beziehung des Talmuds zum Judenthum und zu der sozialen Stellung seiner Bekenner. Frankfurt: *Kauffmann*, 1884. 8vo, pp. 38.

HOMMEL, FRITZ. Die sumero-akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, April, July, '84.

KAUTZSCH, E. Uebungsbuch zu Gesenius-Kautzsch' Hebräischer Grammatik. Leipzig: *F. C. W. Vogel*, 1884, pp. 162.

KAUTZSCH, E. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament. Leipzig: *F. C. W. Vogel*. Gr. 8., pp. VIII, 181.....M.4

KREMER, A. FRHR. v. Beiträge zur arabischen Lexicographie. II. [Aus: "Sitzungsber. der k. Akad. der Wissensch."] Wien: *Gerold's Sohn*.....78s.

KREMP, F. Hebräische Studien. Gymasialprogramm. Rastatt, 1883.

LANMAN, C. R. A Sanskrit Reader, with Vocabulary and Notes. Parts I. and II. Texts and Vocabulary. Boston: *Ginn & Heath*, 1884.

LEVY, J. Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudin und Midraschim. (By S. Fraenkel.) *Lit.-Bl. f. Orient. Philol.*, Aug., '84.

LYON, D. G. Keilinschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs von Assyrien. (By J. P. Taylor.) *Andover Review*, June, '84.

MITCHELL, E. C. Elementary Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book. Andover: *W. F. Draper*, 1884, pp. 120.....$1.25

MITCHELL, H. G. Hebrew Lessons: a book for beginners. Boston: *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1884. Pp. 232.....$1.80

PREISWERK, D. S. Grammaire hébraïque. 4 éd., refondue par Past. S. Preiswerk. Avec un tableau comparatif des alphabets. Basel: *Georg*. Gr. 8., pp. LXVI, 402.

RAMMELT, G. Ueber die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebräischen. (Hallenser Dissertation, 1883.) Leipzig: *Fock*. 8vo, pp. 32.....M.1.—

REDHOUSE, J. W. A simplified Grammar of the Ottoman-Turkish Language. London: *Truebner & Co.*, Post 8vo, pp. 216.

SAYCE, A. H. The literary works of Ancient Babylonia. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftf.*, July, '84.

SCHRADER, E. Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge der altbabylonischen Cultur. Berlin: *Duemmler*, 1884. Gr. 4to, pp. 49.

SCHRADER, E. Kineladan und Asurbanipal. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforsch.*, July, '84

STRACK, H. L. Lehrbuch der neuhebräischen Sprache und Literatur. *Modern Review*, July, '84.

STRACK, H. L. Hebräische Grammatik. (By H. Vuilleumier.) *Revue de Theol. et de Phil.*, July, '84; (By E. Nestle.) *Lit. Centralbl.*, 25.

STRASSMAIER, S. J. Fünf babylonische Verträge aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezzar. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschung*, April, '84.

VOSEN, C. H. Rudimenta linguae hebraicae publicis et domesticae disciplinae brevissime accommodata. Retractavit, auxit, sextum emendatissima ed. Dr. Fr. Kaulen. Freiberg: *Herder*. Gr. 8vo, pp. IV, 131.

ZOECKLER, O. Luther als Ausleger des Alten Testaments, gewürdigt auf Grund seines grösseren Genesis-Commentars. Greifswald: *Abel*, 1884. 8vo, pp. 77. M.1

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOLUME I. JANUARY, 1885. NUMBER 3.

THE MASSORETIC VOWEL-SYSTEM.

BY CRAWFORD H. TOY,

Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

There is little or no doubt as to the actual use of the Massoretic vowel-signs; this is fixed by the readings of our Hebrew Bibles. The only question is as to its proper statement and explanation, about which there are considerable differences of opinion; and, as a contribution to the subject, and in the hope of eliciting further discussion, I give the substance of what I have been in the habit of teaching on this point. I shall refer to the historical genesis of the sounds only where it seems to throw light on the Massoretic system. As to the explanations of the old Jewish grammarians, they are to be taken as testimony, but not as final authority.

THE SOUNDS.

I transliterate as follows: Ḳāmeṣ, ā; Pattaḥ, a; Segōl, e; Ṣērē, ē; the two sounds of Ḥīrek, i and ī; Ḳāmeṣ Ḥāṭūf, o; Ḥōlem, ō; the two sounds of Šūrek-Ḳibbūṣ, u and ū; Šᵉwā simple, ᵉ suspended, composite, ă, ĕ, ŏ.

The vowel-sounds are usually described as "long" or "short;" but these terms seem to me to be objectionable. They are likely to be misleading: they may convey the impression that one sound differs from another only in the length of time given to its utterance—and there is no reason to suppose that this is true in Hebrew. But if they be understood to indicate merely a natural difference of length in sounds of different articulate quality, it is still an objection to them that they define the vowels by a secondary and uncertain characteristic—secondary, because it is merely a consequence of the essential articulate quality—uncertain, because it belongs largely to elocution, and is apt to be fixed by the speaker's feeling at the moment, which may lead him to make an i longer than an ā. For these reasons I shall avoid these terms, and use those mentioned below.

As there is no recognizable phonetic difference between mutable and immutable Ḳāmeṣ, Ḥōlem, and the rest, I shall not distinguish them in transliteration, but write ḳām as dābār, and kōṭēl as yiḳṭōl. This is an etymological and not a phonetic difference, and need be mentioned only in explanation of vowel-movements; though certainly it may be useful to mark it for beginners.

Digitized by Google

The vowel-sounds may be described as follows:

Ḳāmeṣ, ā, in its original form, is the sound produced when the vocal cavity is opened very wide, the tongue depressed and drawn back as far as possible, and the column of air issues unchecked and unmodified by the articulating organs—the ā in fāther. At some time, however, which it would be hard to fix with certainty, the sound seems to have been modified into that of English a w; we may probably infer this from the fact that, in both the Massoretic and the Babylonian systems, the o is regarded as a modification of Ḳāmeṣ. But, as its phonetic relations, long before established, were unaffected by this change of pronunciation, we may continue to mark it ā.

Pattaḥ, a, differs from Ḳāmeṣ in that, in making it, the vocal cavity is not so wide open, the tongue is slightly raised, and the ictus is further forward; it is not English a in pat, but more nearly German a in mann.

Ṣegōl, e, begins the series of linguo-palatal sounds; to form it the lips are kept moderately open and parallel, the tip of the tongue is about as high as the top of the bottom row of teeth, and the ictus of the column of air is made well back against the hard palate—about as e in met.

Ṣērē, ē, in the same series, keeps the lips a little farther apart, and the middle of the tongue raised toward the roof of the mouth, with the ictus farther forward, as a in mate, perhaps a diphthongal sound.

Ḥīrek, i, ī, seems to represent two sounds, both made with lips farther apart and teeth nearer than in Ṣegōl and Ṣērē, the tongue also being nearer the roof of the mouth, and the ictus further forward: the second of these, the outermost of the linguo-palatals, found usually in open syllables, is i in pique; the first, occurring usually in closed syllables, is midway between this and i in pit. About this latter i I am not sure; its syllabic relations give ground for supposing that it differs from e only, or principally, in having the ictus further forward, the elevation of the tongue being less than in ē.

Ḳāmeṣ Ḥāṭūf, o, begins the series of labials, in which the lips are arched or rounded, and the tongue depressed; its ictus is farther back than that of e. It is not the o in blot, that is, nearly a, but midway between this and a w. The next sound in the series, proceeding forward, is this a w, made with lips rounded, yet well apart, and tongue drawn far back—apparently the later sound of Ḳāmeṣ, more closed than a, from which it does not stand very far.

Ḥōlem, ō, the next member of the labial series, diminishes the rounded aperture of the lips, and draws the tongue farther back; it is o in note.

Šūrek-Ḳibbūṣ, u, ū, represents two sounds, one lying just behind, the other just in front of ō; the former has the lips more open, and the tongue further forward, the latter the lips more closed, and the tongue more arched, than ō; the first is nearly u in full, the second, u in rule. But about the second there is the same sort of doubt as in the case of o and i, though the doubt will not affect the syllabic movements.

Šᵉwā simple, ᵉ, is a very slight i, e or u; the composites are slight forms of a, e, o.

The vowels may be arranged in several different ways:

1. According to the place of the ictus on the line from throat to lips:

ā a o e ē i ī u ō ū

This list indicates the relation of the vowels to the consonants Ālef, Hē, Yōd, Wāw.

Digitized by Google

2. According to the position of the organs of speech:

ā, a.....vocal cavity open;
e, ē, i, ī..... ...tongue raised, lips parallel;
o, u, ō, ū.....tongue depressed, lips rounded.

This table shows, further, the interchanges of the vowels, both the pre-historic (ā, ō; u, ō) and the historic, living movements (a, e, i; o, ō, etc.)

3. According to the ease with which the sound may be sustained:

ā ē ī ō ū.....heavy
a e i..... ...medial
o u.....light

Šʿwā, as the lightest sound, belongs in a category by itself.

The facility of prolongation seems to be in proportion to the friction of air against the walls of the cavity, which again depends on the extent of closure of the cavity, except in case of the a-sounds, so that the names "closed" and "open" might be used. I prefer those given above, because they suggest the difference in friction and volume that may be felt by trying the vowels. It is possible that there is some other difference here besides friction, but I have not been able to discover any other. This table gives the ground for the preference for certain vowels in open syllables, and for others in closed syllables; its correctness must be tested by the facts of the Massoretic pointing.

EMPLOYMENT OF VOWELS IN SYLLABLES.

When we come to examine the functions of the vowels in syllables, their statics and dynamics, we must bear in mind that these are not governed by absolutely inflexible rules. The sounds themselves were probably not absolutely fixed; for each one of our actual sounds represents a certain area in the vocal cavity within whose limits it is susceptible of changes. The laws of euphony and convenience also, which so largely determine the use of the vowels, are by no means unbending, but may vary with circumstances, or may yield to other considerations.

Whether or not Šʿwā shall be regarded as forming a separate syllable is a good deal a matter of expression or convenience. The Jewish grammarians did not so regard it, but attached it to the succeeding syllable, and their example has been generally followed in modern works. The other view seems to me the better one. That the Šʿwā was a real vowel-sound there can be no doubt, and it is almost as certain that the language treated it as forming a syllable. The indisposition of the Semitic languages to begin a syllable with two consonants is well known: Syriac writes 'eṣtadon for στάδια, and Arabic 'ismit for Smith. The Massoretic pointing itself recognizes the vocalic character of Šʿwā in never dageshing a mute after it, and its syllabic character in those cases, as the interrogative he, the article, and the conjunction wa, where it writes a metheg in the syllable before the pretonic Šʿwā. Etymologically Šʿwā always represents the lowest point of a full vowel, and the recognition of its syllabic character helps to make plain inflectional vowel-changes, and also, as it appears to me, helps to simplify the presentation of the whole vowel-system. Undoubtedly this mode of looking at it is more in keeping with our phonetic ideas, and for that reason alone would be preferable, provided it does not go counter to some phonetic principle of the language—and this, I think, is not the case.[1]

[1] Pattah furtive also is a true vowel; but, as it does not in any way affect tone or vocalization or other pointing, it may be dismissed with a remark to that effect.

Digitized by Google

I shall, therefore, consider only two sorts of syllable: open, consisting of consonant+vowel; and closed, consisting of consonant+vowel+one or two consonants. I do not see that there is any need of making a third class of "half-open" or "intermediate" syllables, a syllable that is neither open nor closed, but ends in a consonant to which is attached a vowel that belongs neither to the preceding nor to the succeeding syllable, but remains unpleasantly suspended between them. It seems decidedly simpler to treat the consonant with Š'wā as a simple syllable. Whether this is so will best be tested by applying the theory to the explanation of the facts.

The primary physiological division of syllables is into open and closed, under each of which heads we have the secondary, in Hebrew partly artificial, division into toned and untoned.

A. OPEN SYLLABLES.

In general, it may be said that open syllables prefer the heavier or more easily extensible vowels, for an obvious physiological reason. But heavy and light, closed and open, are only relative terms as applied to vowels, and the difference in ease of pronunciation is not so great but that it may be made subordinate to other considerations. We may examine the various sorts of open syllable separately.

1. *With the tone.*

The general rule here needs no illustrations. The favorite vowels are ā, ē, ī, ō, ū. The toned open syllable is perhaps oftenest final, but is found abundantly in penult in suffixes to nouns and verbs, in verb-forms, and in pause.

Other vowels, however, especially e and a, occur in these syllables. Thus, in the demonstratives z e "this," ē l l e "these," out of z a, and ē l l a, or z a y a and ē l l a y a; in g e "valley" (also written g ē); in nouns of the form g ō l e, from verbs third radical Yod or Waw. These last come from i-forms, as g ō l i, out of g ō l i y a, and the presence of the e is to be referred to a feeling of euphony in the language. The construct shows the fuller vowel, as g ō l ē.

Further, in the a-class of Segolates, as m é - l e k, out of the monosyllabic m a l k, where the old accentuation of the word was retained when the a became e. It was only in the special stress of pause that it was felt to be necessary to strengthen the a into ā. If the second radical is a guttural, the first vowel is a.

So in the feminine with segolate or toneless e t ending, as k ō ṭ é l e t, out of k ō ṭ ē l e t for k ō ṭ ē l a t. The Hebrew impatience of the ending a t in the absolute form of the noun has led to two modes of treating the participle: the a t has gone into toned ā, before which the ē of the stem has sunk into Š'wā, k ō ṭ.'l ā; or the tone has receded from a t, which then becomes e t, and the toned ē has been assimilated to the following e. The large number of Segolate forms shows a fondness for e in a toned open syllable.

A stem-e is retained before the atonic petrified Accus. termination ā, as k a r m é . l ā, where the e is felt to be an essential part of the stem. So in the pause-form of the noun with suffix k ā, as d 'b ā r é . k ā, the retraction of the tone to the penult necessitates a full vowel, and the old case-ending a is retained in the form of e. The e in s u . s e . k ā, s u . s e . h ā, the plural noun with suffixes k ā and h ā, probably represents the old diphthong e i, out of a i = a y, from the full plural s u s a y, out of s u s a y a.

An example of toned a in an open syllable is found in the 3 sing. masc. Perf. with 1 pers. sing. suffix, as k 'ṭ ā l á . n ī: in obedience to a law of euphony the tone

Digitized by Google

is retracted, and the primitive third vowel of the verb-stem is retained, but, perhaps by reason of the phonetic weight of the ending nī, is not advanced to ā.

Also, in the plural noun with 2 sing. fem. suffix, as susá.yik, which seems to be a phonetic degradation of original susa.ya.k, susa being the accus. stem, ya the plural sign and k the pronoun; the tone is drawn back, in accordance with a general euphonic principle in Hebrew. The same explanation would apply to the dual ending áyīm: kᵉnāfáyīm is for kanafa.ya.m, where m is the mimation.

2. *In pretone.*

The two considerations, besides the preference for a-sounds, that determine the pretonic vowel, are the syntactical position of the word as not needing or needing definition (absolute and construct); and the phonetic weight given to a final added syllable. In a word regarded as needing definition by a succeeding word or suffix the tendency is to depress the pretonic to its slightest form—in the contrary case it will retain its vowel. If the final added syllable be heavy, so as to take the tone, the pretone will be light, otherwise not. The pretonic vowel is always either very heavy, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, or the lightest, Šᵉwā, never a, e, o, u.

In the following cases, then, a full vowel is found:

In the absolute noun, as dābār, zākēn, kāṭōl;

The Kal Perf. 3 sing. masc., Nifal Impf. 3 sing. masc., and certain Hifīl forms;

A sing. noun whose final syllable has ā, or ē with mutable pretone, when it takes a suffix which forms one syllable with the old third vowel of the noun-stem, or which is not heavy enough to attract the tone to itself, that is, any suffix except ka, kem, ken, as dᵉbārī for dᵉbāraya, zᵉkēnō for zᵉkēna.hū, dᵉbārēnū;

Kal Perf. 3 sing. masc. with any suffix except ka, kem, ken, as kᵉṭālánī, kᵉṭālām;

Kal Perf. 3 sing. fem. with any suffix except kem, ken, as: kᵉṭālátnū, kᵉṭālátᵉkā. In the last example the ordinary rule, that the tone cannot go farther back than the penult, is abandoned, for the sake of maintaining the very slight vowel-sound before the kā. The importance of the fem. ending at here prevents the tone from going over to the ultima, and preserves a trace of the old Semitic antepenultimate tone;

An inseparable preposition, as bā.hem, lā.hēn, lā.máyim, out of ba and la, whence come bᵉ and lᵉ.

On the other hand, the result of rapid pronunciation is to put Šᵉwā in pretone in the following cases, in all of which the Šᵉwā represents an original full vowel which it is desired to preserve:

The construct sing. and plur. of Nouns, including the abstract noun of action (Infin.) and the noun of command (Imperative), as dᵉbar, di.bᵉ.rē, kᵉṭōl;

The sing. noun with the suffixes ka, kem, ken, the Inf. with all suffixes, the Imperat. with all endings and suffixes, as dᵉ.bārᵉ.ká, for dabara.kā; koṭᵉlī, ki.ṭᵉ.lū. The Inf. shows recollection of its ancient form kuṭul, which likewise belonged to the Imperative, these both being merely rapidly pronounced nouns. The suffix kā carries so great weight that it retains before it the old accus. ending, only degraded to Šᵉwā;

The Perf. 3 sing. masc. with the suffixes ka, kem, ken, as kᵉṭālᵉkā, kiṭ.ṭe.lᵉ.kém, kᵉṭa.lᵉ.kem, precisely as the noun;

Digitized by Google

The Perf. 3 sing. fem., with suffixes kem, ken, as kᵉṭā.la.tᵉ.kem. The identity of action of noun and verb in this case is noteworthy—the form dᵉbārᵉkā might be either of the two. The reason is that the suffix kā, attracting the tone, produces the same changes in the primitive noun-verb stem dabara;

Verb-forms, except Hifīl, whose final syllable contains any vowel but a, when suffixes are added at the end, as yik.ṭᵉ.lā.nī;

Verbs Pē guttural with open-syllable preformative, as ye.ḥĕ.zak;

All verb-forms, except Hifīl, in which the afformative consists of a vowel, as kā.ṭᵉ.lā, nik.ṭᵉ.lū, tᵉ.kuṭ.ṭᵉ.lī. The verb here differs from the noun; the former is dā.bᵉ.rā, the latter dᵉ.bā.rī. But the verb-form with accus. suffixes agrees with that of the noun; both are, for example, dᵉ.bā.rō. The real difference, therefore, is between the verb with subject-suffix and the verb with object-suffix; the former degrades its pretonic syllable, the latter maintains it. The explanation of this fact is connected, perhaps, with the more complete sense-transformation that the original noun-verb stem underwent with the assumption of subject-suffixes, a construction that was probably later than the form with object-suffixes. But this belongs to general Semitic grammar.

3. *In antepretone, or farther back.*

Wherever the pretone has a full vowel, the antepretonic vowel, if mutable, becomes Šᵉwā, as dᵉbārīm; the cases are so numerous, and the reason so obvious, that no further remark is necessary.

When the pretone has Šᵉwā, there are two classes of cases, in the first of which a light vowel, and in the second a heavy vowel, is found in antepretone.

First, a light vowel in antepretone.

a. From additions at the beginning of the word.

Monosyllabic words with slender vowels are often prefixed to words having Šᵉwā in pretone. If, now, this Šᵉwā is held to be essential to the word, it must be retained, and the light vowel will then stand in the antepretonic syllable. For example, an inseparable preposition with a construct form, as bi, out of ba (before a syllable with full vowel, bᵉ), with dᵉbar or kᵉṭōl, makes bi.dᵉbar or bi.kᵉṭōl; wa with yᵉhī, the usual dagesh forte being omitted, makes wa.yᵉhī. Here bikᵉ is not a half-open syllable, but is composed of two syllables, the second of which is very light; or, if one prefers to consider kᵉṭōl as a single syllable, it must be defined as compound, consisting of a full syllable preceded by a consonant with a slight vowel-accompaniment. The case is different with li (out of la) and the const. Inf.: the fusion of the two words, so far as the sense is concerned, is so complete (as in the similar English form "to kill") that the Infin. gives up its first syllable, and the combination is pronounced lik.ṭōl.

b. From additions at the end of the word.

When inflectional endings or suffixes are attached to the Inf. Const. and Imperative Kal, as koṭᵉlī, kiṭᵉlū, kibᵉdī; koṭᵉlī is out of original kuṭulī or koṭolī, kibᵉdī from kabadī, and kiṭᵉlū follows the analogy of kibᵉdū. The original second vowel maintains itself in the form of Šᵉwā, and the first vowel keeps its original form. The peculiarity here is the retention of the second vowel, a contrivance of the language, apparently, to difference the abstract noun of action from the ordinary concrete noun. In one case, beged, which makes bi.gᵉdī, the same procedure has been adopted in a concrete noun; and this last example may lead us to suspect that this pronunciation was more frequent in early times than appears in the Massoretic pointing.

Digitized by Google

When the suffix kem is added to nouns, as dᵉ.ba.rᵉ.kem, di.bᵉ.rē.kem, where the antepretonic ba and the preantepretonic di have slender vowels. Before kem the primitive sing. dabara becomes dᵉbarᵉ, just as before ka; but while, in the latter case, the comparative lightness of the final syllable leads to the hightening of a into ā, dᵉ.bā.rᵉ.kā, here the greater weight of kem retains the ā, so as to avoid the accumulation of heavy syllables. The earlier plu. construct dabarē, out of dabara.ya, sinks its ba, which becomes antepretonic on the addition of the toned kem, into bᵉ, and must then retain a full vowel in the preceding syllable, only diminishing the dà to di.

This procedure of the noun with kem is in striking contrast with that of the verb in the addition of tem: the verb drops the third vowel of the old stem, and then dabar.tem becomes dᵉbar.tem. Why the noun keeps the third vowel, and the verb drops it, is not clear.

In the const. plu. of nouns also the light antepretonic vowel is found, as di.bᵉ.rē, ma.lᵉ.kē. The sense of the second vowel in the primitive dabara is so strong, as to cause its retention in the diminished form of Šᵉwā, and the antepretone then naturally has its own full vowel, which is sometimes a, sometimes i, sometimes o, as in the segolate forms malᵉkē, sifᵉrē, kodᵉšē; the full plural form malakīm (ordinarily now existing in the form mᵉlākīm) becomes malakē, and then malᵉkē.

With this we may connect the pronunciation of certain feminines in ūt, as malᵉkūt, yalᵉdūt. The explanation of these forms may be the same as that of bigᵉdi, above mentioned; we may have here another survival of an ancient pronunciation, which retained the second vowel in the sing. stem. Or, with Bickell (Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, Eng. translation by S. I. Curtiss, p. 61), we may suppose that the ground-form of such feminines is the plu. malakū, to which t is added, and the pretonic vowel diminished. But not all feminines in ūt retain the second vowel; we find, for example, mar.dūt and 'aš.tūt. It may, therefore, be better to refer the cases in question to the more general fact above stated.

Finally, we have to mention the case of a heavy vowel in open antepretone. This occurs in both noun and verb: in the former, when suffix kā is added to a sing., not segolate, having an a-vowel in the last syllable, or an ē-vowel preceded by a mutable, as dᵉbārᵉkā, zᵉkēnᵉkā; in the latter, in those Kal Perfect forms in which the subject-suffix consists of, or is preceded by, a vowel, as kāṭᵉlā, kāṭᵉlū, kāṭᵉlūn. The noun-form has already been referred to; the third vowel being retained before kā, in the shape of Šᵉwā, the second vowel remains full, and, because of the lightness of the two following syllables with Šᵉwā and ā, its vowel is increased to ā. The verb acts in the same way; out of dabarat, dabarū come dābᵉrā, dābᵉrū, in contrast with the noun-form dᵉbārō.

B. CLOSED SYLLABLES.

1. *In tone.*

The absolute noun, with one or two exceptions, takes a heavy vowel in a toned closed syllable, as dābār, mišpāṭ, zākēn, nikṭāl, mokṭāl, mᵉkaṭṭēl. This full pronunciation is, perhaps, due to the sense of completeness in the meaning of the noun. The exceptions are: a few monosyllabic words, like bat and 'am, contracted from fuller forms; and particles, such as 'al, 'ad, lᵉbad, similarly contracted.

In lām.mā the heavy ā is retained, in spite of the euphonic doubling of the m.

Digitized by Google

The noun in construct state lightens an a-vowel, if possible, as. dᶜbar, miš-pat, zᶜkan, yam—a consequence of the rapid pronunciation resulting from the dependence of such a noun on a following word. In this category we may probably include the relative pronoun ăšer, as the construct form of a noun āšār, "place." Perhaps, also, the prepositions come under the same head of construct nouns.

The verb also frequently shows a in closed syllables with the tone, as in Perf. of Kal, Nifal, Pual, Hofal, Hithpaal, and Imperf. of Pual, Hofal and Hithpaal. Whether this is due to a feeling that the verb stands in a sort of construct relation with the following word, I shall not undertake to decide. In Piel and Hifil, on the other hand, the heavier vowels are found, though even here the a is retained in Perf. before a subject-ending beginning with a consonant, and in several Piel Perfects, 3 sing. mas. The Piel form with e, as dibber, instead of dibbēr, is found in several verbs, and shows that e was not far from a or ē.

Further, e is found in the pronouns 'at. tem, kem, ken, hem, hen, having come from original u; and in such forms as 'ē. nén. ni, "I am not," where 'ēnen is for 'ēnan, accusative with added demonstrative n, for primitive na.

It is to the dependent sense of the preposition and conjunction that we owe the i of the almost proclitic min and 'im.

2. *Without the tone.*

The vowel here is, without exception, light. The plural of bayit, "house," is to be pointed either bottim or bā. tīm, better the latter, = bᶜyā. tīm.

This is what has seemed to me the best statement of the Hebrew vowel-system. The general method and results remain the same, if we prefer to treat the Šᶜwā as not forming an independent syllable; and any one who takes this view may make for himself the necessary changes in the wording.

[The writer's own method of transliteration has, for obvious reasons, been employed in this article.—ED.]

Digitized by Google

THE DĀGHĒSH IN INITIAL LETTERS.[1]

[Translated from Dissertation in the Baer and Delitzsch edition of Proverbs, by Rev. O. O Fletcher, Ottawa, Ill.]

Respecting the pronunciation of the בגד"כפת the earlier grammarians submit this rule: כל בגדכפ"ת דסמיך ליה"ו רפי, בר מן מפיק מפסיק דחיק ואתי מרחיק;[2] that is, if any one of the בגד"כפת letters immediately follows a word which ends in one of the quiescents יה"ן, it is to be pronounced without aspiration (rāphé); but it is not so pronounced:

1. If the letter יה"ן with which the preceding word terminates is not quiescent, but retains its consonantal sound (מפיק);

2. If the two words under consideration are not closely joined but are, on the contrary, separated (מפסיק);

3. If the first word is a Mĭlrăʿ and the second a Mĭlʿêl or, so to speak, two *ictus* or ἀρσεις come in contact (דחיק);

4. If the first word, to be pronounced with the accent on the penultima, joins to itself, as if "*e longinquo*" [from afar] (אתי מרחיק), the second word, and the latter is either a monosyllable or a Mĭlʿêl.

Of these four exceptions, the first two are made sufficiently clear in the grammars;[3] but whatever is there found concerning the last two, דחיק and אתי מרחיק, deals with these only partially and with insufficient accuracy, and hence is not without an admixture of errors. Wherefore it will not be superfluous to set forth in one conspectus the laws, newly examined and more accurately stated, by which the dagessation of the initial letters of words is regulated, especially since, in assigning the reasons for the accepted methods of writing in this edition of Proverbs, we will here and there appeal to these same laws by a mere token.

§ 1.

Whenever those two words, of which the latter begins with one of the mutes, that is, with one of the בגד"כפת which are pronounced either hard [unaspirated] or soft [aspirated],[4] are interpunctuated with a distinctive accent, the בגד"כפת

[1 I have taken the liberty of correcting errors in biblical references to be found in the original, without making special note where I have so done. Of these there were about thirty. It is, of course, known that the references here given are to the best Massoretic text, which will be found to be, in not a few instances, quite different from that contained in the commoner editions of the Hebrew Bible. Just here, it may be well to call the attention of readers who have the Baer-Delitzsch text of Isaiah, to two needed corrections in that most carefully edited work.
xli., 18, for אֶשִּׂים מִדְבָּר write אָשִׂים מִדְבָּר liv., 17, for וְכָל-לָשׁוֹן write [וְכָל-לָשׁוֹן]

2 So Moses Kimchi in כיהלך chap. 3, and David Kimchi in *Michlol*, 89. Solomon Hanau, in צהר התבה 25, and others adduce this rule as by the authority of the Massora; and this is in a measure correct, since Ben-Asher already makes mention of it in דקדוקי הטעמים § 29. But in the Massora which we are accustomed to call by this name (i. e. the printed), the rule does not appear reduced to this form. The same is true with respect to the related rule: כל זעיר דסמיך דגש בר מן אז או אי אי.

3 Delitzsch has discussed the second quite fully in a dissertation in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift*, 1878, pp. 585—590, under the title *Die Dagessirung der Tenues*.

4 Because of this peculiarity, the book *Jezira* calls these six letters, to which it adds ר (בגדכ"פ רפת), כפולים. See Delitzsch's *Physiologie und Musik in ihrer Bedeutung fuer die Grammatik, besonders die hebraeische* (1868), p. 11 ss.

Digitized by Google

always, without a single exception, receives the Dāghēsh, i. e., loses the aspiration, as בצלמנו כדמותנו (Gen. I., 26); ורדו בדגת (I., 28); השני גיחון (II., 13); ואתה תשופנו (III., 15); ויפלו פניו (IV., 5).

§ 2.

But when a word beginning with one of the בגד"כפת, coheres more closely with the preceding word and is annexed to it, either by Măqqēph or by a conjunctive accent, the mute does not receive Dāghēsh, unless the word preceding terminates in a consonant and thus in a closed syllable; e. g., עין פרי (Gen. I., 11); ויפח באפיו (II., 7); ארץ כוש (II., 13); והתן גם (III., 6); תוסף תת (IV., 12); כאשר דבר (XII., 4); שרי גברתי (XVI., 8); קלוי באש (Lev. II., 14); ידיו תביאנה (VII., 30); ויתאו דויד (1 Chron. XI., 17).[1]

On the contrary, when the word preceding ends in one of the quiescents and this letter quiesces, that is, when it ends in an open syllable, the mute which follows is aspirated and does not have Dāghēsh: e. g., היתה תהו (Gen. I., 2); וירדו בדגת (I., 26); בו פרי (I., 29); וצלה גם (IV., 22); ויהי כנען (IX., 26); היה דבר (XV., 1).[2]

If these two words under consideration are logically united by an accent, but it is indicated by the interjected line P'siq that, in the reading they are to be somewhat disjoined, this little separation also causes the mute with which the second word begins to have Dāghēsh (§ 1). The following are examples: עשו כלה (Gen. XVIII., 21); את בא (Deut. IX., 21); אבא בני (Prov. VI., 2). עמו כהם (1 Chron. XXI., 3); ביהודה דרכים (Neh. XIII., 15).

§ 3.

There are, however, other conditions which may abrogate this general law, that is, by which it is effected that, even after an open syllable, a mute is not aspirated but is hardened by Dāghēsh. The first of these conditions is the concurrence of similar letters (אותיות דומות); the second, the concussion of tones (דחיק); the third, the attraction of a following word by a preceding, the latter having a remote tone (אתי מרחיק). Under the second and third of these conditions, not only the בגד"כפת but all letters, אה"וחע excepted, receive Dāghēsh.

§ 4.

If a word begins with two ב's or with two כ's, or even with ב and כ or ב and מ[3] [or ב and פ],[4] and the first of these letters has Š'wâ, the letter which

[1] The Massorites called such a termination כפ"ק, that is, having the force of a consonant. By the very name of He Mappiq, we can see that it belongs here; hence, בצרה תשים (Gen. VI., 16); נגה בהם (Ezek. VII., 11); ולה נפין (Dan. VII., 6). Only three times does it occur that, though the first word ends in a consonant, the mute following retains the aspiration: קו־תהו (Is. XXXIV., 11); שלו בה (Ezek. XXIII., 42); ארני בם (Ps. LXVIII., 18). See Massora to Ps. LXVIII., 18, *Diqduqe Hateamim* § 29.

[2] By reason of this, either לא כי (1 Kgs. III., 22, 23; 2 Kgs. XX., 10) or לא כי (Gen. XVIII., 15; XIX., 2 and often) is written, according as לא has a conjunctive or disjunctive accent. See Delitzsch in *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1878, pp. 589 sq.

[3] Ben-Naphtali adds כ and נ (כנ), Ben-Asher on the contrary opposing; the *textus receptus* follows the latter. See argument on Ps. XXIII., 3. *Diqduqe Hateamim*, p. 30.

[4] [The author has omitted the combination ב and פ; probably through oversight, since he gives examples of it. See references to Lev. XXV., 53; 2 Sam. XVIII., 25; Isa. LIX., 21; Zeph. III., 13; Ps. XXXIV., 2; Job XXIV., 5: 2 Chr. XXIX., 36.]

Digitized by Google

has Šᵉwâ takes Dāghēsh, in order that the pronunciation may not be too much suppressed by the concurrence of two aspirates. This pointing obtains even though the first word has a conjunctive accent and terminates in an open syllable. Examples: וְתִתְפְּשָׂהוּ בְּבִגְדוֹ (Gen. xxxix., 12); בְּשָׁבְתְּךָ בְּבֵיתֶךָ (Deut. vi., 7); וַיְהִי כְּכָלוֹת (Josh. viii., 24); וַיְהִי בְּבוֹאָה (Judg. i., 14); וַיְהִי בְּבוֹאָם (1 Sam. xvi., 6); נִשְׁכְּבָה קְטַנָּה כָּכָה (1 Kgs. xviii., 44); הֲלֹא כְּכַרְכְּמִישׁ (Is. x., 9); בְּבִשְׁתָּנוּ (Jer. iii., 25); הָיְתָה בְּבִיתוֹ (1 Chron. vii., 23); כִּי בְּמִקְלִי (Gen. xxxii., 11);[1] יָרְדָנוּ בְּפֶרֶךְ אֹתוֹ בְּמִשְׁמָר (xl., 7); לוֹ בְּמִצְרַיִם (xlvi., 27); בְּמִשְׁמַר (Lev. xxv., 53); וַיְחַנוּ בְּמִדְבַּר (xxxiii., 36); בְּעִבְרִי בְּמִשְׁה (Num. xii., 8); בְּשַׁדָּה בְּפִיו (2 Sam. xviii., 25); שָׂמְתִּי בְּפִיךְ (Is. lix., 21); יִמְצָא בְּפִיהֶם עֹמֶדֶת בְּמִישׁוֹר (Zeph. iii., 13); תְּהִלָּתוֹ בְּפִי (Ps. xxvi., 12); יִגְיְלוּ בְּמַלְכָם (xxxiv., 2); שִׂמְחוּ בְּמַחוֹל (cxlix., 2); יִצְאוּ בְּפֹעַל (cxlix., 3) כִּי בְּפִתְאֹם (Job xxiv., 5); (2 Chron. xxix., 36).

But if the first of these two letters beginning the [second] word has a full vowel, Dāghēsh is withheld: e. g., אִשָּׁה בְּתוּלִיָּה (Lev. xxi., 13); וַיִּשְׁחִיתוּ בָּנָיו (Judg. xx., 25); כֹּהֲנֵי בָמוֹת (1 Kgs. xiii., 33); הָיְתָה בָּבֶל (Is. xiii., 19); יְרֵא בַּפְלָגוֹת (Job xx., 17): אַרְכְּוֵי בָבְלִיָּא (Ezra iv., 9); אֲזָלוּ בְּבָהִילוּ (iv., 23).

§ 5.

The rule דָּחִיק[2] pertains to words taken two at a time whose accents meet, in consequence of which they are joined by Măqqēph; in particular as follows:

a) If the first of two cohering words ends in ה ֫ and the second is either a monosyllable or has the accent on the first syllable, the mute with which the second begins has Dāghēsh. Examples: תַּעֲשֶׂה־כֶּסֶף וּמִשְׁנֶה־כֶּסֶף (Gen. xliii., 15); בּוֹ (Exod. iv., 17); נַכֶּה־בּוֹ (Num. xxii., 6); תִּכְסֶה־בָּהּ (Deut. xxii., 12); אֹכְלֶה־בָּם (xxxii., 24); יִבְנֶה־בַּיִת (2 Sam. vii., 13); יִכְסֶה־בָּגֶד (Ezek. xviii., 17); יִחוּהּ־דָּעַת (Ps. xix., 3); מִכְסֶה־פֶּשַׁע (Prov. xvii., 9); הֵינָאֶה־גֹּמֶא (Job. viii., 11); יִפְצֶה־פִּיהוּ (xxxv., 16); נִבְנֶה־לָּנוּ (Gen. xi., 4); וְנַעֲשֶׂה־לָּנוּ (*ib.*); יִרְאֶה־לּוֹ (xxii., 8); וְאֵעָשֶׂה־שָּׁם (xxxv., 3); יִהְיֶה־לְּעָם (xlviii., 19); יִהְיֶה־לּוֹ (Exod. xxviii., 32); תִּשְׁתֶּה־מָּיִם (Deut. xi., 11); נִשְׁתֶּה־יַּיִן (Jer. xxxv., 6); יִשְׁוֶה־לּוֹ (Hos. x., 1); יְצַוֶּה־לָּךְ (Ps. xci., 11); יִזְכֶּה־נַּעַר (cxix., 9); תִּרְבֶּה־ תַּעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ (Prov. vi., 35); מְגַלֶּה־סוֹד (xi., 13); מַעֲנֶה־רַךְ (xv., 1); שִׁחַד (xxiv., 6); תְּשַׁוֶּה־לּוֹ (xxvi., 4).[3]

[1] According to the opinion of some punctuators בְּ in בְּמַעֲלוֹת (Exod. xx., 26) is not to have Daghesh, since Ga'ya [Methegh] gives it sufficient weight.

[2] [For the letters affected by this rule, see § 3, last sentence.]

[3] In [some] grammars the vowel Pattah is brought under this rule, מַה־זֹּאת, מַה־זֶּה, מַה־בְּצַע, מַה־בְּרִי being adduced as examples, but without cause; for after מַה־, just as after זֶה־ with Maqqeph, Daghesh always follows, even if the subsequent word is not accented on the first syllable; e. g. מַה־נּוֹרָא (Gen. xxviii., 17); מַה־פָּשְׁעִי (xxxi., 36); מַה־פָּרְצָתְ (xxxviii., 29); מַה־נִּצְטַדָּק (xliv., 16); מַה־נֹּאמַר (xliii., 3); מַה־יִּרְאֵנִי (Num. xxiii., 8); מַה־תֹּאמַר (1 Sam. xx., 4); מַה־דּוֹרֵךְ (Cant. v., 9); זֶה־מִּזְבֵּחַ (1 Chron. xxii., 1). וְזֶה־פָּרְיָה (Num. xiii., 27); Hence מַה and זֶה are somewhat peculiar. And aside from מַה there is no word which, when followed by Maqqeph ends in ה ֫.

Digitized by Google

b) Moreover if the first of two words closely attached ends in ה_ and the second is either a monosyllable or a Mîl'ēl, the first letter of the latter receives Dāghēsh, but only under this condition, that the final syllable of the former begins with Š'wâ *mobile*. Examples: לְקָחָה־זֹאת (Gen. II., 23); גְּשָׁה־, וּשְׁקָה־לִי נָא (XXVII., 26); לְךְ־נָא (Num. XXIII., 13); תְּנָה־לָנוּ (XXVII., 4); וְאַרְשָׁה־בָהּ (1 Sam. XXVIII., 7); סְאָה־סֹלֶת (2 Kgs. VII., 1); נִתְּנָה־לוֹ (XXV., 30); וְנִדְמָה־שָׁם (Jer. VIII., 14); וְאֶשְׁקָלָה־לוֹ (XXXII., 9); לְרַאֲוָה־בָךְ (Ezek. XXVIII., 17); שְׁעָטָרָה־לוֹ (Cant. III., 11); אֶלְקְטָה־נָּא (Ruth II., 7); שְׁבָה־פֹה (IV., 1); נִשְׁמְחָה־בוֹ (Ps. LXVI., 6); אֶזְמְרָה־לָךְ (LXXI., 23;) מְחַלָּה־לֵב (Prov. XIII., 12); וְאֶהְבָה־שָׁם (XV., 17;) אֶשְׁלְמָה־רַע (XX., 22); נִבְחֲרָה־לָנוּ (Job XXXIV., 4).

But if the final syllable of the first word does not begin with Š'wâ *mobile*, the rule דחיק is not applied, hence a mute at the beginning of the second word is aspirated, [and a letter other than mute is written without Dāghēsh]: e. g. לִטְמְאָה־בָהּ (Lev. XVIII., 23); וְלִדְבְקָה־בּוֹ (Deut. XI., 22); צִוָּה־לָנוּ (XXXIII., 4); דַּמָּה־לָנוּ (2 Sam. XXI., 5); נִגְלָה־לְמוֹ (Isa. XXIII., 1); שִׁלְחָה־לוֹ (Ezek. XVII., 7); כִּסָּה־בָגֶד (XVIII., 16); גִּלָּה־כָךְ (XXII., 10); עֲרִיָּה־בֹּשֶׁת (Mic. I., 11); וְעִנָּה־צָדֶק (Ps. XLV., 5); הִכָּה־צוּר (LXXVIII., 20); שִׁמְעָה־לִי (Job XXXII., 10); וְשִׁנְאָה־כֹּזֵב (Prov. XV., 17); וְשִׁלָּה־בָהּ (XVII., 1); וְנִרְאָה־רֹשֶׁא (XXVII., 25).

§ 6.

If the first of two words closely attached is Mîl'ēl and has an open final syllable ending in Qāmĕç or Sĕghôl, and the second word is accented on the first syllable, the mute[1] with which the latter commences has Dāghēsh. This rule is called אתי מרחיק, that is "*veniens e longinquo*" [coming from afar], because the accent of the first word is remote from that of the second and attracts it powerfully from a distance. Dagessation on account of אתי מרחיק takes place under these conditions:

a) If the accented syllable of the first word is the one on which, according to the law of its formation, the tone would fall: e. g., עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת (Gen. III., 14); עָלֶיךָ פָּרֹץ (XII., 18); הִנַּדְתָּ לִי (XIV., 10); הֵרָה נָסוּ (XXXVIII., 16); הָבָה נָּא (XXXVIII., 29); וְעָשִׂיתָ צִיץ (XLII., 10); וְעִבְרֶיךָ בָּאוּ (XLVI., 1); בְּאָרָה שָׁבַע (Exod. XXVIII., 36); וְעָשִׂיתָ פֶּסַח (XXXII., 10); הִנִּיחָה לִי (Deut. XVI. 1); וְחַבַּחְתָּ פֶּסַח (XVI., 2); וְיָצָאתָ שָׁמָה (XXIII., 13); חִפַּצְתָּ בָּהּ (XXI., 14); וְאַעֲיִדָה בָּם (XXXI., 28); וְהָגִיתָ בּוֹ (Jos. I., 8); הִתַּלְתָּ בִּי (Judg. XVI., 10); תְּנַנָּה לִי (1 Sam. XXI., 10); לָמָּה בָּאתִי (2 Sam. XIV., 32); אֲצִיתָנָּה יָחַד (Is. XXVII., 4); תְּרָאֶינָה בָּהּ (Mic. VII., 10); דְּמִיתָ כָּכָה (Ezek. XXXI., 18); פְּקַדְתָּ לַיְלָה (Ps. XVII., 3); עְוָלְתָה בּוֹ (XCII., 16); עֵדוֹתֶיךָ שַׁשְׁתִּי (CXIX., 14); וְהַחֲזִיקָה בּוֹ (Prov. VII., 13); עָלֶיהָ קָם (Job XXXVIII., 5); לְכָנָה שָׁבְנָה (Ruth I., 8); לְמַעְלָה רֹאשׁ (Jer. XXXIX., 12); מְחַצְתָּ רֹאשׁ (Hab. III., 13); מְאוּמָה רָע (Ezra IX., 6); אֶלֶה פֹּה (Gen. XXXIII., 5); אֶלֶה לָךְ (Deut. V., 3).

[1] [See § 3 last sentence, for the letters affected by this rule.]

Digitized by Google

b) If the tone of the first word recedes to the penultima (נסג אחור), and this syllable is lengthened and its accent takes the place of the firm Méthégh,[1] then a mute commencing the second word receives Dāghēsh. Examples: יֶלֶד בֵּן (Gen. XIX., 38, whereas without the recession of the tone, יֶלֶד); הִשְׁבִּעָה לִי (XXI., 23); וְרִבְצָה בּוֹ (Deut. XXIX., 19); מָלְאָה דָם (Isa. XXXIV., 6); נָשְׁבָה בּוֹ (XL., 7); מָשְׁלָה לוֹ (XL., 10); נָסְסָה בּוֹ (LXIX., 19); הָיְתָה לָנוּ (Ezek. XXXVI., 2); מָלְאָה גַת (Joel IV., 13); דָּבְקָה בָהּ (Ruth I., 14); יָרְדָה מַיִם (Lam. I., 16); עָמְדָה לִי (Eccl. II., 9); נִירְשָׁה לָנוּ (Ps. LXXXIII., 13); מָצְאָה בַיִת (LXXXIV., 4); הָיְתָה זֹאת (CXVIII., 23); עָרְבָה לִי (Jer. XXXI., 26); וְנִשְׁקָה לוֹ (Prov. VII., 13); שָׁבְעָה מַיִם (XXX., 16); נָטְעָה כֶרֶם (XXXI., 16).

If, on the contrary, the receding accent occupies a syllable which is incapable of receiving Méthégh, the dagessation of the mute is not admitted: e. g. חָרָה לָךְ (Gen. IV., 6); עָשָׂה שָׁם (XIII., 4); וְיִקְרָא בּוֹ (Num. IX., 10); וְעָשָׂה פֶּסַח (Deut. XVII., 19); מָצָא בָהּ (XXIV., 1); מָאָה כֶּסֶף (XXII., 19); שָׂרָה טוֹב (Ezek. XVII., 8); בָּנוּה טוֹב (XXXIV., 14); מִצְרָה לִי (Jonah II., 3); עָנָה בִי (Ruth I., 21); נָטָה קָו (Lam. II., 8); עָשָׂה פֶּלֶא (Ps. LXXVIII., 12); לִנְסָכָה לֵהּ (Dan. II., 46); טוֹבָה לָךְ (Ruth IV., 15); מִתְקוֹמֵמָה לוֹ (Job XX., 27).

Imperfects and participles of ל"ה verbs are, however, excepted; after these the mute of the subsequent word has Dāghēsh, even though the receding accent may occupy a syllable in which Méthégh does not belong: as עֹשָׂה לָךְ (Gen. XXXI., 12); יֵעָשֶׂה לוֹ (Exod. XXI., 31); אֹקְרָה כֹּה (Num. XXIII., 15); עֹשָׂה כֹּל (Isa. XLIV., 24); יִבְנֶה בָהּ (Zech. I., 16); וּמוֹרֶה שָׁקֶר (Hab. II., 18); יִנָּקֶה רָע (Prov. XI., 21); קֹנֶה לֵב (XIX., 8); גֹּלֶה סוֹד (XX., 19); כֹּרֶה שַׁחַת (XXVI., 27); הֵיאָבֶה רֵים (Job XXXIX., 9).

c) Likewise, if Méthégh occupies the place of the accent in the first word, the mute at the beginning of the second word has Dāghēsh, according to the rule נסג אחור; e. g. יִלְדָה־לּוֹ (Gen. XXI., 3, where Méthégh fills the place of the accent; cf. יֶלֶד בֵּן XIX., 38); נָתְנָה־לִי (III., 12); אֶרְדָה־נָּא (XVIII., 21); הָבָה־לִי (XXX., 1); וְעָנְתָה־בִי (XXX., 33); הַגִּידָה־נָּא (XXXVII., 16); אֶלְכָה־נָּא (Exod. IV., 18); אֶרְדָה־לִי (Num. XXII., 6); קָבָה־לִי (XXII., 11); הָמָה־לִי (Jer. IV., 19); בּוֹנָה בַּיִת (2 Chr. II., 3); שָׁכְנָה־לֵהּ (Ps. CXX., 6); עָשְׂתָה־לֵהּ (Prov. XXXI., 22).

d) Also, if the first syllable of the second word does not have the primary tone, but only Méthégh indicating the secondary tone, nevertheless the letter by which it begins has Dāghēsh from the analogy of the law נסג אחור, the "בגד כפת being, however, excepted, since they reject this looser condition of dagessation. Examples: שָׁמָּה קָבְרוּ (Gen. XLIX., 31); אָשִׁירָה לַיי (Exod. XV. 1); וְעָשִׂיתָ סִירֹתָיו (XXVII., 3); אִיגֶנָּה מַעֲלָה (Lev. XI., 26); וְיִרְאתָ מֵאלֹהֶיךָ (XIX., 14); כֻּבָּה יֵעָשֶׂה (Num. XV., 11); עִבְרֵיךְ נָשְׂאוּ (XXXI., 49); בָּאָה נַחֲלָתֵנוּ (XXXII.,

[1] Concerning the firm and indispensable Methegh (מתג תכון), see *Metheg-Setzung* § 10 (*Merx, Archiv* I. 1869) [and Kautzsch's Gesenius Heb. Gram. § 16, 2. b)].

Digitized by Google

לאחיך לַעֲנִיֶּךָ (Deut. xv., 11); ועבדיך יַעַבְרוּ (xxxii., 27); עבדיך יַעֲשׂוּ (xxxii., 25); וכעסתה אשׁבּיתה מְאֻנּוֹשׁ (xxxii., 26); ועשׂיתה מַּעֲקֶה (xxii., 8); אֵלֶּה יַעֲקֹב (Is. xliv., 21); וְלָמָּה לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ (xv., 19); צָרָתָה (1 Sam. i., 6); עָלֶיהָ מַחֲנוֹת (Ezek. iv., 2); כָּכָה יֹאכְלוּ (iv., 13); צפנתּ לִירֵאֶיךָ (Ps. xxxi., 20); שַׂמְתָּ מְעָרָה (lxvi., 11); הֲמָה יִירְשׁוּ (xxxvii., 9); נתתּה לִירֵאֶיךָ (lx., 6); כּוֹנַנְתָּ מֵישָׁרִים (xcix., 4); אמרתּ לַאֲבוֹתֵיהֶם (Neh. ix., 23); נָתַתָּה לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ (ix., 36).

That dagessation does not take place in those cases in which the letter having Měthĕgh is one of the six mutes, is readily discerned from the following examples: אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת (Gen. ii., 4); לָמָּה תַּעֲמֹד (xxiv., 31); תחתּיה תַּעֲמֹד (Lev. xiii., 28); עזבתּ דרשׁיך (Ps. ix., 11); פַּעֲלְתָּ בְּיָמֵיהֶם (xliv., 2); הוֹרַעְתָּ בָּעַמִּים (lxxvii., 15); דכּאת בָּחָלָל (lxxxix., 11). The cause is easy to perceive. Dāghēsh in these six letters not only sharpens, but changes, the pronunciation; but where the tone of the first syllable of the second is only secondary, which Měthĕgh indicates, the dagessation does not have sufficient force to harden an aspirate. There are, however, two places where, nevertheless, a mute assumes Dāghēsh: כַּמָּה בְּאֵלֹם (Exod. xv., 11) and וישׁימה חל־עולם (Jos. viii., 28).

e) If the second word, either a monosyllable or Mĭl'ĕl, begins with a letter having Šᵉwâ, this letter itself receives Dāghēsh, the four serviles בו״כל being excepted: e. g. עִשָּׂה פְרִי, עֲשֵׂה פְרִי (Gen. i., 11, 12); הרחיבה אַרְצָה כְּנַעַן (xii., 5); שְׁאוֹל (Isa. v., 14); ואציעה שְׁאוֹל (Ps. cxxxix., 8); גדלתּ מְאֹד (civ., 1); שָׁמַתָּ טְעֵם (Dan. iii., 10); ושׁמתּ שְׁמוֹ (Neh. ix., 7); כְּלֹא מְטָא (iv., 25); ועשׂיתּ קְעָרֹתָיו (Exod. xxv., 29).[1] That the letters בו״כל do not take Dāghēsh [under these conditions], will appear from these examples: ידעתּיך בְּשֵׁם (Exod. xxxiii., 12); תהיין לְאִישׁ (Deut. xxi., 15); נהייתּ לְעָם (xxvii., 9); קראתּיך בְּצֶדֶק (Isa. xlii., 6); תמּקנה בְּחוֹרֵיהֶן (Zech. xiv., 12); צרי־ה לְרֹאשׁ (Lam. i., 5). The particle לְךָ which constantly receives Dāghēsh is excepted: חלילה לְךָ (Gen. xviii., 25); ועשׂיתּ לְךָ (Deut. x., 1); אלהי־ך לְךָ (xxiii., 6); ואסּפה לְךָ (2 Sam. xii., 8); לְקַחְתִּי לְךָ (xii., 9); שׁאלתּ לְךָ (1 Kgs. iii., 11); ונתתּי־ה לְךָ (xi., 35).—וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה (Ps. xix., 3) follows this analogy.

§ 7.

From this mere statement of the rules, we gather that the second of two words taken together does not receive Dāghēsh by reason of דחיק or מרחיק, unless

[1] So in the Spanish codices, says Hayyug, according to Jequshiel the punctator, whose critical commentary Heidenheim has added to his edition of the Pentateuch entitled מאור עינים. Delitzsch says this is the Daghesh orthophonic, inasmuch as it preserves the distinct pronunciation of the initial letter. Some codices as Erfurt. 3 (see Delitzsch's *Complutensische Varianten*, 1878 p. 12) use this Daghesh orthophonic too much. But really the Daghesh orthophonic is more extended in its use than has been hitherto acknowledged. Indeed it is doubtful whether the Daghesh דחיק and especially the Daghesh את מרחיק is rightly classified by the grammarians under the species Daghesh *forte conjunctive*.

Digitized by Google

1. This word has the primary tone, or at least the secondary tone, on the first syllable; and

2. The first word which joins the second to itself by Dāghēsh, ends either in Qāměç or Sĕghôl. Hence the following remain rāphé: בְּרֵכְתָּ בָּרֶךְ (Num. XXIII., 11); מִבְרֵכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ (XXIV., 9); אַבְנֵיהָ בַּרְזֶל (Deut. VIII., 9); עֹשֵׂיתָ בַּסֶּתֶר (2 Sam. XII., 12); וַיִּפְלוּ־שָׁמָּה (Gen. XIV., 10); עָשָׂה פֶּלֶא (Exod. XV., 11); שִׁירוּ לַיְיָ (XV., 21); יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר (Ezek. XXXI., 14); נֹעֲוֶה־לֵב (Prov. XII., 8); עָשִׂיתִי כֵּן (Neh. V., 15); and of this sort elsewhere. It has, however, come to be usage that, if any Mîl'ēl ends in the vowel û, a sibilant or liquid beginning the following word may have Dāghēsh. Examples: קוּמוּ צְאוּ (Gen. XIX., 14, Exod. XII., 31); תּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְׁאֹר (Exod. XII., 15); קוּמוּ סְעוּ (Deut. II., 24); סְרוּ רְדוּ (1 Sam. XV., 6); נְסוּ נְדוּ (Jer. XLIX., 30); וַיֶּחֱלוּ מְעַט (Hos. VIII., 10). Also the particles לֹא and לוֹ receive Dāghēsh after וַיֹּאמְרוּ, in four places: Gen. XIX., 2;[1] Judg. XVIII., 19; 1 Sam. VIII., 19; Est. VI., 13.

The following are anomalous, inasmuch as they cannot be arranged under the laws expounded above, but are confirmed by the authority of the Massora: כִּי־נָאוָה נָאֲוָה (Exod. XV., 1, 21); מִי כָמֹכָה (XV., 11); עַם־זוּ נָאָלְתָּ (XV., 13); יִרְמוּ וְשַׁמְתִּי כָּאָבֶן (XV., 16); אֲבִיךָ קָנֶךָ (Deut. XXXII., 6); עֲבִית בְּשִׁית (XXXII., 15); נֹאלַת בְּזָרוֹעַ (Ps. LXXVII., 16); וְנֹאלֵיתִי בְלִלְכָל (Jer. XX., 9); כַּדְכוֹד (Is. LIV., 12); קְרָאתִי יָהּ (CXVIII., 5); יִסְרַנִי יָהּ (CXVIII., 18); תִּיסְרַנּוּ יָהּ (XCIV., 12); חִקְרֻנְוֹהִ בֶּן־הֵיא (Job V., 27); גְּדַבְרִיא דְּתַבְרִיא (Dan. III., 2, 3); וְחִכְמָה כְּחִכְמַת־ (V., 11).[2]

§ 8

It remains for us to add something concerning that Dāghēsh which, according to the teaching of the ancients, is written, not only in the בגד"כפת but also in other letters, after words terminating in a consonant. For, if the first of two words taken together ends with the same consonant with which the second commences, the consonant which begins the second word takes Dāghēsh lest it be confounded with the preceding in the more hasty reading.[3] Examples: אִם־מָחוֹט (Gen. XIV., 23); לֶאֱכֹל־לֶחֶם (XXXI., 54); עַל־לֵב (XXXIV., 3); גַּם־מִשְׁלֹשֶׁם, גַּם־ (Exod. IV., 10); בֶּן־נוּן (XXXIII., 11); וְנֶעְלַם מִמֶּנּוּ (Lev. V., 2); וְאִם־מָךְ (XXVII., 8); עַם־מֹשֶׁה (Josh. III., 7); בֶּן־נֵר (1Sam. XIV., 50); בֶּן־נְתַנְיָה (2 Kgs. XXV., 23); מִבַּקְשֵׁם מַיִם (Isa. XLI., 17); אֲשִׁים מִדְבָּר, לְאַגַּם־מַיִם (XLI., 18);

[1] Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on this passage and xix., 14 (4th Germ. ed. pp. 337, 339).

[2] Cf. the Massora on Dan., v., 11, *Diqduqe hateamim* § 29. The Daghesh in the Yodhs, Ps. cxviii., 5, 18, can be explained by a rule proposed above (see Delitzsch's commentary on these passages). But since Daghesh is omitted elsewhere, as in בתוככי ירושלם, ולי יְהוֹשִׁיעַ [Ps. cxvi., 6, 19], it is more satisfactory to account these two instances of יָהּ as exceptions. For the rest, see what Parchon (p. 4) and Norzi (on Ex. xv.) say.

[3] The use of this Daghesh, to which Delitzsch has given the name *orthophonic*, has been omitted by editors of the text of the Bible, through ignorance rather than through negligence. We show, in our Psalter (Brockhaus 1874, p. ix) that the employment of this Daghesh has the force of law even with the older Massorites.

Digitized by Google

למחול לִי (Ps. xxvi., 4); עם־מִתי (lxvi., 21); וגם־מֵהם (liv., 17); וכל־לְשׁון (xxx., 12); עמים מִישׁר (lxvii., 5); עם מַרעיתו (xcv., 7); על־לוּח (Prov. iii., 3); על־לְחיה (Lam. i., 2); קדם מַלכא (Dan. ii., 10); אתון־נוּרא (iii., 6); והיבל לְבבל (Ezra vi., 5); ולכֹם מְהודעין (vii., 24); גם מְגבה (Eccl. xii., 5).[1]

Wherever the particles לֹא and לוֹ come together thus לֹא לוֹ, inasmuch as these are similar in sound but different in signification, לֹא has Dāghēsh, and by it the reader is admonished to enunciate the negative with emphasis and to distinguish it carefully from the pronoun; as in Gen. xxxviii., 9; Hab. i., 6; Prov. xxvi., 17. With the same intent לוֹ לֹא is written in Deut. xxxii., 5. And the Lāmĕdh of the word לֵאמֹר has Dāghēsh whenever the noun מֹשֶׁה precedes it; e. g. Exod. vi., 10, 29; xiii., 1; xiv., 1.[2]

---

[1] Very often the little line Pʿsiq, placed between two such words, is substituted for the Daghesh; as רבים ׀ קְפנֵיך (Deut. vii., 1); אחיכם ׀ מִכל הגוים ׀ מְנחה (Is. lxvi., 20); בבל ׀ לְגלים ׀ מְעון (Jer. li., 37); וברזל ׀ לְרב (1 Chron. xxii., 3); ואנשים ׀ מְעט (Neh. ii., 12); חצור ׀ רמה (xi., 33); now and then, where it can be done, Methegh *remorans* [retarding] (העכרה) is added, e. g., ויצֵץ ציץ (Num. xvii., 23); ואוֹהֵל לוֹ (Prov. xx., 14).

[2] Cf. Lonzano in *Or thora*, on Exod. vi., 10.

Digitized by Google

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE TIME OF THE TALMUD.

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.

Allegheny, Pa.

§ 1. THE CANON.

The word *canon* (*κανών*) occurs first in the third century of our era. A corresponding word for canon, now used, is nowhere found in Jewish writings. The different expressions for Bible are ספר or הספר, "the Book" *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (*Sabim* v., 12; *Sabbath*, fol. 13, col. 2; *Pesachim*, fol. 19, col. 2), כתבי הקדש, "Holy Writings" (*Yadaim* iii., 5; *Sabbath* xvi., 1), מקרא, i. e., reading (*Taanith*, fol. 27, col. 2), אורייתא נביאים וכתובים, i. e., the Law, Prophets and Hagiographa (*Kiddushin*, fol. 49, col. 1).

The Talmud also does not profess to impart information respecting the manner in which the Old Testament canon was formed. It does, however, contain a list of all the books regarded as canonical, as the following passage, which may be regarded as the *locus classicus*, shows: "*Our rabbis have taught*"[1] (thus we read in *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, col. 2, and fol. 15, col. 1) "*that the order of the prophets is Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve.*

"(Question) Hosea is the first; because it is written, 'The beginning of the word of the Lord to Hosea' (Hos. i., 2). But how did he speak in the beginning with Hosea? Have there not been many prophets between him and Moses? Rabbi Jochanan explains this as meaning that Hosea was the first of the four prophets who prophesied at that time—Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Amos. Why, then, was he not put first [i. e., before Jeremiah]? (Reply) Because his prophecy stands next to that of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi; and, as these are the last prophets, he is, therefore, counted with them. (Objection) But, then, should it [Hosea] have been written by itself, and placed [before Jeremiah]? (Reply) No; because it is so small, and could have easily been lost. (Question) Since Isaiah lived before Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah ought to have been placed before them? (Reply) Because the book of Kings closes with desolation, and Jeremiah is entirely full of desolation, Ezekiel commences with desolation, and closes with desolation, whereas Isaiah is all consolation, we combine desolation with desolation, and consolation with consolation.

"*The order of the Kethubim* [i. e., Hagiographa] *is Ruth and Psalms, and Job and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel and Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.*[2] According to him who says that Job lived in the time of

---

[1] With this phrase (תנו רבנן or abbreviated ת"ר) is introduced what is called Beraitha, a kind of supplement to the Mishna, and which we have put in Italics, in order to distinguish it from the observations made thereon by the late Talmudists. As the Beraitha was only the private opinion of some individual teacher, its directions were not regarded as binding.

[2] This paragraph on the Hagiographa is entirely omitted in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia s. v. *Canon of the Old Testament*. Indeed this whole Talmudical passage is there reproduced in such a mutilated form as to convey no idea of what Prof. Strack intended by quoting this passage in his article *Kanon* in Herzog's *Real Encyklopædia*. I can only account for this by supposing that the translator was not familiar enough with the Hebrew, and thought it best to omit it entirely.

Digitized by Google

Moses, ought Job to be put first? (Reply) We never commence with misfortune. (Objection) But Ruth, too, contains misfortune. (Reply) But misfortune with a happy end, as Rabbi Jochanan said [cf. *Berachoth*, fol. 7, col. 2]. Why was she called Ruth? Because she was the ancestress of David, who refreshed the Holy One, blessed be he! with hymns and psalms.

"(Question) And who wrote them [viz., all the holy writings]? Moses wrote his book and the section of Balaam[1] and Job; Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the Law [Deut. xxxiv., 5–12]. Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms, with the assistance of [or in the place of][2] the ten elders, with the aid of Adam, the first man, of Melchizedek, of Abraham, of Moses, of Heman, of Jeduthun, of Asaph and of the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his book and the books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his assistants wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, the symbol of which is יְמִשְׁקְ.[3] The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve [Minor Prophets], Daniel and the roll of Esther, the symbol of which is קְנְדְנְ.[4] Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles down to himself.[5] This is a support for the saying of Rab; for Rab Jehuda said, in the name of Rab, 'Ezra did not leave Babylon [for the Holy Land], till he had written his own genealogy, and then he went up.' Who finished it [the book of Ezra]? Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah."

This is the famous passage in the Babylonian Talmud, which has no parallel in the much older Jerusalem Talmud; and its understanding depends entirely upon the signification assigned to the word כָּתַב, *to write*, which, in one form or other, occurs so frequently within its compass. Herzfeld has strangely endeavored to show that it is used here in five distinct significations; but his views on this point have rightly been rejected by scholars. "It is also putting violence on the word to regard it, without some qualifying statement in the context, as signifying *to write in*, or *to introduce* into, the canon." Strack rightly maintains that Rashi, in his commentary on the passage, in *Baba Bathra*, has given the correct

---

[1] That Moses wrote this section is expressly stated, although its parts are not necessary elements of Moses and his Law, and the series of his doings.

[2] ע"י abbreviated for על ידי "with the help of," which signification this phrase often has. But it also occurs in the sense of "in the room of" (cf. *Shekalim* i., 6, 7, "he who pays the temple shekel on behalf of a woman" על יד אשה etc.; *Megilla*, fol. 24, col. 1: "and if he is young, his father or his teacher shall do it in his stead" על ידו). Hence Bloch explains the passage above to mean that David wrote the Psalms in question for the ten elders whose names are found mentioned in their titles (i. e., Adam, Ps. cxxxix.; Melchizedek, cx.; Abraham, Ps. lxxxix.; Moses, Ps. xc.; Heman, Ps. lxxxviii.; Jeduthun, Pss. xxxix., xlii., lxxvii.; Asaph, Pss. l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii.; sons of Korah, Pss. xlii.-xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., lxxxviii.) i. e., he put these Psalms in their mouths, and wrote, as it were, from their several standpoints. "If this be the meaning of the passage, it shows that the Talmud recognized such literary devices as perfectly lawful and in no way inconsistent with divine inspiration."

[3] יִמְשְׁקְ the mnemonic sign for the following books: י – Isaiah ישעיה; מ – Proverbs משלי; ש – Song of Songs שיר השירים; and ק – Ecclesiastes קהלת.

[4] קנדנ. ק – יחזקאל Ezekiel; נ – שנים עשר The Twelve Minor Prophets; ד – דניאל Daniel; נ – מגלת אסתר Esther.

[5] עד לו. Rashi explains the clause to mean "as far as his (Ezra's) own genealogy. But Rabbi Chananel says that לו here stands for ולו, the first word of 2 Chron. xxi., 2, which verse Ezra had prefixed to his own genealogy. See Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. W. B.*, s. v. כתב.

Digitized by Google

interpretation of the word: "The college of Hezekiah wrote the book of Isaiah; for Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh; but the prophets wrote their books first before [i. e., not until immediately before] their death.... The men of the Great Synagogue, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, and their associates, wrote the book of Ezekiel. I know not any other reason why Ezekiel himself did not do it [write his book], except that his prophecy was not designed to be written outside [of Palestine]. They wrote, therefore, his prophecies after they went to the [Holy] Land. And so with the book of Daniel, who lived in exile, and with the roll of Esther. The Twelve Prophets, because their prophecies were short, did not write them, [that is] each prophet [did not write] his own book. When Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi arose and saw that the Holy Spirit was departed [from Israel], and that they were the last prophets, they wrote their prophecies [i. e., those of the Minor Prophets], and they united together the short prophecies, and they made a large book, that they [the books of the lesser prophets] might not perish because of their small size."

As has already been remarked, the Talmudic passage says nothing about the close of the canon, but speaks only of the composition of holy writings.

§ 2. ORDER OF THE BOOKS.

The order of the books, according to the Talmud, is: 1) Genesis; 2) Exodus; 3) Leviticus; 4) Numbers; 5) Deuteronomy; 6) Joshua; 7) Judges; 8) Samuel; 9) Kings; 10) Jeremiah; 11) Ezekiel; 12) Isaiah; 13) the Twelve Minor Prophets; 14) Ruth; 15) Psalms; 16) Job; 17) Proverbs; 18) Ecclesiastes; 19) Song of Songs; 20) Lamentations; 21) Daniel; 22) Esther; 23) Ezra and Nehemiah; 24) Chronicles. A comparison of this list with that of our present Hebrew Bibles shows a difference in the position of some books. Thus, our Hebrew Bibles, which have the massoretic order, put Isaiah before Jeremiah, Esther before Daniel, etc. Their order is as follows: 1)–9) Genesis to Kings; 10) Isaiah; 11) Jeremiah; 12) Ezekiel; 13) Twelve Minor Prophets; 14) Psalms; 15) Proverbs; 16) Job; 17) Song of Songs; 18) Ruth; 19) Lamentations; 20) Ecclesiastes; 21) Esther; 22) Daniel; 23), 24) Ezra, Chronicles.

§ 3. NUMBER OF THE BOOKS.

The number of books constituting the Old Testament is, according to the Talmud, twenty-four. Thus we read in *Taanith*, fol. 8, col. 1: "Rab Ada bar Ahaba, before he came before Raba, repeated his lesson twenty-four times, corresponding to the number of the biblical books." *Exod. Rabba*, sect. 41: "Rabbi Levi said, in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Lakesh: As the bride is adorned with twenty-four kinds of ornaments, so also must the scholar be acquainted with the twenty-four books." *Numb. Rabb.* sect. 14: "Rabbi Berachja, the priest, said, in the name of Rabbi: We read מסמרות [i. e. nails], but it is not written so, but משמרות [watches of the temple]. As there were twenty-four watches of priests and Levites, so there are also twenty-four books [of Scripture]," and on Eccl. XII., 12. we read there also: 'God said, Twenty-four books have I written for thee, be careful not to add to them, for of making many books there is no end, and whoever reads one verse which is not contained in the twenty-four books is like one who reads in extraneous books.'" In *Midrash Koheleth*, on XII., 11, we read with reference to the nails fastened, "Rabbi Chiya puts eleven [nails] upon the one

Digitized by Google

and thirteen upon the other, together twenty-four, corresponding to the twenty-four books and the twenty-four watches of the priests," and on XII., 12 we read there, "He that brings more than twenty-four books into his house [i. e., the canon] causes confusion."

The quotations made in the Talmud are, of course, from the twenty-four books, but we also find citations from Ben Sira, commonly known as Ecclesiasticus, which are introduced by "as it is written" (דכתיב, *Berachoth*, fol. 48, col. 1), "for it is said" (שנאמר, *Erubin*, fol. 65, col.1), or "this matter is written in the Law, repeated in the Prophets, reiterated a third time in the Hagiographa" (*Baba Kama*, fol. 92, col. 2, where a passage is quoted from Ben Sira as hagiographic).[1] For the benefit of the reader, we subjoin a list of passages which occur in the Talmud and Midrash:

Ecclus.	III., 21, 22	cf. Chagiga, fol. 13, col. 1; Jerus. Chagiga II., 1.
"	VI., 6	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2; Yebamoth, fol. 63, col. 2,
"	VI., 32 (Syriac)	" Jerus. Berachoth VII. towards the end; Jerus. Nazir, V., 3; Berachoth, fol. 48, col. 1; Bereshith Rabba, sect. 91.
"	VII., 10	" Eruvin, fol. 65, col. 1.
"	VIII., 10 (Syriac)	" Succa, fol. 21, col. 2; Aboda Sarah, fol. 19, col. 1.
"	IX., 8–13	" Yebamoth, fol. 63, col. 2; Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2.
"	IX., 12 (Syriac)	" Aboth I., 5.
"	XI., 1	" Jer. Berachoth, fol. 29, col. 1; Nazir, fol. 18, col. 1.
"	XI., 27	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2.
"	XIII., 15; XXVII., 9	" Baba Kamma, fol. 92, col. 2.
"	XIII., 25, 31	" Bereshith Rabba, fol. 82, col. 3.
"	XIV., 11–19	" Eruvin, fol. 54, col. 1.
"	XVIII., 23	" Midrash Tanchuma, fol. 13, col. 1.
"	XXV., 3, 4	" Pesachim, fol. 113, col. 2.
"	XXV., 17	" Sabbath, fol. 11, col. 1.
"	XXVI., 1	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2; Yebamoth, fol. 63, col. 2.
"	XXVII., 9	see under XIII., 15.
"	XXVIII., 14	cf. Wayyikra Rabba, sect. 30.
"	XXVIII., 22	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2; Yebamoth, fol. 63, col. 2.
"	XXX., 22, 23	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2.
"	XXXVIII., 1	" Jer. Sanhedrin, 44; Jer. Taanith, fol. 9, col. 1.
"	XXXVIII., 4, 8	" Bereshith Rabba, fol. 12, col. 1; Yalkut, in Job, 148.
"	XLI., 30	" Betza, fol. 32, col. 2; Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, ch. 24.
"	XLII., 9, 10	" Sanhedrin, fol. 100, col. 2.

From these frequent quotations, it must not be inferred that the Talmud regarded the book of Ben Sira as belonging to the collection of sacred books, as

[1] The passage runs thus: "Rabba said to Rabban bar-Mare: Where have the people that saying 'a bad palm-tree wanders about and goes along with lazy, or barren, trees?' He replied: This matter is written in the Law, repeated in the Prophets, and reiterated a third time in the Kethubim (or Hagiographa) and handed down in the traditions, and again in the Beraitha. Written in the Law, as it is written (Gen. xxix., 9), 'and Esau went unto Ishmael;' repeated in the Prophets, as it is written, (Judg. xi., 3), 'and there were gathered to Jephthah vain men, and they were with him;' and reiterated a third time in the Kethubim, as it is written, 'every bird dwells by its kind, and the son of man by one who is akin to him.'" The last passage is found in Ecclus. xiii., 15; xxvii., 9.

Digitized by Google

the following statements will show:—thus we read—"All Israel has a portion in the world to come. But these persons have no portion in the world to come, namely, he who says, there is no resurrection of the dead in the Torah, or that the Torah is not from heaven, or [he who is] an Epicurean. Rabbi Akiva says, He also who reads in the extraneous books" (*Sanhedrin* X., 1), which latter clause the Jerusalem Talmud (chap. X., 28[a]) explains to mean "the books of Ben Sira and the books of Ben Laanah," etc. The Midrash on Koheleth, XII., 12, says: "Every one who brings into the middle of his house more than the twenty-four books [of the canon] brings confusion into his house, as, for example, the book of Ben Sira and the book of Ben Tiglah," etc. And in the Tosefta Yadaïm (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 683) we read: "The gospels and the books of heretics do not defile the hands, the book of Ben Sira, and all the books which were written from that time onwards do not defile the hands."[1] Accordingly Ecclesiasticus is not included in the canon of Melito, Origen, Cyril, Hilary, Rufinus, etc., and though St. Augustine, like the Talmud and the Midrashim, often quotes this book, yet he also, like the ancient Jewish authorities, distinctly says, that it is not the Hebrew Canon (*De civitate Dei* XVII., 20). St. Jerome (*Prol. in Lib. Sol.*) says, that Ecclesiasticus should be read "for the instruction of the people (*plebis*), not to support the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines," and Epiphanius (*De mensuris et pond.*, p 534) states that "Siracidem in arco foederis non fuisse asservatum, nec proinde canonicis adscriptum."

§ 4. DIVISION OF THE BOOKS.

The twenty-four books of the Old Testament are divided into the *Law*, *Prophets* and *Hagiographa*. The Law, or Torah, consists of five books, viz.:—

1. *Bereshith*, so called from the first word of the book,[2] also called *Sepher Yezira* (ספר יצירה) i. e., book of creation (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 62, col. 2; *Jerus. Megilla*, ch. 7), or the book of the Patriarchs (ספר האבות), also "the book of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (ספר אברהם יצחק ויעקב—*Aboda Sarah*, fol. 25, col. 1).

2. *Shemoth* (ואלה שמות or שמות), so called from the commencement of the book,[3] also called the second fifth [of the five books] (חומש שני—*Halachoth Gedoloth*, fol. 36). A certain part of the book, treating of the laws of damages, had the special name "book of damages" (ספר נזיקין or ס' דינין), and another "a book of redemption" (ספר גאולה).

---

[1] As this phrase is often used in the Talmud concerning the books of the Old Testament, it may be well to speak of it here. In the Talmud, *Sabbath*, fol. 14, col. 1, the question is asked, Why Holy Writ is reckoned among the eighteen subjects which are decreed as defiling the hands? The answer there given is, because the Theruma food and the Torah, both being regarded as holy, used to be placed near each other. When it was afterwards discovered that the sacred books were thereby exposed to danger (damage by mice), the Rabbis decreed that they should henceforth be regarded as *unclean*, in order to prohibit them from coming in contact with those sacred eatables. Hence the decree "All holy Scripture pollutes the hands," which exclusively applies to holy, i. e., inspired books. Wherever, therefore, it is said that a book is מטמא את הידים *defiling the hands*, it means that the book is canonical; and when it is said אין מטמא את הידים, *does not defile the hands*, it means that the book is not canonical.

[2] Origen, in his catalogue (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi., 25) says that the book which the Christians call γένεσις, is called by the Hebrews βρησιθ, from the first word of the book.

[3] Origen l. c. ονναλεσμουθ.

Digitized by Google

3. *Wayyikra* (ויקרא), from the first word of the book;[1] more common, however, is the name *Torath Kohanim*, i. e., the law-book for the priests (*Menachoth* III., 4; *Sifra*, col. 99), or sometimes "book of the priests" (ספר כהנים—*Halachoth Gedoloth*, fol. 36).

4. *Bammidbar* (במדבר), from the most conspicuous word of the first verse; also, after the first word, *Wayedabber* (וידבר—*Mishna Yoma*, ch. VII.);[2] more usual was the name *Chumash Happekudim* (הפקודים—*Menachoth* IV., 3),[3] i. e., one fifth of the five books about the numbering, corresponding to ἀριθμοί and *numeri*.

5. *Elleh Haddebarim* (אלה הדברים), after the first word of the book;[4] often, however, *Mishneh Hattorah* (*Aboda Sarah*, fol. 25, col. 1), corresponding to δευτερονόμιον. A large part of the book is also called *Sepher Tokachoth* (ספר תוכחות) (Sifré in Deut. initio), i. e., the book of admonitions.[5] These five books together, since each book was named *Chumash* (*Sofrim* 3, 4), were called the five *Chumshin* or merely *Chumshin* (חמשה חומשין—*Jerus. Megilla* I., 8; חומשין—*Menachoth*, fol. 30, col. 1; or also חומשין של תורה—*Menachoth*, l. c.).

Besides the division of the Law into five books, there also existed a division into seven books. Thus we read *Midrash Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 64 (Gen. XXVI., 17, 18): "How many wells did our father Isaac make in Beer-sheba? Rabbi Judah said, four wells. Wherefore his children became four cohorts in the wilderness. The rabbis said five, corresponding to the five books of the Law. The first well he called Esek, corresponding to the first book, Bereshith.... The second he called Sitnah, corresponding to the second book, Shemoth.... 'They found there a well of living water,' corresponding to the third book, Wayyikra.... The [fourth well] he called Shebah, corresponding to the fourth book, Wayedabber, because it completes the seven books of the Torah. But there are only five? (Yes) but Bar Kapra divided the book Wayedabber into three books, viz., Num. I., 1—X., 35; X., 35, 36; XI. sq."

In *Midrash Wayyikra Rabba*, sect. 11 (Lev. IX., 1) we read (concerning Prov. IX., 1): "Bar Kapra referred this to the Torah. 'Wisdom hath builded her house;' this is the Torah, as it is said, 'For the Lord giveth wisdom' (Prov. II., 6) and 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way' (ibid. VIII., 22). 'She has hewn out her seven pillars;' these are the seven books of the Torah. But are there not five only? (Yes) but Bar Kapra divided the book [i. e., Numbers] into I., 1—X., 35 etc." [as above]. Cf. also Talmud, *Sabbath*, fol. 115, col. 2; 116, col. 1, further on.

The second part of the twenty-four books comprised the *Prophets*, which were subdivided into Earlier Prophets (נביאים ראשונים) and Later Prophets (נ' אחרונים). The former comprised Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings; the latter, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve Minor Prophets.

The third part, the *Hagiographa*, the Talmud also knows in a more definite

---

[1] Ibid. *ονίκρα*.

[2] Jerome in *Prol. Galeat.*: "Primus apud eos (Judaeos) liber vocatur *Beresith*, quem nos Genesin dicimus. Secundus *Vecle Semoth*, tertius *Vaicra*, id est *Leviticus*. Quartus *Vajedabber*, quem *Numeros* vocamus, etc.

[3] Origen *αμμεσφεκωδειμ*, which he could not interpret.

[4] Ibid. *ελλε αδδεβαριμ*.

[5] It is interesting to know that Philo too quotes Deuteronomy by the name of "hortatory admonitions," thus *De Agricult.* § 39: *ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς*; *De Mutat. Nom.* § 41; *De Profug.* § 25.

Digitized by Google

rubrication of smaller and larger Kethubim (קטנים and כתובים גדולים—*Berachoth*, fol. 57, col. 2): the former, as Psalms, Proverbs, Job—called אמת by a mnemotechnic sign; the latter, as Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles and the five Megilloth, i. e., Esther, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Ruth, Song of Solomon (cf. *Abboth de Rabbi Nathan*, ch. XL.; *Sotah*, fol. 7, col. 1).

It is noteworthy that we are told, in the Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, fol. 13, col. 2, (towards the end) that between each book of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets four lines must be left blank, but three lines between each book of the Minor Prophets.

§ 5. THE SMALLER SECTIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

In our Hebrew Bibles, which follow the Massoretic text, the Pentateuch is divided into 669 Parashahs or sections, of which 290 are open; and 379 are closed. Of these Parashahs mention is already made in the Mishna, viz.:

1. *Taanith*, ch. IV., § 3, the history of creation is divided into seven sections, viz., Gen. I., 1–5; 6–8; 9–13; 14–19; 20–23; 24–31; II., 1–3.

2. *Berachoth*, ch. II., § 2; *Taamid*, ch. V., § 1; *Menachoth*, ch. III., § 7—the sections of Prayer and Phylacteries are mentioned, viz., Exod. XIII., 1–13; Deut. VI., 4–9; XI., 13–21; Num. XV., 37–41.

3. *Megillah*, ch. III., 4–6 (cf. also Yoma VII., 1; Sota VII., 7) the following sections for the Sabbath and Festivals are given, viz., Exod. XXX., 11–16; Deut. XXV., 17–19; Num. XIX., 1–22; Exod. XII., 1–12; Lev. XXII., 26–33 (for the first day of the Passover); Deut. XVI., 9–12 (for Pentecost); Lev. XXIII., 23–25 (for the New Year); Lev. XVI., 1–34; XXIII., 26–35 (for the day of Atonement); Num. VI., 22—VII., 18 (for the day of Dedication of the Temple); Exod. XVII., 8–13 (for Purim); Num. XXVIII., 11–15 (for the New Moon); Lev. XXVI., 3 sq.; Deut. XXVIII. sq. (for Fast Days).

4. *Taamid* V., 1; *Sota* VII., 2–6:—Num. VI., 22–27.

5. *Yadaim* III., 4:—Num. X., 35, 36.

6. *Sota* VII., 1:—Deut. XVII., 14–20; Num. V., 11–31; XIX., 1–22; Deut. XXI., 1–9; XXVI., 1–11; XIV., 22–27; XXVI., 12–15; XXV., 5–10., etc.

7. *Berachoth*, fol. 12B, we read that the Parashahs were invented by Moses himself: "Said R. Abuhu, the son of Sotarti, in the name of R. Jehuda, son of Sebida, they intended to add the Parashah of Balak [i. e., Num. XXII., 2—XXV., 9] to the reading of the Shema. But why did they not add it? Because they did not wish to trouble the congregation. But what was the reason [i. e., for such an addition]? Perhaps, because it is written there, 'God brought them out of Egypt?' But then, why not say the Parashah treating of usury [i. e., Lev. XXV., 35–38] and that of weight [i. e., Lev. XIX., 33–37], in which it is written of the Exodus. But, said R. Josi, son of Abin, [The reason why the Rabbins intended to add this section is] that the verse is written there 'He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion: who will stir him up?' [Num. XXIV., 9] But why not say this verse, then, alone? Because it is a rule among us that any Parashah which Moses, our teacher, divided, we also divide; and anyone which Moses did not divide, neither do we. But why have they added the Parashah of the fringes? [ציצית, Num. XV., 37–41]. R. Jehuda, the son of Chabiba, said, Because it contains five things; the law concerning fringes, the exodus, the yoke of the commandments [i. e., the execution of the same], the opinion of heretics [i. e., the warning against the opinion of those who reject all teachings of the Talmud, and

Digitized by Google

do not recognize the Deity], the lust of sin, and lust of idolatry" etc., etc.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 63a, we read the following: "We have the tradition, Rabbi says, Why is the Parashah of the Nasir [Num. VI., 1–21] so near to that of the adulterous wife? [Num. V., 11–31.] To teach you that every one who sees the woman suspected of adultery in her degeneration, should abstain from wine. R. Hiskiah, son of Rabbi Parnach, said, in the name of R. Jochanan, Why is the Parashah of the woman suspected of adultery so near to that of the offering? [Num. V., 9, 10.] To teach you," etc., etc.

9. *Baba Bathra*, 14B: "Moses wrote his book and the Parashah of Balaam" [which is the same as that of Balak].

10. *Gittin*, 60A: The eight sections are mentioned, which were publicly read at the erection of the tabernacle; "R. Levi said eight sections were said on the day when the tabernacle was erected, viz.: פרשת כהנים [Lev. XXI., 1–24]; ופרשת לוים [Num. VIII., 5–22]; ופרשת טמאים [Num. IX., 6 sq. But these verses form no section to-day.]; ופרשת שילוח טמאים [Num. V., 1–4]; ופרשת אחרי מות [Lev. XVI., concerning the High Priest]; ופרשת שתויי יין [Lev. X., 8–11]; ופרשת נרות [Num. VIII., 1–4]; ופרשת פרה אדומה [Num. XIX.].

That some of these Parashahs were open פתוחות, some closed סתומות, we already read in Tr. Sabbath, fol. 103B, An open section should not be made closed, and a closed one not open; cf. also Jerus. Megilla, fol. 71 B. In Tr. Soferim I., 13, we also read that an *open* section is an empty space, the width of *three letters*, at the beginning of a line; and the *closed* is as much in the middle of a line.

In *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (ad Gen. XLVII., 28) sect. XCVI., fol. 107, 3, we read the following: "'And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt' (ויחי יעקב בארץ מצרים). Why is this section closed before all the sections of the law? Because, when our father Jacob died, the bondage of Egypt commenced for Israel. Again, why is it closed? Because our father Jacob intended to reveal the end, and it was kept secret to him. Again, why is it closed? Because all troubles in the world were kept secret to him."

In the Talmudic period, the Parashahs were not separated by the letters פ and ס, but by a small space, which seems to have been called פֶּרֶק, and of which mention is made in *Berachoth* II., 2; *Cholin* X., 4; *Taamid* VII., 3, 4.

§ 6. THE LARGER SECTIONS.

Different from the *smaller Parashahs*, or sections, which were formed by open spaces, and are of later origin, are the so-called *larger Sections or Parashahs* of the Pentateuch (marked in our Bibles by פ פ פ and ס ס ס), now read on successive Sabbaths, which are not mentioned in the Talmud, and are, consequently, ignored in the synagogue rolls. They were introduced solely for the purpose of securing the public weekly reading of the whole Pentateuch within a certain period of time. The practice of publicly reading sections of the Law in the synagogues is very ancient, as may be seen from Acts XV., 21, *Μωϋσῆς γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος*, and *Josephus contra Apion* II., 17 fin., *Οὐκ εἰς ἅπαξ ἀκροασάμενους οὐδὲ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν.* But the arrangement of these readings, and the division of the portions read, being of later origin, were not always and every-

Digitized by Google

where alike; for, in Palestine, the whole Pentateuch was read in three years, or three years and a half, being divided into a hundred and fifty-five sections; whereas, in Babylonia, this was done in a single year, the whole Pentateuch being divided into fifty-four sections.[1]

§ 7. HAPHTARAHS.

After the reading of the Law in the synagogue, it was also the custom, from an early period, to read a passage from the Prophets (of which custom we already read in Acts XIII., 27, *τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας*· and Luke IV., 16, *εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι*· and 17, *καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ βιβλίον Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφητοῦ*), and with that to dissolve the meeting (*λύειν τὴν συναγωγήν*, Acts XIII., 43; Hebr. הפטיר). Hence, the reader who made this conclusion was called מַפְטִיר, and the prophetic passage read הַפְטָרָה. The Mishna repeatedly speaks of the Haphtaroth, and even mentions several of them; yet, in general, they cannot then have been fixed determinately; and, even now, different usages prevail among the Jews of different countries, as may be seen from the לוח הפטרות, or table of Haphtaroth appended to our Hebrew Bibles, where the sections adopted by the אשכנזים, or German Jews, and the ספרדים, or Spanish Jews, are marked.

§ 8. VARIOUS READINGS.

The various readings so frequently found in the margins and foot notes of the Hebrew Bible, known as *Q'ri* and *K'thibh* (קרי וכתיב, plur. קריין וכתיבן), are very ancient. The Talmud traces the source of these variations to Moses himself; for, as we are distinctly told in Tr. *Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2, "that the pronunciation of certain words according to the scribes (מקרא סופרים), the emendations of the scribes (עטור סופרים), the not reading of words which are in the text (כתיב ולא קרי), and the reading of words which are not in the text (קרי ולא כתיב), etc., are a law of Moses, from Sinai (הלכה למשה מסיני)." According to the Massorah, as printed in the first Rabbinic Bible, the sum total of *Q'ris* and *K'thibhs*, occurring in the Bible, is 1359, viz.:

Genesis.....25	2 Kings..... 80	Habakkuk..... 2	Lamentations.. 28
Exodus.....17	Isaiah..... 55	Zephaniah..... 1	Ecclesiastes.... 11
Leviticus..... 6	Jeremiah.....148	Haggai..... 1	Esther..... 14
Numbers.....11	Ezekiel.....143	Zechariah..... 7	Daniel..... 129
Deuteronomy....23	Hosea..... 6	Malachi..... 1	Ezra..... 33
Joshua.....38	Joel..... 1	Psalms.....74	Nehemiah..... 28
Judges.....22	Amos..... 3	Proverbs.....70	1 Chronicles... 41
1 Samuel.....73	Obadiah..... 1	Job.....54	2 Chronicles.... 39
2 Samuel.....99	Micah..... 4	Song of Songs.. 5	——
1 Kings.....49	Nahum..... 4	Ruth.....13	Total.....1359

But the number is larger, as may be seen from Table VIII, appended to the several parts of the Hebrew Bible edited by Baer and Delitzsch. We will only mention some instances, where they occur in the Talmud.

---

[1] Cf. Fuerst, *Kultur-u. Literatur-Gesch. d. Juden in Asien*, pp. 61, 62; Zuntz, *Gottesd. Vortr.* pp. 4, 329 sq.

Digitized by Google

Gen. VIII., 17:—הוצא, Midr. *Bereshith Rabba*, in loco, sec. XXXIV (Wünsche's German ed., p. 151); א"ר יודן הוצא כתיב היצא קרי, i. e., Rabbi Judan says, It is written הוצא, but read היצא. Rashi remarks on this passage, The Q'rî is הוצא, the K'thîbh היצא, because he was first to tell them to go out; but, if they should refuse to go, he was to make them go.

Lev. XXI., 5:—The K'thîbh is יקרחה, but the Q'rî is יקרחו: cf. *Maccoth*, fol. 20, col. 1; *Kiddushin*, fol. 36, col. 1.[1]

Lev. XXIII., 13:—The K'thîbh is ונסכה, but the Q'rî ונסכו: *Menachoth*, fol. 89, col. 2.

1 Sam. XVII., 23:—The K'thîbh is ממערות, but the Q'rî ממערכות: *Sotah*, fol. 42, col. 2, and is followed by Sept. and Vulg.

Esth. IX., 27:—The K'thîbh is וקבל, but the Q'rî וקבלו:[2] *Jerus. Berachoth*, fol. 14, col. 3; *Bab. Sabbath*, fol. 88, col. 1.

Job XIII., 15:—The K'thîbh is לא, but the Q'rî לו: *Sotah* v., § 5.

Prov. XXXI., 18:—The K'thîbh is בליל, but the Q'rî is בלילה:[3] *Pesikta* (ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868), fol. 65, col. 1.

Eccl. IX., 4:—The K'thîbh is יבחר, but the Q'rî יחבר:[4] *Talm. Jerus. Berachoth*, fol. 13, col. 2; so also in the Sept., Symmachus, Syriac, Chaldee, and in ten of Kennicott's and thirteen of DeRossi's MSS.

Hag. I., 8:—The K'thîbh is אכבד, but the Q'rî אכבדה: *Yoma*, fol. 21, col. 2, where we read the following: Rabbi Samuel ben Enia saith, Why has the K'thîbh ואכבד, and the Q'rî ואכבדה? What is meant by the absence of ה? It is because of the five things which made the difference between the first and the second temple, viz., the *ark* with the lid and the cherubim upon it, the *fire*, the *Shechinah*, the *Holy Ghost* and the *Urim and Thummim*.

To these variations belong also the substitution of euphonisms (לשבח) for *cacophonisms* (לגנאי). Thus we read in the Talmud (*Megilla*, fol. 25, col. 2), "Our sages allow all the verses wherein are written indecent expressions to have decent expressions read in their stead, as ישכבנה instead of ישגלנה (Deut. XXVIII., 30; Isa. XIII., 16; Jer. III., 2; Zech. XIV., 2), טהורים for עפלים (Deut. XXVIII., 27; 1 Sam. V., 6, 9, 12; VI., 4, 5, 17), דביונים for חריונים (2 Kgs. VI., 25), צואתם for חוריהם (2 Kgs. XVIII., 27; Isa. XXXVI., 12), רגליהם for מימי שיניהם (2 Kgs. XVIII., 27; Isa. XXXVI., 12), למוצאות for למחראות (2 Kgs. X., 28). Cf. also *Talmud Jerus. Megilla* IV.; Tr. *Soferim* IX., 8.

These passages, the number of which could be greatly increased, prove that the reading, קרי, owes not its origin to various manuscript readings, but is of great antiquity.[5]

---

[1] On this word the Massorah remarks, "Fourteen words have a ה at the end, which is read and considered as ו, viz.: Lev. xxi., 5; Deut. xxi., 7; 1 Kgs. xxii., 49; 2 Kgs. xxiv., 10; Jer. ii., 15; xxii., 6; l., 6; Ezek. xxiii., 43; xxxv., 12; xxxvii., 22; Ps. lxxiii., 2; Job xvi., 16; Lam. iv., 17; Dan. iii., 29."

[2] This word, according to the Massorah, belongs to a class of eighteen words which want the suffix ו in the text. These words are found in Gen. xxvii., 29; xliii., 28; Judg. xxi., 20; 1 Sam. vii., 9; xii., 10; xiii., 19; 1 Kgs. ix., 9; xii., 7; 2 Kgs. xx., 18; xxii., 5; Isa. xxxvii., 30; Jer. xlviii., 7; Ezek. vii., 21; Dan. v., 21; Ez. iii., 3; Neh. iii., 30, 31; Esth. ix., 27. These instances are also enumerated in Tr. *Sopherim* vii., 1, with the exception of Gen. xliii., 28; Judg. xxi., 20; Neh. iii., 30.

[3] This word, according to the Massorah, belongs to a class of twenty-nine words which have no ה in the textual reading, but have it in the marginal reading.

[4] This word belongs to a class of sixty-two words in which two letters following each other are transposed.

[5] Danzius, *Sinceritas Scripturae Vet. Test. praevalente Keri vacillans*, Jenae, 1713.

Digitized by Google

For the most part, the Rabbis follow the reading of the קרי, often that of the כתיב, especially when they can elicit a new interpretation from the reading of the כתיב. Thus, at Ruth III., 3, the Midrash (*Ruth Rabba*, sect. V., fol. 47, 3, Cracow, 1588, fol.) reads וירדתי, whereas the קרי reads וירדת.

In the treatise *Soferim*, instances of different readings are given, which we put in the following order:

a) *Written and Read.*

Under this head, in chapt. VI., 5, instances are enumerated where it is written לא, but read לן. Such words are fifteen, and are found in Exod. XXI., 18 (cf. also *Bechoroth* I., 7); Lev. XI., 31 (cf. *Cholin*, fol. 65, col. 1); XXV., 30 (cf. *Megilla*, fol. 10, col. 2; *Erachin*, fol 32, col. 1); 1 Sam. II., 3; 2 Sam. XVI., 18; Isa. IX., 2; XLIX., 5; LXIII., 9; Ps. C., 3 (cf. also *Midrash Tillim*, sect. 100); CXXXIX., 16; Job XIII., 15 (cf. *Sotah* V., 5); XLI., 4; Prov. XXVI., 2 (cf. *Maccoth*, fol. 11, col. 1); XIX., 7; Ez. IV., 2.

Ch. VI., 6, we read of two instances where the reverse takes place, i. e., where לן is written, but לא is read, viz., 1 Sam. II. 16; XX., 2.

b) *Read and Written.*

Ch. VI., 7, we read that the word יעואל, which, in four instances, is written יעואל, is read יעיאל, viz., 1 Chron. IX., 35; XI., 44; 2 Chron. XXVI., 11; XXIX., 13.

c) *Read and not Written.*

This class, comprising ten instances (cf. also *Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2), is enumerated in chapt. VI., 8. The passages are, Judg. XX., 13; 2 Sam. VIII., 3; XVI., 21; XVIII., 20; 2 Kgs. XIX., 37; Isa. XXXVII., 32; Jer. XXXI., 38; L., 29; Ruth III., 5, 17.

To this class also belong those instances in which the ו is not written, but read. The instances are given in chap. VII., 1. See also note 2 to Esth. IX., 27, given above.

In chap. VII., 2, we read of twenty-nine words which have no ה in the textual reading, but have it in the marginal reading, viz., Josh. XXIV., 3; 1 Sam., IX., 26; XXIV., 19; 2 Sam. XXI., 9; 1 Kgs. I., 37; 2 Kgs. IX., 37; Isa. XLI., 23; LIV., 16; Jer. XVII., 8; XL., 16; Ezek. XXIII., 16, 43; XLV., 3; Hag. I., 8; Ruth I., 12; IV., 4; Ps. VI., 4; LXXIV., 6; XC., 8; Prov. XXX., 18; XXXI., 16, 18; Job I., 10; XLII., 16; Lam. II., 19; V., 1, 21; Eccl. VII., 22; Neh. IX., 6.

d) *Written, but not Read.*

Eight such words are given in chap. VI., 8 (cf. *Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2), viz., 2 Sam. XIII., 33; XXV., 21; 2 Kgs. V., 18; Jer. XXXVIII., 16; XXXIX., 12; LI., 3; Ezek. III., 12; Ruth III., 12.

To this class also belong eleven words in which the ו is written, but not read (chap. VII., 1), viz., Josh. VI., 7; IX., 7; 1 Sam. XV., 16; 2 Sam. XXII., 34; 1 Kgs. XII., 3, 21; 2 Kgs. IX., 33; XIV., 13; XVI., 15; Ezek. XLVI., 9; Neh. III., 15.

We also read, chap. VII., 2, of twenty words which have a ה written, but not read, viz., Josh. VII., 21; XXIV., 8; 2 Sam. XXIII., 20; 1 Kgs. VII., 23; Jer. III., 7; XV., 9; XVIII., 10; XXVI., 6; XXXI., 39; XLIII., 11; XLVIII., 27; Mic. III., 2; Zech. I., 16; Ruth I., 3; Ps. LI., 4; Prov. VIII., 17; XXVII., 10; Dan. IX., 18; Lam. III., 10; Ezra V., 15.

Digitized by Google

e) *Written as one word, but read as two.*

The fifteen words belonging to this class are mentioned in chap. VII., 3, viz., Gen. XXX., 11; Exod. IV., 2; Deut. XXXIII., 2; Jer. VI., 29; XVIII., 3; Ezek. VIII., 6; Isa. III., 15; Ps. X., 10; LV., 16; CXXIII., 4; Job XXXVIII., 1; XL., 6; Neh. II., 13; 1 Chron. IX., 4; XXVII., 12.

The reverse is the case in eight instances, where words are written as two, but read as one.

f) *Written as two, and read as one.*

Judg. XVI., 25; 1 Sam. IX., 1; XXIV., 9; Isa. IX., 6; XLIV., 24; Lam. I., 6; IV., 3; 2 Chron. XXXIV., 6.

Another class of words is also mentioned, chap. VII., 4, which have

g) *A ו written in the middle of the word, where ן is read.*

This list not being given very correctly in *Soferim*, we give according to the book *Ochloh w'Ochlah*.[1] Gen. XXXIX., 20; 1 Sam. XXV., 18; 2 Sam. XV., 20; Isa. XLV., 2; 2 Kgs. XXIV., 15; Jer. L., 44; 2 Sam. XVI., 12; Jer. VI., 7; Nah. II., 6; 1 Chron. VII., 31; Prov. XXIII., 24; Ez. IV., 9; Gen. VIII., 17; Jer. XIX., 2; XLVIII., 5; Zech. XI., 2; Ezek. XLII., 9; 2 Chron. XXXV., 3; Ps. V., 9; Prov. XXIII., 5; Ez. VIII., 17; Jer. XXV., 7; 2 Chron. XXVI., 21; Num. XIV., 36; Josh. XIX., 22; Isa. LXII., 3; Jer. XIV., 14 (twice); VIII., 7; Ezek. XLI., 15; 1 Chron. IV., 20; XII., 3; 2 Chron. XXXV., 4; Ps. LXXIV., 11; 1 Kgs. VI., 5; Ezek. XLVIII., 14; 1 Chron. XX., 5; 2 Chron. XXIX., 14; Ps. LIX., 16; CXL., 10; Prov. IV., 16; 2 Sam. III., 15; Jer. XVI., 16; Judg. XXI., 22; 1 Sam. XVIII., 6; Ezek. XXII., 18; Isa. XLII., 24; Ps. CXXIX., 3; 1 Sam. XX., 1; Jer. XLVIII., 21; Isa. LVII., 19; Neh. X., 20; Isa. III., 16; Neh. VII., 52; 2 Sam. XIV., 7; 1 Sam. XXV., 18; Jer. XL., 8; Amos VIII., 4; 2 Chron. XIII., 19; Esth. VIII., 13; Jer. XIV., 3; XLVIII., Ezek. IV., 15; Num. XXVI., 9; 1 Kgs. XIV., 25; Jer. XVIII., 16; XV., 11; XLIII., 10; 1 Chron. XXIV., 24; Zeph. II., 7; Ps. LXXXV., 2; Prov. XXII., 20; Num. XXXII., 7; Prov. III., 30; Job. XXX., 22.

In connection with these variations, we will only mention that, in the Mishna, Megilla IV., 10, we read of some passages which may publicly be read, but not interpreted. Thus, "the occurrence of Reuben [with Bilhah, Gen. XXXV., 20] may be read without being interpreted; that of Tamar [*ibid.* chap. XXXVIII.,] is to be read and interpreted; the [first part of the] occurrence with the golden calf is to be read and interpreted, but the second part [commencing Exod., XXXIV., 21] is to be read without being interpreted. The blessing of the priests [Num. VI., 22 ff.], and the occurrence of David and Amnon [2 Sam. XI., XII., XIII.] are neither to be read nor interpreted."

§ 9. ABLATIO SCRIBARUM, OR עִטּוּר סוֹפְרִים

The *ablatio scribarum*, or removal of the Scribes, consists in the removal of a superfluous ן which has crept into the text, and which has been erroneously prefixed to אַחַר, viz., Gen. XVIII., 5; XXIV., 55; Num. XXXI., 2; Ps. LXVIII., 26. They note, also, that it has been erroneously prefixed to the word מִשְׁפָּטִיךָ, in Ps. XXXVI., 7. Cf. Tr. *Nedarim*, 37B.

[1] Cf. a description of this work in my art. *Ochlah w'Ochlah*, in McClintock & Strong's Cyc., s. v.

Digitized by Google

§ 10. CORRECTIO SCRIBARUM, OR תִּקּוּן סוֹפְרִים

In the Talmud, nothing is said of these so called "Tiqqûn Sôph'rîm," or "emendations of the Scribes;" and yet these corrections must be very old, since reference is made to them in the *Mechilta*, a commentary on Exodus (chap. XV., 7), the first compilation of which was probably made about 90 A. D.; in the *Siphri*, a commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy (Num. X., 35), compiled by Rab (A. D. 219–247); in the *Tanchuma*, fol. 26, 1, compiled by Tanchuma ben-Abba (fl. cir. A. D. 440); in the *Bereshith Rabba* (in Gen. XVIII., 22), sec. XLI, fol. 54, 4 fin.; and *Shemoth Rabba*, sec. XIII., fol. 128, 4; XXX., fol. 146, 4 in medio; XLI., fol. 156, 1 initio; both ascribed to Oshajá b. Nachmani (fl. A. D. 278).

As these corrections are, in general, only alluded to in our books called "Introductions to the Old Testament," but not given, we will give them here. The Massorites mention eighteen "Tiqqûn Sôph'rîm," or emendations of the Scribes, and refer to eighteen alterations which the Scribes decreed should be introduced into the text, in order to remove anthropomorphisms and other infelicities of expression. These eighteen emendations (or י"ח מלין) are as follows, according to the order of the Hebrew Bible:

1. Gen. XVIII., 22, where, for the original reading ויהוה עודנו עמד לפני אברהם *and Jehovah still stood before Abraham*, is now substituted ואברהם עודני עמד לפני יהוה *and Abraham still stood before Jehovah*, because it appeared offensive to say that the Deity stood before Abraham.
2. Num. XI., 15, for ברעתך *thy evil*, is substituted ברעתי *my evil*.
3. 4. " XII., 12, " אמנו *our mother*, " אמו *its mother*.
" " בשרנו *our flesh*, " בשרו *its flesh*.
5. 1 Sam. III., 13, " אלהים *God* (Sept. θεόν), " להם *themselves*.
6. 2 " XVI., 12, " בעינו *with his eye*, " בעוני *at my affliction*.
7. 1 Kgs. XII., 16, " לאלהיו *to their God*, " לאהליו *to their seats*.
8. 2 Chron. X., 16, " " " " " "
9. Jer. II., 11, " כבודי *my glory*, " כבודו *their glory*.
10. Ezek. VIII., 17, " אפי *my nose*, " אפם *their nose*.
11. Hos. IV., 7, " כבודי *my glory*, " כבודם *their glory*.
12. Hab. I., 12, " תמות *thou diest not*, " נמות *we shall not die*.
13. Zech. II., 12, " עיני *mine eye*, " עינו *his eye*.
14. Mal. I., 13, " אותי *ye make me expire*, " אותו *ye weary it*.
15. Ps. CVI., 20, " כבודי *my glory*, " כבודם { *their glory* (cf. Jer. II., 11; Hos. IV., 7)
16. Job VII., 20, " עליך *to thee*, " אלי *to myself*.
17. " XXXII., 3, " את אלהים or את הדין *God* or *the divine justice*, is substituted איוב *Job*.
18. Lam. III., 19, וְתַשְׁחַ עָלַי נַפְשֶׁךָ *thy soul will mourn over me*, is substituted וְתָשׁוֹחַ עָלַי נַפְשִׁי *and my soul is humbled within me*.

On these emendations of the Scribes, Bleek, in his *Introduction* (pp. 803, 4), says: "These remarks [of the Rabbins], as I believe, have been, in general, too little thought of, and, as a whole, have not been judged correctly. It is usually assumed that what are named Tiqqûn Sôph'rîm are only alterations of the false readings of many manuscripts, in conformity with other manuscripts which were more correct; and it is at once taken for granted that the readings preferred by

Digitized by Google

the Scribes, which are just those of our present manuscripts and editions, have been the genuine original readings..... Much rather, we are moved, partly by the statements of the Massorites, partly by the nature of several of the readings set aside by the Tiqqûn Sôph'rîm, compared with the readings introduced by them, and at present found in the text, to look upon the matter thus: that, in these passages, other readings were actually accepted universally at an earlier time, or, at all events, were to be found in most of the common manuscripts, which the Scribes considered themselves justified in altering, because they presented what created scruples or gave offense in certain respects. Hence, this earlier reading, which is noted as having been altered, is always to be held in high estimation, critically considered; and we may actually assume, with great probability, in several cases at least, that it is the original reading."[1]

§ 11. PUNCTA EXTRAORDINARIA.

Over single letters, partly over entire words, we find dots or points, generally called "puncta extraordinaria." The first instance is mentioned in the Mishna Tr. Pesachim IX., 2, over the ה of the word רחקה, Num. IX., 10. Ten such words, which have these extraordinary points, are enumerated in Midrash *Bemidbar Rabba* on Num. III., 39, sec. III., fol. 215, 4, cf. *Pirke de Rabbi Nathan* c. 33, *Sifri* ad Num. IX., 10; Tr. *Soferim* VI., 3; *Massora Magna* on Num. III., 39; *Ochlah w'Ochlah*, sec. 96; Trägard *De literis textus S. Hebraei insolitae quantitatis formae situs et punctationis*, Gryph., 1764.

1. Gen. XVI., 5 יהוה ביני וביניך. The Massorites note on this word: There is a point on the last י, and it is one of the ten pointed words, which occur in the Law, four in the Prophets and in the Hagiographa. It is worthy to be noticed, that in the whole Pentateuch the word in question is nowhere written *plene*, i. e., with *two yodhs*, except in our passage.
2. Gen. XVIII., 9 אַיֵּה. On this passage the *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (sec. XLVIII., Wünsche's Germ. tranl. p. 227 sq.) remarks: אי are pointed, but not the ל. R. Simeon ben Eliezer saith, Wherever you find more letters than points, you must explain the letters, i. e., what is written; but where you find more points than letters, you must explain the letters. In this case, where there are more points than the written text, you must explain the points, viz., אַיֵּה "Where is Abraham?" The meaning is, that the points over these three letters intend to indicate that the three angels did not ask, "Where is Sarai?" איה שרה, but "Where is Abraham?" אי אברהם Cf. Tr. *Baba Meziah*, fol. 87*a*.

---

[1] Geiger, in *Urschrift*, p. 331, remarks on the first case: "The subordinate, it was thought, stands before the superior, not the superior before the subordinate. For this cause, the original reading, 'and Jehovah stood, etc.,' was changed into 'and Abraham stood.' Not only the whole connection, but also the Talmud and Midrashim, indicate that the first reading is the more correct one. For, in explanation of Lev. xix., 32, 'before the hoary head thou shalt rise,' we read, in *Jerus. Bikkurim* iii., 13, 'I, the Lord, have exercised the rising before the hoary head first,' probably with reference to Gen. xviii., 22. As for the literature, cf. Hackspan, *De usu librorum*, etc., appended to his Nizzachon, Altorf, 1644; Bornitz *De Tiqqun Sopherim*, Viteb., 1644; Walton, *Proleg.* vii., 10; Hottinger, *Thes. Philol.*, pp. 434 sq.; Wachner, *Antiq. Ebr.* i., pp. 110, 111; Delitzsch, *Habakkuk*, Lips., 1842, pp. 206-208; Wedell, *De emendationibus a Soferim*, etc., Vratisl., 1869; Raym. Martin, *Pugio fidei*; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 172, 219.

Digitized by Google

3. Gen. XIX., 33 ובקומה. In the Talmud, Tr. *Nazir*, fol. 23 *a*, we read: Why is there a point over the ו in the word ובקומה? To indicate that when she lay down, he (Lot) did not perceive it, but when she arose, he perceived it. Cf. also Tr. *Horayoth*, fol. 10A. St. Jerome, *Quaest. in Genesin:* "Appungunt desuper quasi incredibile et quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quempiam nescientem."

4. Gen. XXXIII., 4 וישקהו. There are different interpretations on these points. The *Midrash Bemidbar* in loco explains it by שלא נשקו מכל לבו "that he (Esau) did not kiss him sincerely;" the *Bereshith Rabba* sec. LXXVIII., (Wünsche l. c. p. 382) thinks "That Esau's kiss was sincere;" a third authority says, that these points are meant to indicate, that Esau did not intend לנשקו i. e., to kiss him, but לנשכו i. e., "to bite him."

5. Gen. XXXVII., 12 את, *Beresh. Rabba* in loco, sec. LXXXIV. (Wünsche l. c. p. 412): The points over את indicate that "they only went away to feed themselves," or as *Bemidbar Rabb.* in loco says: "They went away not to feed the flock, but to eat and drink," etc.

6. Num. III., 39. ואהרן. *Bemidbar Rabb.* in loco, says the *Waw* of ואהרן is not pointed, because he did not belong to that number (or census of the Levites). In the Talmud, Tr. *Bechoroth*, the question is why the word אהרן is pointed? and the same answer is given.[1]

7. Num. IX., 10. רחקה. This instance is already mentioned in the *Mishna Pesachim* IX., § 2, where we read thus: "What is a distant journey? R. Akiba says from Modaim and beyond, and from all places around Jerusalem, located in the same distance. R. Eleazar says, from the threshold of the court of the Temple and outward. R. José says, the reason for the point on the ה [in our word] was to denote that it is not necessary to be actually on a distant road, but only beyond the threshold of the Temple." This idea the Sept. probably intended to express by ἐν ὁδῷ μακρὰν i. e., distant on the way, while ἐν ὁδῷ μακρᾷ would be "on a distant way."

8. Num. XXI., 30. אשר. The *Baal Hatturim* on this passage, says that by the point on the ר in the word אשר only אש is left, which means "fire," and which destroyed the place. In the Talmud *Baba Bathra* 79*a* we read אש and not אשר.[2]

9. Num. XXIX., 15. ועשרון. *Bemidbar rabba* in loco: "It is to teach us that there was only one tenth." Cf. Tr. *Menachoth*, fol. 87*β* where the one עשרון is not read. The Sept. cod. Vatic. omits the first word.

10. Deut. XXIX., 28. לנו ולבנינו עד־עולם. *Bemidbar rabba* in loco answers the question concerning these points by: "You have made manifest, hence I will also manifest unto you hidden things," cf. also Talmud Tr. *Sanhedrin*, fol. 43*β* in fine, and Norzi in Jos. VII., 21.

---

[1] If this interpretation is correct, then the word Aaron is superfluous, and thus it is wanting in some codd., also in the Syr. and Sam. Cf. our *Horae Samaritanae* in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1878 (Andover).

[2] The Copt. Vulg. read *esh*, and so also the Sept. and Sam. Cf. *Horae Samaritana* ibid. in loco.

Digitized by Google

11–14. 2 Sam. XIX., 20 יצא; Isa. XLIV., 9 המה; Ezech. XLI., 20 ההיכל; ibid. XLVI., 22 מהקצעות. On these words nothing is to be found in Rabbinic writings. Cf. Surenhusius *βίβλος καταλλαγῆς*, p. 73.

15. Ps. XXVII., 13. לולא. On this the Talmud Tr. *Berachoth*, fol. 41*a* says: "But how could David call himself holy? and it is written: Unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." And we have a teaching in the name of R. Josi: Why are there points on לולא? David said before the Holy One (blessed be he): Lord of the universe, I am aware that thou greatly reward the just in future ages, but I know not if I shall have a part of it with them, or not. Perhaps that he had offended Him by any sin." Buxtorf remarks on this passage, that is טעם בלא טעם i. e., "a sense without a sense." The meaning probably is that לולא without the points means *if not*, like the Latin *nisi*, but with the points it signifies a "doubt."[1]

As to the origin and signification of these points nothing certain can be said. According to the Rabbins, Ezra is said to have been the author of these points. In *Bemidbar Rabba* ad Num. III., 39, sec. III., fol. 215, 4, we read that "when Elias will come and ask Ezra, Why hast thou written thus? he will answer, I have long ago pointed these letters; but when Elias will say to him, Thou hast written well, then he will remove these letters." The same we also read in *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, ch. 33. This much may be taken for granted that these points were known long before the time of the Talmud. Cf. also Hüpeden, *neue wahrscheinliche Muthmassung von der wahren Ursache der ausserordentlichen Punkte*, Hannov. 1751, § 4 sq.; Hiller, *De arcano keri et kethib*, Tubing. 1692, p. 156; Geiger, *Lehrbuch der Mischnah*, Vratislav. 1846, II. p. 87, 88; the same, *Urschrift* pp. 257–258.

§ 12. INVERTED NUN ׆.

Before Num. X., 35 and after X., 36, we find in our Hebrew Bibles the letter *Nun* נ inverted ׆. In the Talmud, Tr. *Sabbath* fol. 115*β*; 116*a*, we are told "that the section commencing ויהי בנסע הארן (Num. X., 35) was made by God with signs below and above, to indicate that it is not in its proper place. But Rabbi said, This is not so, but this book was counted by itself. How do you know it? Rabbi Samuel bar Nachman said, R. Jonathan said, [It is written] "She hath hewn out her seven pillars (Prov. IX., 1), this means the seven books of the law." It may be that the statement "that this section is not in its place," was still known in the time of the Sept., for the Codex Alex. and the Vatican read this part before the 34th verse.

Besides the *inverted nun* mentioned in Sabbath, we also read in Rosh hashana, fol. 117*β*, of *inverted Nuns* found in Ps. 107. But on examining some thirty-eight editions of the Psalms, which we found on our shelves, only seven have the inverted *Nun*, viz., Hahn's *Hebr. Bible* of 1839 and 1867; Rosenfeld's *Hebr. Bible* 1836; Letteris' Bible ed. by Abrahamson, Berlin 1866, and the Psalm editions of Baer and Delitzsch, Leipzig 1861, 1874, 1881.

---

1 In the most recent edition of the Psalms, ed. by Baer and Delitzsch, Lipsiae, 1874, this word is marked with three points above and four below. The reason why the *Waw* is unpointed is stated (p. 13a) "Vav caret puncto, quod metuendum foret ne cum *Cholem* commutaretur." The same remark we also find in edition of 1880, p. 93. We may also add that the word in question is wanting in the Sept., Syriac, Arab., Vulg., Symm., and in some Hebr. MSS.

Digitized by Google

§ 13. THE WAW Q'TI'A' IN NUM. XXV., 12.

Of this ויו קטיעא or *Waw cut off*, which is written in our Hebrew Bibles ו, the Talmud Tr. *Kiddushin* fol. 66*β* states the following: Whence do we have it, that a person having some defect is unfit for the sacred ministry? R. Jehudah said, that R. Samuel taught that it is because the Scripture says, "Wherefore say, Behold I give unto him my covenant of peace," a perfect peace and not an imperfect one. But said one, it is written שלום, i. e., "peace," but answered R. Nachman, the *Waw* in שלום is cut off (ויו קטיעה היא).

§ 14. THE CLOSED OR FINAL MEM (ם) IN THE MIDDLE OF THE WORD.

ISA. IX., 6 לסרבה.

In the Talmud, Tr. *Sanhedrin*, fol. 94*β* we find the following: "Why is it that all the *Mems* in the middle of a word are open [i. e., מ], and this one is closed [i. e., ם]? The Holy One (blessed be he!) wanted to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog; whereupon Justice pleaded before the presence of the Holy One (blessed be he!), Lord of the Universe, 'What! David, the king of Israel, who sang so many hymns and praises before thee, wilt thou not make him the Messiah; but Hezekiah, for whom thou hast performed all these miracles, and who has not uttered any song before thee, wilt thou make him the Messiah?' Therefore has the *mem* been closed."

§ 15. SUSPENDED LETTERS.

The suspended *Nun* we find in מנשה, Judg. XVIII., 30. The Talmud *Baba Bathra*, fol. 109*β*, states the following: "Was he (i. e., Gershom) the son of Manasseh? whereas the Scripture says, 'the sons of Moses were Eleazer and Gershom.' But because he did the deeds of Manasseh [2 Kgs. XXI.], the Scripture appended him to the [family] of Manasseh." The meaning is that the prophet did not like to call Gershom, the son of Moses, because it would be ignominious that Moses should have had an impious son, hence he calls him the son of Manasseh, with the suspended letter, which may mean either the son of Manasseh or that of Moses.

The suspended *Ayin* we find in רשעים, Job XXXVIII., 15. In the Talmud, Tr. *Sanhedrin* fol. 103*β*, we read: Why is the ע in רשעים suspended? [It is to teach] that when a man is רש "poor" in this world, he will also be רש in the world to come, or lit. "poor below, he will also be poor above."

Of the suspended *Ayin* in מיעך Ps. LXXX., 14 we read, Tr. *Kiddushin*, fol. 30*β*, that this letter is the middle letter in the Psalms.

§ 16. MAJUSCULAR AND MINUSCULAR LETTERS.

Of the words written with large and small letters in our Hebrew Bible, we find nothing in the Talmud itself, but some instances are mentioned in the Tr. *Sopherim* chap. IX., which prove that this mode of writing must have been very ancient and served a certain purpose.

The instances mentioned in *Soferim* IX. are as follows:

ו majuscular in גחון Lev. XI., 42 because it is the middle of all the letters in the Pentateuch (ישהיא הציי אותיות של תורה, Kiddushin 30*a*); י majuscular in יגדל Num. XIV., 17; ל majuscular וישלכם—ישראל Deut. XXXIV., 12 Deut. XXIX., 27.

Digitized by Google

ʿ minuscular in תישׁ Deut. XXXII., 18, the *Yodh* in תישׁ must be smaller than any in the Pentateuch, cf. also *Midrash Vajikra Rabba* sec. XXIII. fin. fol. 192, 3.

As to the letter ן in ויזתא (Esther IX., 9) whether it should be written majuscular or minuscular, is a matter of dispute, cf. Talmud, Tr. *Megillah*, fol. 16*b*.

Besides these letters mentioned above, we find nothing more in the Talmud, although there is no doubt, that the writing of the other letters was known in the time of the Talmud. Thus, e. g., the word והתנלח (Lev. XIII., 33) which is now written with a majuscular נ is mentioned as the middle of the verses of the Pentateuch (*Kiddushin* fol. 30*b*).

For the benefit of the student we give here according to the alphabet, all passages where, according to the Massorah, words with *majuscular* letters are found:

1 Chron. I., 1; Gen. I., 1; Lev. XIII., 33; Deut. VI., 4; Deut. XXXII., 6; Esth. IX., 9; Mal. III., 22; Esth. I., 6; Job IX., 34; Num. XIV., 17; Ps. LXXX., 16; Deut. XXIX., 27; Prov. I., 1; Exod. XXXIV., 7; Ruth III., 13; Num. XXVII., 5; Eccl. XII., 13; Deut. VI., 4; Dan. VI., 20; Gen. XXX., 42; Isa. LVI., 10; Ps. LXXXIV., 4; Exod. XXXIV., 14; Song of Song I., 1; Esth. IX., 29.

This is the list as given in the *Massorah marginalis* on Gen. I., 1; in the Massorah marginalis on 1 Chron. I., 1, however, where this list is repeated, the following alterations are made; for Esth. IX., 9 is substituted Lev. XI., 42; for Job IX., 34 is substituted Eccl. VII., 1; Num. XXVII., 5 and Gen. XXX., 42 are omitted; for Esth. IX., 29 is substituted Deut. XVIII., 13. In the *Ochlah w'Ochlah* again, where the list is also given, sec. 83, p. 88, Lev. XI., 42 is substituted for Esth. IX., 9; Dan. VII., 10, representing final *mem*, is added; Ps. LXXX., 16 is given instead of Exod. XXXIV., 7, and Gen. XXX., 42 is omitted. The same book, moreover, sec. 82, p. 88, gives another alphabetical list of majuscular letters contained in the Pentateuch alone, which is as follows:—

Deut. XXXIII., 29; Gen. I., 1; Lev. XIII., 33; Deut. VI, 4; Deut. XXXII., 6; Lev. XI., 42; Gen. XXXIV., 31; Gen. XLIX., 12; Exod. II., 2; Num. XIV., 17; Deut. XXVIII., 68; Deut. II., 33; Deut. XXIX., 27; Num. XXIV., 5; Gen. L., 23; Exod. XXXIV., 7; Num. XXVII., 5; Num. XIII., 30; Deut. VI., 4; Deut. XXXII., 5; Gen. XXX., 42; Exod. XI., 8; Exod. XXVIII., 36; Deut. XXII., 6; Exod. XXXIV., 14; Deut. III., 11; Deut. XVIII., 13.

The alphabetical list of the minuscular letters, as given in the Massorah finalis under the letter *Aleph.* and in the Massorah marginalis on Lev. I., 1 is in the following passages:

Lev. I., 2; Prov. XXX., 15; Job VII., 5; Prov. XXVIII., 17; Gen. II., 4; Ps. XXII., 30; Num. XXV., 12; Ps. XXIV., 4; Esth. IX., 9; Job XXXIII., 9; Lam. II., 9; Num. XXXI., 24; Deut. XXXII., 18; Gen. XXIII., 2; Lam. I., 12; Deut. IX., 24; Lev. VI., 2; Neh. XIII., 30; Nahum I., 3; Prov. XVI., 28; Jer. XXXIX., 13; Isa. XLIV., 14; Nahum I., 3; Ps. XXVII., 5; Lam. III., 36; Dan. VI., 20; Jer. XIV., 2; Job XVI., 14; Exod. XXXII., 25; Gen. XXVII., 46; Exod. XXXIV., 26; Esth. IX., 7; Esth. IX., 9.[1]

§ 17. THE PASEK OR SPACE BETWEEN SINGLE WORDS.[2]

When proper names occur twice in an address, they are separated by a small space, as in Gen. XXII., 11: אברהם ׀ אברהם; XLVI., 2: יעקב ׀ יעקב; 1 Sam.

[1] Cf. Engestroem, *De litteris Massoreth. majusculis.* Lond., Goth. 1738; Geiger in *Ozar Nechmad* II., pp. 87–89 (Vindob. ed. Blumenfeld).

[2] A list of all the passages where this Pasek occurs is given by Baer and Delitzsch in the parts.

Digitized by Google

III., 10: שמואל ו שמואל, called by the Massorites פָּסֵק *Pasek* (and not פְּסִיק *P'sik*, as it is generally written and pronounced). No such space or pasek, however, is found in Exod. III., 4 between משה משה, vide *Midrash Shemoth Rabba*, sec. II. fol. 120, 3: "You will find a space between Abraham Abraham, Jacob Jacob, Samuel Samuel, but none between Moses Moses. Why this? it is like a man who bears a great burden and calls to N. N. who is near him, Take off from me this burden," etc. Norzi, who also quotes this passage, remarks that some say, "that with the other prophets he ceased sometimes to speak, but with Moses he never ceased, while he was alive."

§ 18. THE ALPHABET.

At what time the square character of the Hebrew alphabet was perfected, it is now difficult to determine with precision. Origen (died 254 A. D.), and Jerome (died 420), who probably followed Jewish tradition ascribe it to Ezra, and thus also José ben Halafta, who flourished between 138 and 164 A. D. But there can be no doubt that our present Hebrew alphabet was already known before the time of the Talmud, since the descriptions and allusions to the form of the Hebrew letters, which we find in the Talmud precisely suit the present square characters. In the treatise *Sabbath*, fol 103, col. 2 we are told very distinctly not to interchange א with ע, ב with כ, ג with צ, ד with ר, ה with ח, ו with י, ז with ן, ט with פ, ם with ס. That such a pre-caution was necessary, may be seen from what Origen mentions, that in his time the Tetragrammaton יהוה was rendered ΠΙΠΙ,[1] the ה being interchanged with ח, and ו with י, and in the Mishna (*Sabbath* XII., 5), the case is mentioned of two *zayins* (ז ז) being written for *cheth* (ח). More striking are the mistakes which have crept into the Alexandrian version, on account of mistaking one letter for a similar one, thus, e. g., א for ע, as 1 Sam. XVIII., 22, Sept. *καὶ σὺ* וְאַתָּה, Hebr. וְעַתָּה *and now*; XXXI., 1 אֶל־נֹב, Sept. *ἐπὶ τὸν νότον*; 2 Sam. XII., 19 וַיַּרְא, Sept. *καὶ ἐνόησε*; ב for כ, as Nahum II., 14 רכבה, Sept. רבבה *πλῆθός σου*; 1 Sam. X., 2 בלכתך, Sept. כלכתך *ὡς ἂν ἀπέλθῃς*; XI., 6 בשמעו, Sept. כשמעו *ὡς ἤκουσε* etc., etc.

The Talmud already knows the five final letters ם ן ץ ף ך (l. c. fol. 104, col. 1) which were probably used to render reading more easy by distinguishing one word from another (thus e. g., אלהים את—the third and fourth word of the first chapter of Genesis—might be read אלהי מאת).

---

of the Hebrew Bible hitherto published, viz., Genesis p. 91; Job p. 63; Psalms (ed. 1880) p. 153; Proverbs p. 62; Isaiah p. 84; Twelve Minor Prophets p. 97; Libri Danielis, Ezrae et Nehemiae p. 129.

[1] Jerome in his 136th letter to Marcellus, where he treats of the ten names of God, says: "nonum (sc. nomen Dei) est tetragrammum, quod *ἀνεκφώνητον* i. e., ineffabile, putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur *Jod, E, Vaw, E*. Quod quidam non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem, quum in Graecis libris repererint Pi Pi legere consueverunt" (Opp. ed. Vallarsi I. 131; III. 720). Similar is the statement found in a fragment of Evagrius treating of the ten Jewish names of God, that the ineffable Tetragram, which *καταχρηστικῶς* is pronounced by the Jews *ἀδωναῖ*, by the Greeks *κύριος*, according to Exod. xxvii., 36 was written on the plate of the high-priest *ἁγίασμα κυρίῳ* ΠΙΠΙ (in some codd. *πι πι*). . . . *τούτοις γραφόμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις ιωθ ηπ ουαν ιηπ* ΠΙΠΙ, *ὁ θεός* (cf. Cotelerius *Monum. Eccles. Graecae* III., 216, by Vallarsi III., 726; Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* p. 205 sq.) For more on this subject, cf. my art. *Shem Hammephorash* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop.

Digitized by Google

The Talmud also not only mentions the so-called *taggin* (תגין, כתרים),[1] or calligraphic ornaments on the letters ש ע ט נ ז ג ץ (*Menachoth*, fol. 29, col. 1, 2; *Sabbath*, fol. 89, col. 1; 105, col. 2), but also mentions different combinations of the alphabet, as *Athbash*, *Achas*, *Albam* (אל בם—אחס—את בש).

This system is the more remarkable on account of Jerome having so confidently applied it to the word *Sheshak* ששך, in Jer. XXV., 26 (which according to the *Athbash* אתבש, as the first combination from its two initial words is called), it being the same as בבל Babel. According to the same rule לב קמי stands for כשדים, as Sept. translates Χαλδαίους (ibid. LI., 1),

§ 19. THE VOWEL POINTS.

It is now generally acknowledged that the vowel points which are found in our Hebrew Bibles, did not originally belong to the text, but are of later origin, and were added by the Massorites. The very fact that there existed two kinds of vowel-systems, the Babylonian or Assyrian and the Palestinian or Western, proves that the vowel-points could not have originated at one and the same time, otherwise the Babylonians would not place the vowels above the letters, as the *Prophetorum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (from the year 916 A. D. and ed. by Strack, Petropoli, 1876) shows, and the Palestinians would not place the vowels under the letters, as we now have it in our Hebrew Bibles. That during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some should have defended the divinity of the vowel-points, and even went so far as in Switzerland to make it a confessional article of belief in the *Formula Consensus*, art. IV. can. II. according to which in 1678 a law was enacted that no person should be licensed to preach the Gospel in their churches unless he publicly declared that he believed in the integrity of the Hebrew text and in the divinity of the vowel-points and accents ("codicem Hebr. Vet. Test. tum quoad consonas tum quoad vocalia sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem θεόπνευστον esse") may surprise us at present like a good many other things of past ages.

The letters of the Hebrew, like those of the Arabic, Syriac, Chaldee and Samaritan, were only consonants, and as the letters א for ā, ו for ū, י for ī, were sometimes used as vowels, it is evident that a word without these vowel-letters, and when simply written with consonants, with different vowels attached to it, would yield different meanings. Thus דבר when vowelled can be דָּבָר *word*, דִּבֶּר *speaking*, דִּבֵּר *he has spoken*, דַּבֵּר *to speak*, דֶּבֶר *pest*, דְּבִר *sanctuary*, etc.

A comparison of the Alexandrian version with our present voweled text shows that the Seventy or rather seventy-two translators had an unvoweled text from which they translated. Even in the first centuries of our era, the Hebrew text had no vowel points, as can be seen from the Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, as well as from the Peshito and Jerome's Latin translation. Thus the latter says: "Idem sermo et iisdem litteris scriptus diversus apud eos et voces et intelligentias habet, e. c. *pastores* et *amatores* iisdem litteris scribuntur *res*, *'ain*, *yod*, *mem* (רעים): sed pastores *ro-im* (רֹעִים) leguntur, *amatores* re-im (רֵעִים)." *In Epist.* 126, *ad Evagrium:* "Non refert, utrum Salem an Salim nominetur, cum vocalibus in medio litteris perraro utantur

[1] Cf. *Sepher Taghin*, *Liber coronularum* ed. J. I. L. Barges, Paris 1866, and Derenbourg *Notes epigraphiques* (ibid. 1877) p. 134.

Digitized by Google

Hebraei, et pro voluntate lectorum atque varietate regionum eadem verba diversis sonis et accentibus proferantur." In *comment. ad Hab.* III., 5: "Pro eo, quod nos transtulimus *mortem* in Hebraeo tres litterae sunt positae, Daleth, Beth, Resh, absque ulla vocali, quae si legantur *dabar* (דָּבָר) "verbum," significant; si *deber* (דֶּבֶר) "pestem;" Hab. III., 4: verbum שם pro qualitate loci et posuit (שָׁם) intelligitur, et ibi (שָׁם). Cf. also ad *Gen.* XLVII., 31; S. *Epist.* 125 *and Damasum.*"

Some have supposed that a certain vowel-system must have existed in the time of the Talmud, and based their argument upon the phrases אלתקרי כך אלא כך "read not so, but so" (e. g., do not read בָּנַיִךְ "thy sons" but בֹּנַיִךְ "thy builders"; do not read וְשָׂם "and prepare" but וְשָׁם "and there" (Ps. L., 23), and ישאם למקרא וישאם למסורת "there is a solid root for the reading of the text, and there is a solid root for the traditional pronunciation," which occur so often in the Talmud. But these phrases prove the contrary. The Jews were in the habit of reading without points, and this they could do, since according to the statement of the Talmud (*Pirke Aboth* V., 24 "a boy five years old should commence with the reading of the law"), Josephus and Philo, from the very childhood the Jewish youth was made acquainted with Holy Writ, and therefore they said, "do not read so, but so" which they would not have said, had the words in question been pointed in a certain manner.

§ 20. DIVISION OF WORDS.

Hebrew was originally written, like most ancient languages, without any division between the words, in a *scriptio continua*, which fact accounts for the various readings in the Septuagint. But there is no doubt that a division of words already existed in the time of the Talmud, at least the final letters which were already mentioned (§ 18), may have served such a purpose, and in *Menachoth*, fol. 30, col. 1, the space between the words in the sacred manuscripts is fixed with precision. Whether or not this division of words by points—as used in the Samaritan Pentateuch—was applied, must be left undecided.

§ 21. DIVISION ACCORDING TO THE MEANING—VERSES.

There is no doubt that at a very early period a division according to verses (פסוקים) existed. "Every verse divided by Moses may not otherwise be divided" (*Megilla*, fol. 22, col. 1) is an old axiom. The reason for such a division was probably twofold:

1. *The reading of the Scriptures*, especially in the synagogue, led to such a division. Already the *Mishna Megilla* IV., § 4 mentions the פסוקים in relation to this, for we read, "not less than three verses of the Law may be read in the synagogue to any person [called to read]. One verse only of the Law may be read at one time to the meturgeman or interpreter; but it is lawful to read three consecutive verses to him from the Prophets; but if each verse should form a separate section, one verse only may be read [to the interpreter] at a time." The Gemara forbids the leaving of the synagogue before the ending of such a section (Berachoth 8*a*), introduces the injunction of Ezra (Neh. VIII., 8; Megilla 3*a*; Nedarim 37*β*) and prescribes in reference to the Prophets, how many sections are to be read on the week-days (Baba Kama 82*a*).

Digitized by Google

2. *The study of the Law, the instruction and teaching of the same in the school* produced such sense-divisions. These were distinguished from the former, which were merely called פסוקים, by the names טעמים "clauses," "sententiae," or also פסוקי טעמים clause-sections. To instruct in the dividing of clauses (פיסוק טעמים) was a special part of Rabbinical teaching (Tr. *Nedarim* 37*a*); in *Berachoth* fol. 62*a* the teacher is said to point it out to his scholars with the right hand, and disputed points of the law were settled accordingly (Chagigah 6*β*).

As to the sign of this division, which is now found in the Hebrew Bible [׃], it is not found in the Synagogue-rolls, nor is it mentioned in the Talmud, and is of later origin, and we must conclude it as highly probable that these divisions into verses and periods were not first externally designated, but were merely transmitted by oral tradition, as may be seen from the following quotation (*Kiddushin*, fol. 30*a*): "Therefore are the ancient called Soferim, because they counted all letters in Holy Writ. Thus they said that the *Vaw* in ונחן [Lev. XI., 42] is the half of all the letters in the Pentateuch; דרש דרש [ibid. X., 16] is the middle word; והתגלח [ibid. XIII., 33] the middle verse; that *Ain* in מיער [Ps. LXXX., 14] is the middle letter in the Psalms, and Ps. LXXVII., 38 the middle verse." In the same passage we also read that the Pentateuch contains 5888 verses, the Psalms 8 more and Chronicles 8 less. Now, if we compare this with the number as given by the Massorites, we will find that the Talmud counts 43 verses more than the Massorites in the Pentateuch, a difference which can only be explained from the statement made in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14*β*) "That Joshua wrote his book and 8 verses of the law (viz., Deut. XXXIV., 5–12 (יהושע כתב ספרו ושמונה פסוקים שבתורה), and that the Occidentals, as we read (*Kiddushin* l. c.) divided the verse in Exod. XIX., 9 into 3 verses. This much is certain, that in the time of the Talmud, there was a division according to verses, but whatever this mark of division was, if there was any at all—at least Tr. *Sopherim* chap. 3, 5 is against it—is difficult to point out.

§ 22. ΣΤΙΧΟΙ.

The poetical passages in Exod. XV.; Deut. XXXII.; Judg. V.; 2 Sam. XXII. were in the time of the Talmud already written στιχηρῶς (i. e., in broken lines, cf. Tr. *Sabbath* fol. 103, col. 2 in fine; *Sopherim* XII.; the same may be said of the poetical books אמת, i. e., Job, Proverbs, Psalms. Also the decalogue was originally written in ten series שיטים, στίχοι, as is intimated in the Targum on the Song of Songs V., 13: "The two tables of stone which he gave to his people were written in ten rows (shittin) resembling the rows or beds (shittin) in the garden of balsam." In the Synagogue scrolls this rule is carried out up to this day, thus Exod. XV. is found written in this way:

לאמר		אשירה ליהוה כי גאה גאה		סום
ורכבו	רמה	בים		
לישועה		זה	אלי	ואנוהו
אבי		וארממנהו		

		עזי וזמרת יה ויהי לי		
				אלהי
		יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה		

To complete our subject we ought to speak about the quotations of the Old Testament in the Talmud. This we reserve for a future article.

Digitized by Google

ASSYRIAN PHONOLOGY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEBREW.

By Professor Paul Haupt, Ph. D.

§1. THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE HAS THE FOLLOWING SOUNDS:

I. Vowels:..... a i u; â î û; e.

II. Consonants:..... ' b g d z ḫ ṭ k l m n s p ṣ q r š t; in Hebrew transcription: א ב ג ד ז ח ט כ ל מ נ ס פ צ ק ר ש ת.

Examples:

a) abnu (construct aban) *stone;* appu, *face;* kalbu (construct kalab) *dog*, feminine kalbatu, *bitch;* šarru (construct šar, plural šarre or šarrâni) *king*, feminine šarratu (construct šarrat, plural šarrâti) *queen;* šallatu (from šalâlu, imperfect išlul, *to plunder*) *spoil;* qaštu (construct qašat, plural qašâti) *bow;* daltu (construct dalat, plural dalâti) *door;* ammatu, *cubit;* la'abu, *flame;* ma'adu (feminine ma'adtu, ma'attu) *much* (plural ma'adûti, feminine, ma'adâti); arratu (from arâru, imperfect erur, present irrar, imperative arur) *curse;* rapšu (feminine rapaštu or rapaltu) *expanded*, *wide;* aššatu, *wife;* zikaru (or zikru) *male;* šikaru (or šikru) *strong drink;* ilmad (imperative lámad) *he learnt;* narkabtu (plural narkabâti) *chariot*, from irkab, *he rode;* imḫaṣ, *he wounded* (imperative maḫaṣ); imraṣ, *he was ill;* iš'al, *he asked.*

Cf. Hebrew, אֶבֶן (Aramaic אַבְנָא); אַפַּיִם (Aramaic אנפין); כֶּלֶב (Aramaic כַּלְבָּא); שַׂר (feminine שָׂרָה, for שַׂרְרָה*, LXX. Σάρρα); שָׁלָל; קֶשֶׁת (Aramaic קַשְׁתָּא, Syriac קשׁתא); דֶּלֶת; אַמָּה; לַהַב; מְאֹד; מְאֵרָה, for מְאֹרָה*, from דִּכְרָא, דְּכַר, *ram*); שֶׂה; פָּרַשׁ; אִשָּׁה (Syriac אַנִתְתָא, attâ); זָכָר (cf. Aramaic יְרֵכָא; שְׁכָב; יָלַד; מֶרְכָּבָה (plural מַרְכָּבוֹת, Aramaic מַרְכַּבְתָּא); יֶרֶךְ; יִמְחַץ (מַחַץ, Isa. xxx., 26); Aramaic יְמַרַּע (Arabic yamrad); Hebrew יִשְׁאַל.

i) libbu, *heart;* šinnu, *tooth;* šibbu, *girdle* (cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien*, 132); bintu, *daughter;* milku (construct milik) *counsel* (from malâku, imperfect imlik); libittu (construct libnat) *brick;* ṣindu (for ṣimdu,[1] construct ṣimid) and ṣimittu (for ṣimidtu, construct ṣindat) *yoke*, *span;* nimru, *leopard;* riḫṣu (construct riḫiṣ) and riḫiṣtu or riḫiltu (construct riḫṣat) *inundation*, from raḫâṣu (imperfect irḫiṣ); sidru (construct sidir) and sidirtu (construct sidrat) *array;* ṣiḫru (construct ṣiḫir, feminine ṣiḫirtu) *small;* siḫirtu, *totality;* sikiptu (from sakâpu, imperfect iskip, present isákip, *to cast down*) *defeat;* gimru (construct gimir) and gimirtu, *totality;*

[In the foot-notes an italicized *a*, *i*, or *u* represents â, î, û; an italicized *t*, *h* or *s* represent ṭ, ḫ, or ṣ. It has been impossible to secure in time the Nonpareil type for these letters.—W. R. H.]

[1] Cf. Arabic 'ind*i* = Hebrew עִמִּי *with me*.

Digitized by Google

niklu (nikil) and nikiltu (V. R. 3, 85) *deceit;* ilu (plural ilâni) *god;* iṣu, *wood;* tilu (not tillu!) (plural tilâni) *hill* (= Akkadian dul, du); iddin (= yandin = yantin) *he gave* (present inádin, imperative idin, for nidin); irbiṣ, *he couched;* itkil (present itákil) *he trusted;* illik (present illak, imperative alik) *he went*, from alâku, *to go;* iḫliq (present iḫáliq) *he fled;* iššiq and unaššiq, *he kissed;* ikkir, *he was hostile;* išlim, *it was completed;* ikkis and unakkis, *he cut off.*

Cf. Hebrew לְבָא (Aramaic לִבָּא); שֵׁן (Aramaic שִׁנָּא); ....; בַּת (בְּתִי), *my daughter;* Arabic bint, plural banât); נִמְלַךְ (וַיִּמָּלֵךְ לִבִּי), Neh. v., 7; Aramaic מִלְכָּא,[1] *consilium*); לְבֵנָה (Aramaic לִבְנְתָּא, לִבְיְנְתָּא); עֶמֶד; נָמַר (Aramaic נִמְרָא); רַחַץ; שְׁדֵרוֹת (2 Kgs. xi., 8, 15; 2 Chron. xxiii., 14; cf. also 1 Kgs. vi., 9) and סְדָרִים, Job x., 22 (Aramaic סִדְרָא); צָעִיר; ....; ....; גָּמַר, יִגְמֹר (Ps. vii., 10; xii., 2; lvii., 3; lxxvii., 9; cxxxviii., 8); בְּנִכְלֵיכֶם) נָכַל אֲשֶׁר נִכְלוּ, Num. xxv., 18; Aramaic נִכְלָא); אֵל; עֵץ; תֵּל; (Arabic tall, plural tilâl and tulûl); יִתֵּן (Aramaic יִנְתֵּן); יִרְבֵּץ; Aramaic תִּכַל; יֵלֵךְ; Ethiopic yĕḫlĕq; Hebrew יִשַּׁק, יִנָּשֵׁק; נָכְרִי; יִשְׁלַם.

u) ummu, *mother;* šumu, *name;* kupru (construct kupur) *asphalt;* urḫu (construct uruḫ) *road;* quṭru (construct quṭur, Sanh. iv., 68) *smoke;* lubšu (construct lubuš) and lubuštu or lubultu (construct lubšat) *garment;* uznu (construct uzun) *ear;* zumbu (for zubbu) *fly;* ṣumbu (for ṣubbu, ṣub'u) *finger;* uzzu, *might;* pulḫu and puluḫtu, *fear;* uduntu (II. R. 48, 35 f.) for udumtu (construct udmat) *blood;* buṭnu (construct buṭun) *pistacia;* uklu (construct ukul) and ukultu (construct uklat) *food;* gullatu, *district;* kullatu, *totality* (from kalâlu, shaphel šuklulu, imperfect ušaklil, imperative šuklil, *to complete*, cf. Chaldee שַׁכְלֵל, Pass. אִשְׁתַּכְלַל = Assyrian Ištaphal imperfect uštaklil); uggatu,[2] *anger;* mutu,[3] *husband;*

[1] Also מֶלֶךְ in the biblical proper names אֲבִימֶלֶךְ and אֲחִימֶלֶךְ seems to have the same meaning. The Assyrian transcription of these names is Abi-milki, Aḫi-milki, not Abi-malki and Aḫi-malki!

[2] Cf. II. R. 20, 37 d; IV. R. 10, 2 and 49 a; 12, 38 etc. Uggatu comes from the stem agagu *to burn, to glow* (used only of anger, as the Hebr. חָרָה) II. R. 36, 31 g; IV. R. 28, 16 b; impf. egug (2 p. tagug. tagugi ASKT. 123, Obv. 21, agug; plur. egugu IV. R. 55, 17 b, fem. eguga, 2 p. tagugu, taguga, 1 p. nigug; infinitive Niphal nangugu — na'gugu II. R. 36, 32 g (cf. ASKT. 76, 2 and 10); adjectivum verbale aggu (adverbium aggis) *angry.* Cf. Guyard § 48; ASKT. 177, No. 43. Delitzsch (*Assyr. Lesestuecke*, p. 31) considers aggu a Sumerian loan-word, Schrader, KAT. 373 combines the stem with Hebr. הגה, הגג. Agagu, however, is evidently the Arabic ajja (or agga) *to burn, to flame*, impf. ya'ujju, infinitive ajij. Cf. libbatu *anger* in libbati imtalî *he was filled with fury* (= הִתְמַלִּי חֵמָא Dan. iii., 19) Deluge IV. 8 (see my commentary, KAT. 78, and my glossary to the Deluge, KAT. 507, s. v. לאב), prop. *he was filled with flames* (libbatu = lihbatu; cf. לַהֲבָה = לַהְבָּה Exod. iii., 2). Also חֵמָא, חָמָא *anger* (Hebr. חֲמָה, construct חֲמַת) comes from the stem יחם (cf. Arabic wahima) *to get warm, to become inflamed, excited*, then espec. *to rut.* The construct of Syriac חֲמַתָּא *anger* (whence the denominative Ithpael אִתְחֲמַת *to get angry*) חֵמַת is based on the analogy of the stems ע"ע like שְׁנַת (absolute שְׁנָא) *sleep* from יָשֵׁן (Arabic wasina). Cf. Noeldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 105.

[3] Cf. Ethiopic met (plur. amtat) *maritus, vir*, Hebr. מֵתִים. The word is like sumu *name*,

Digitized by Google

išpuk, *he poured out;* išrup, *he burned;* ekul (= yekul, imperative akul) *he ate;* išqul, *he weighed;* irḫuṣ, *he trusted;* iṣṣur (from naṣâru, imperative uṣur, for nuṣur) *he protected;* iššuk, *he bit;* imdud, *he measured.*

Cf. Hebrew אֵם (Aramaic אִמָּא, Arabic umm); שֵׁם (Aramaic שֻׁם);[1] כְּפַר (Aramaic כְּפָרָא); אַרְח (Aramaic אָרְחָא); קִיטוֹר, Gen. XIX., 28; Ps. CXIX., 83 (Aramaic קְטָרָא); לְבוּשׁ; אֹזֶן (Aramaic אֻדְנָא, Syriac אֻדְנָא); זְבוּב (Aramaic דְּבָבָא); אֶצְבַּע (Aramaic צְבָעָא); עֹז (with suffix עָזִּי, Aramaic עָזָּא); דָּם, akin to אָדֹם, *to be red* (Aramaic אַדְמָא, Punic אדם, *blood*); בָּטְנִים, Gen. XLIII., 11 (Aramaic, with partial assimilation of the final ן to the initial ב,[2] בִּטְמָא, Arabic buṭm); אֹכֶל, feminine אֹכְלָה; גָּלִיל, feminine גְּלִילָה; כֹּל (for kull); יִשְׁפֹּךְ; יִשְׂרֹף; יֹאכַל (dissimilation for יֹאכֹל, Aramaic יֵאכֵל); יִשְׁקֹל; Aramaic יִרְחַץ (cf. דִּי הִתְרְחִצוּ עֲלוֹהִי, Dan. III., 28); יִצֹּר and יִנְצֹר; יִשֹּׁךְ and יִשָּׁךְ (Aramaic, with transposition, יִנְכַּת and יִכַּת); יָמֹד.

â) dâmu, *blood;* ṭâbu (feminine ṭâbtu, construct ṭâbat, plural ṭâbûti, feminine ṭâbâti) *good;* mâru, *child* (plural mâre, feminine mârtu, construct mârat, plural mârâti, *daughter;* kâlu, *totality;* bâbu, *gate;* râšu, *head;* lâ, *not;* mâtu (plural mâtâti) *country* (= Akkadian mada); dâdu, *beloved;* nâru (= *nahru, plural nârâti) *river;* šâru (= *ša'aru, plural šâre) *wind;* qâtu (plural qâtâ or qâte) *hand;* pâdu *side;* pânu, *face;* ḫarrânu (plural ḫarrânâti, *road;* lidânu (from alâdu = יָלַד) *child;* ummânu (plural ummânâti) *people, army;* lišânu (plural lišânâti) *tongue;* kišâdu (plural kišâdâti) *neck;* timâli, *yesterday;* ti'âmtu (with partial assimilation of the feminine ת to the preceding מ, ti'âmdu) or tâmtu, tâmdu (plural tâmâti) *sea;* išâtu, *fire;* burâšu, *cypress;* qurâdu, *warrior;* bu'ânu, *ulcer;* buḫâlu, *male;* ḫušâḫu, *famine;* turâḫu, *steinbock;* ṣubâtu, *garment;* maḫâzu (plural maḫâzâni) *city;* manâḫtu, *resting place;* âšipu, *enchanter;* ṣâ'idu, *hunter;* dânu, *judge;* šarrâni, *kings;* šarrâti, *queens;* bâbâni or bâbâti, *gates;* bâ'u, *to enter;* nâḫu, *to rest;* târtu (construct târat, from târu, imperfect itûr, present itâr) *return;* Namtâru, *a demon.*

Cf. Hebrew דָּם; טוֹב (Aramaic טָב); ....; כֹּל;[3] Aramaic בָּבָא[4] (Arabic

---

a bi-consonantal noun of the shortest formation; the stem is not מתה, nor, in spite of the Ethiopic plural amtat, מתת (cf. Noeldeke, *Mandaeische Grammatik*, p. 95).

[1] Ethiopic sem (= sum or sim) plur. asmat, which is evidently based on the analogy of amtat, plur. to met *husband.*

[2] Cf. Arabic ibham (plural abahim and abahim) *thumb,* = Hebrew בֹּהֶן, Assyrian, with transposition, ubanu = hubanu.

[3] From the stem כלל; Jer. xxxiii., 8, כתיב: כּוֹל. Cf. also the Western Syriac bye-form of כֹּל: כָּל, Noeldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 32. The stem of Assyrian kalu, *totality,* cannot be כלל (Schrader, KAT. 558 s. v.) nor כלה (Lyon, *Sargon* 87). Kalu, *totality,* is = *kawalu just as Aramaic קָל *voice* (also Ethiopic qal, plur. qalat) = *qawalu and tabu, *good* = *tayabu. Cf. also Noeldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 98, B; Stade, *Hebr. Gram.* § 201, c.

[4] For בָּבַת עַיִן in Zach. ii., 12 see Fleischer's remarks in Levy's *Chald. Woerterbuch ueber die Targumim*, vol. I. p. 419, col. b. Bab, *entrance, gate,* is of course akin to בּוֹא (Assyrian ba'u, Ethiopic bawf, Perf. bo'a *to enter.*

Digitized by Google

bâb, plural abwâb); רֹאשׁ, plural רָאשִׁים for רְאָשִׁים* (Aramaic רֵאשָׁא,[1] modern Arabic râs); לָא (Aramaic לָא, also Arabic lâ); Aramaic כָּתָא,[2] *city, village;* דּוֹד; נָהָר[3] (plur. נְהָרוֹת); שַׁעַר, Isa. XXVIII., 2; שְׂעָרָה, Job IX., 17; Nah. I., 3, and סַעַר, סְעָרָה; ....; ....; פָּנִים; חָרָן for חַרָן,* Κάρραι (which does not mean *parched*); לְדָה, לֶדֶת; עָם; לָשׁוֹן (plural לְשׁוֹנוֹת, Aramaic לִשָׁן[4]); Ethiopic kĕsâd (plur. kĕsâdât); תְּמוֹל (Aram. תְּמָלִי); תְּהוֹם (plur. תְּהֹמוֹת); אֵשׁ (Aramaic אֶשָׁא, Dan. VII., 11, or אִשָׁא, feminine אִשְׁתָּא, אֶשְׁתָּא, Syriac אֶשְׁתָּא, *fever;* Ethiopic ĕsât or perhaps ĕssât, *fire*); בְּרוֹשׁ (Aramaic בְּרָתָא, בְּרוֹתָא); ....; מָחוֹז, Ps. CVII., 30 (Aramaic מָחוֹזָא, cf. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 70, g), מָנוֹחַ, feminine מְנוּחָה; אַשְׁפִּים (Aramaic אָשְׁפִּין, Syriac אֶשְׁוָפָא); צַיִד, Jer. XVI., 16; דַּיִן; בּוֹא; נוּחַ; תּוּר.

î) šî, *she;* kî or (with the emphatic ma) kî-ma, *like;* pî (genitive and construct state of pû) *mouth*, pî'a, *my mouth;* ittî'a or ittî,[5] *with me;* attî, *thou* (feminine); nîru (from nâru = narâru,[6] *to bind*) *yoke* (cf. ζυγόν from ζεύγνυμι; jugum and jungo); dînu, *judgment*, from dânu (= *dayânu, imperative dîn, imperfect idînu, present idânu = *yadáyanu) *he judged;* pîru, *elephant* (plural pîrâti); mîtu (= *mawîtu) *dead;* šîbu (feminine šîbtu) *gray-haired old man, elder* (abstract noun šîbûtu, *old age, eldership*); bîšu (= bi'išu) *evil;* nîḫu (feminine nîḫtu, construct nîḫat) *quiet* (= *nawîḫu from nâḫu, imperfect inûḫ = Hebrew יָנוּחַ, *to rest*); dîku (feminine dîktu[7]) *killed* (from dâku, imperfect idûk); šîmu, *price*, feminine šîmtu (construct šîmat, plural šîmâti) *fate* (from šâmu = *šayâmu, imperfect išîmu, *to establish, to determine, to fix,*

[1] Also in Assyrian the usual form is resu, not rasu. The latter is to be met with e. g. Sennacherib V.56: apira rasu'a *I covered my head* instead of epira resu'a. The Assyrian eperu *to cover* corresponds to the Arabic ghafara; cf Guyard, *Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne*, Paris, 1883, § 7. The Impf. Piel of eperu is uppir = u'appir = yughappir; the Ifte'al, itepra or itepira = etepir, etapir, yetapir, yatapir, ya'tapir. Cf. Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, 42, 5.

[2] Cf. Noeldeke, *Neusyr. Gram.* p. 92, n. 1; *Mandaeische Gram.* p. 99; *Syr. Gram.* p. 50, 2.

[3] For the Assyr. naru, *river*; saru, *wind* = nahru, sa'aru; cf. the modern Syriac nara, *river* and sara (סַיְרָא) *hair*, Noeldeke *Neusyr. Gram.* p. 86. Observe naru, *river*; niru, *yoke*; nuru, *light*; neru, νῆρος; saru, *wind*; siru, *flesh*; suru, *bull*; seru, *morning* = Hebrew נָהָר, Aram. נְהָרָא, נְיְרָא; Hebr. שְׂעָר, שְׂאֹר, שְׂחַר.

[4] The stem of לָשׁוֹן is not לָשָׁה, but לוּשׁ; the stem of the Aramæan לִשָׁן is לָשַׁשׁ. Both are akin to לָחַשׁ, Assyrian lasu (ASKT. 11, 75 and 214, 75), Arabic lahisa *to lick*. For the meaning of the Hebrew לָחַשׁ cf. II. R. 32, 59 a. b.; V. R. 12, No. 4, 41. For לָשַׁשׁ = לָחַשׁ cf. Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs*, Leipzig, 1867, II., p. 4, 19, where the Hebrew וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם is rendered by Arabic wa-ruh(u) allah(i) turiff(u) 'ala wajh(i) al-ma'(i); also *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defremery & Sanguinetti, Tome IV. (Paris, 1858), p. 16, 8: wa-kana fauqaha ta'lrun yurafrifu bi-janahaihi, cf. also Aramaic רְהַט *to run* = Hebrew רוּץ; בָּהַת *to be ashamed* = בּוּשׁ; נְהִירָא *light* = נֵר (from נוּר); כָּהַל *to be able* = כּוּל, יָכֹל; Syriac צְהְיוֹן *Zion* (also Arabic صهيون) = צִיּוֹן (from צוּן *to protect*, Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 578, 2); etc., etc. See Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon*, ed. Muehlau & Volck, Leipzig, 1883, p. 199, and Stade's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 146.

[5] Ittu *side* is = idtu, fem. of idu (Ethiopic ed) *hand, side*, Heb. יָד, Aram. אִידָא.

[6] Hence niraru *ally*, nirarutu *alliance, succor*.

[7] Diktu means also *military forces, army*, e. g., diktasu ma'atta aduk, *I killed many of his soldiers.*

Digitized by Google

to stipulate, etc.); ḫîrtu (construct ḫîrat, plur. ḫîrâti) *wife*, fem. of *ḫîru (= *ḫayîru) *selected*, from ḫâru (= *ḫayâru)[1] *to select* (nomen agentis ḫâ'iru[2] =*ḫâyiru, *husband*), qîštu (plural qîšâti) *present*, *gift*, from qâšu (imperfect iqîš, Piel uqâ'iš) *to present*; zîqu, *blowing*, *wind*, from zâqu, imperfect izîq, present izáq (= *yazáyaq) *to blow*; itîbu, *he was good* (= Arabic yaṭîbu, Hebrew יֵיטַב); izîru, *he was hostile* (participle zâ'iru,[3] *enemy*, *adversary*, cf. זָרִים, Ps. LIV., 5, etc.; idîšu, *he crushed* (nomen agentis dâ'išu[4] = *dâyišu); igîru (V. R. 4, 50) *he revolted* (participle gâru,[4] *enemy*, cf. Hebrew גָּר and גֵּר, *stranger*, from גּוּר); iḫîšu (imperative ḫîš) *he hastened*; iṣînu (Deluge III., 49; cf. *Assyr. Lesestuecke*, 80, 90; Haupt, ASKT. 89, 25) *he smelled*; zaqîpu, *pole*, from zaqâpu, *to erect* (imperfect izkup); maḫîru, *price*, from maḫâru *to receive* (imperfect imḫur); bikîtu, *weeping*, from bakû (= *bakâyu) *to weep*, imperfect ibkî, *he wept*, present ibákî, imperative bikî; maštîtu or maltîtu *drink*, from šatû *to drink* (imperf. ištî or iltî, impv. šitî, present išátî); mašqîtu, *watering place*, from šaqû *to water* (imperfect išqî, present išáqî, impv. šiqî); ṣabîtu, *gazelle*, ASKT. 71, 13; tanšîlu (= *tamšîlu) *likeness*, *like*; tarbîtu, *produce*, *product*, *offspring*, from *rubbû (=*rubbuyu) imperfect urabbî, *to make to grow*, *to bring up*; Tašrîtu or (with assimilation of the *a* to the following î) Tišrîtu, *Tishri*, *the seventh month*, *or the first month of the second half of the year*,[5] infinitive of šurrû (= šurruyu) *to begin*; tiṣlîtu (= *taṣliyatu) *prayer*, infinitive to ṣullû (imperfect uṣallî, present uṣallâ) *to pray*; šîru (= *ši'ru) *flesh*; rîmu (= ri'mu) *wild bull* (plural rîmâni); zîbu, *wolf*, (= zi'bu); ḫîṭu (= ḫiṭṭu, ḫiṭ'u) *sin*, from ḫaṭû (= ḫaṭâ'u) *to sin*, imperfect iḫṭî; ṣîlu (plural ṣîlâni) *rib* (= ṣillu, ṣil'u).

---

[1] Cf. Ethiopic *haraya* or *harya*, *selegit*, part. pass. *heruy*, fem. *herit* (=*hereyt*, *heruyt*, *heruyt*) *selectus*, akin to *her*, fem. *hert* *egregius*, *præstans*, *bonus* (plur. *heran*, fem. *herat*)= Arabic *hair* and *haiyir* (= *hayir*) *bonus*, from *hara*, impf. *yahîru* *elegit*, *selegit*. Cf. also Hebr. בחר, which seems to go back to a bi-consonantal root חר.

[2] Besides *ha'iru*, we find also *hamiru* or *haviru* (not *hawiru*!) e.g., Haupt, *Nimrodepos* xlii., 7-9: alka-ma Izdubar luḫa'ir atta, inbîka asi qâsu qîsa-ma (Gesenius § 131, 3, a) atta lu mutî-ma anaku lu assatka—*Come, Izdubar, be my husband, give me thy love* (inbu = ibbu = hibbu), *thou shalt be my husband and I thy wife*. Here Fragment No. 14 of my edition (p. 30) has, instead of *ha'ir*, the form *ha-me-ir* (as in IV. R. 27, 2 a) i. e., *hamir* (Delitzsch in Lotz's *Tiglathpileser*, p. 141) or (with *e*, on account of the following *r*, as in umdassera, *they were deserted*, ustesera, *I directed*, uma'era, *I sent*, etc.) *hamer*, *haver*. Cf. also *ha-mer*, *Descent of Ishtar*, 42, b, and my remarks in Schrader's KAT. 66, note 3.

[3] The stems of *za'iru* and *da'isu* are זיר, דיש, not זאר, דאש (Lotz). Cf. Schrader, KAT. 550, note.

[4] *Garu* and *giru*, II. R. 48, 41 and 42 h (Lotz, 108, 45) are =*garayu, *girayu*. Cf. *mahru* (fem. *mahritu*) *first* = *mahrayu* (from *mahru*, *front*, like קַדְמִי, from קדם), *daru*, *eternal* (fem. *daritu*) (= *dahrayu*) from *daru* (plur. *darati*) *eternity*, *restu* (Lotz, 92; Schrader, KAT. 607) *chief*, *principal*, etc. (= *restayu*) from *restu*, fem. of *resu*, *head* (Istar resti ilani is *Istar the princess of the gods*) *sulumu* *treaty of peace*, V. R. 1, 124 = *sulumayu*, from שלום, סלום *peace*, etc., etc.

[5] Cf. Dillmann, *Ueber das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylonischen Exil*, Monatsberichte of the Berlin Academy, Oct. 27, 1881.

Digitized by Google

Cf. Hebrew הִיא; כְּ, כְּמוֹ; פֶּה, construct פִּי; אִתִּי; אַתְּ, אַתִּי; Aramaic נִירָא, Arabic nîr (cf. Hebrew נִירוּ לָכֶם נִיר, Jer. IV., 3, Hos. X., 12; also מְנוֹר אֹרְגִים *jugum textoris, liciatorium*, Aramaic נוֹלָא, Arabic naul and minwâl); דִּין; Aramaic פִּילָא, Arabic fîl (sinnu-'l-fîli, sinn-el-fîl, *ivory*, Chaldee שְׁנַהַבִּין = שֵׁן דְּפִיל, Assyrian šinni pîri or šin pîri, Akkadian ka-amsi, cf. also Hebrew שֶׁנְהַבִּים); Aramaic מֵיתָא (Hebrew מֵת); שִׁיב, feminine שִׁיבָה (Aramaic סָבָא, feminine סָבְתָא *senex*, Arabic šaib *senectus*); Aramaic בֵּישָׁא (feminine בְּאֵישְׁתָּא c. א' נַעֲלָם, Ez. IV., 12); Aramaic נְיָחָא; Hebrew דּוֹךְ, דָּכַךְ, דָּכָא, דָּכָה, *to crush*, etc.; Aramaic סְיָמָא *positus, constitutus*, feminine סְיִמְתָּא (Hebrew שׂוּם); ....; ....; Aramaic זִיקָא; ....; ....; יָרוּשׁ (but Deut. XXV., 4., לֹא־תַחְסֹם שׁוֹר בְּדִישׁוֹ); ....; חִישׁ, Ps. XC., 10; Ethiopic ṣênâwa *odorem exhalavit*, aṣênâwa *odoratus est*, ṣênâ *odor* (Prætorius); Aramaic זְקִיפָא *crux*, passive participle from זָקַף *to raise up* (זְקִיף, Ez. VI., 11); Hebrew מְחִיר; בְּכִית, Gen. L., 4; מִשְׁחָה (Aram. מִשְׁחָיָא); מַשְׁקֶה; צַבְיָה, Cant. IV., 5; VII., 4 (Aramaic טַבִּיתָא, Acts IX., 36, Ταβιθά, i. e., Δορκάς); Arabic tamthîl, infinitive Piel from mathala = Hebrew מָשָׁל; תַּרְבִּית = מַרְבִּית (cf. כָּל־מַרְבִּית בִּיתֵךְ 1 Sam. II., 33) τόκος, *fenus*; תִּשְׁרִי = תִּשְׁרִית infinitive of שָׁרִי *initium fecit* (שָׁרִיו, Ez. V., 2); Aramaic צְלוֹתָא, Arabic ṣalât (infinitive of ṣallâ—wa-lâ yuqâlu ṣallâ taṣliyatan); שְׁאָר; רְאֵם, Job XXXIX., 9 רִים, plural Ps. XXII., 22 רְמִים (Aramaic רֵימָא); זְאֵב (Aramaic דְּאֵבָא), חֵטְא (= ḥiṭṭ), צֵלָע (Chaldee plural עִלְעִין, Dan. VII., 5; Syriac אִלְעָא, Arabic ḍila'un, ḍil'un.

û) šû, *he;* mû (plural me or mâmi) *water;* šamû, *heaven* (plural šame or šamâmi); pû (genitive pî, accusative pâ) *mouth* (plural pânu, pâni, *face*, plur. plur. pânâti or pânâtu); nûru, *light;* nûnu, *fish;* ṭûbu,[1] *goodness;* sûqu, *street;* šûmu, *garlic;* dûru (plural dûrâni) *circle, wall, castle;* Kûšu, *Ethiopia;* Kûtu, *Kutha;* Ulûlu, *Elul, the sixth month;* atûdu, *he-goat;* šarûru, *splendor;* abûbu,[2] *deluge* (plural abûbâni); ṭûdu (plural ṭûde or ṭûdâti) *road;* bûru (= bu'ru, also feminine bûrtu[3]) *pit;* mûru (= muhru) *foal, cub*, etc.; rûqu (= ruḫûqu, Ethiopic rĕḫûq, Amharic rûq) *remote* (feminine rûqtu,

---

[1] *Tubu* is also infin. Piel of טִיב, = **tuyyubu*, cf. *turu to bring back* (= tuwwuru), *nuhu to calm* (= **nuwwuhu*), *kunu to fasten* (= **kuwwunu*) etc. See Delitzsch in Lotz's *Tiglathpileser*, p. 98.

[2] KAT. 66, note 3 I have combined *abubu* with the Hebrew nomen proprium of the Deluge מַבּוּל, cf. Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, Giessen, 1883, p. 259, 1. For the initial מ in כַּבּוּל instead of the Assyrian א cf. מַרְחֶשְׁוָן = Assyr. *Arahsamna eighth month* (יֶרַח+שַׁמְנָא). It might be well to note that according to Wetzstein the Syriac Bedouins say *mahidh, makil, mamir*, instead of *ahidh, akil, amir*, part. of *ahadh(a) to take, akal(a) to eat, amar(a) to command* = Hebr. אחז, אכל, אמר. In the Arabic dialect of Egypt we find instead of *ahidh, akil* the forms *wahid, wakil* (Spitta, p. 16); cf. Hebr. יחד = אחד etc., etc. For the name מַרְחֶשְׁוָן cf. also Halevy, *Melanges de critique et d'histoire relatifs aux peuples semitiques*. Paris, 1883, p. 3, note 4.

[3] ASKT. 127, 35, cf. II. R. 9, 32 h. The well-known stem *baru* (impf. *ibaru*) *to hunt, to catch* (inf. Piel *bu'uru*) may be a denominative verb from this *buru pit* and mean originally *to catch in pits*. *Sadu sa lame* (Akkadian nigin) ASKT. 32, 761, on the other hand, is *battue*, cf. Lenormant, ESC. 216. In the texts, however, *baru* is used especially of fowling and fishing.

Digitized by Google

plural rûqâti, masculine rûqûti); kussû, *throne* (= Akkadian guza); sîsû, *horse;* šadû (plural šade) *mountain*,[1] also *east;*[2] qanû (= Akkadian gin, gi) *reed;* kirû (plural kirâni) *park* (= Akkadian kar); ginû *garden* (= Akkadian gan[3]); šânû (fem. šânîtu = *šâniyatu) *second* (plural šânûti, fem. šânâti); rabû (feminine rabîtu) *great* (plural rabûti, feminine rabâti); Elamû (= *Elamayu) *Elamite* (feminine Elamîtu); ilûtu, *divinity;* aḫûtu or aḫḫutu (cf. Hebrew אַחִם, with Dāghēsh-forte implicitum) *brotherhood;* šarrûtu, *kingdom;* belûtu, *lordship;* abûtu, *paternity;* mârûtu, *filiation;* ardûtu, *servitude;* dannûtu, *power*, from dannu, feminine dannatu (plural dannûti, feminine dannâti) *powerful;* inûḫu (imperative nûḫ) *he rested;* idûku (imperative dûk) *he killed;* imûtu (imperative mût) *he died;* illikûni, *they came;* ûbilûni, *they brought;* ûṣûni, *they came out;* erubûni, *they entered*, etc., etc.

Cf. Hebrew הוּא; מַיִם; שָׁמַיִם; פֶּה; נֵר (Arabic nûr, *light*, plural nîrân and anwâr); Aramaic נְוָנָא (Arabic nûn, plural nînân and anwân; cf. also the name of Joshua's father נוּן); טוֹב; שׁוּק (Arabic sûq); שׁוּם (Aramaic תּוּמָא, Arabic thûm, dialect. fûm); דּוּר, *circle*, Isa. xxix., 3; כּוּשׁ; כּוּת, 2 Kgs. xvii., 30; אֱלוּל, Neh. vi., 15; עֲתוּד (Arabic 'atûd); ....; ....; ....; בּוֹר (= בְּאֵר, בִּאֵר, Assyrian bîru); ....; רָחוֹק; כָּסָא (Aramaic כְּרְסְיָא); סוּם (Aramaic סוּסְיָא); ....; קָנֶה (Aramaic קָנְיָא; Arabic qanât); כַּר; גַּן; שֵׁנִי, feminine שֵׁנִית (Arabic thânin = *thâniyun, feminine thâniyatun).

Of the vowel *e* I shall treat in a following article.

---

[1] Sadu *mountain* might be identical with Hebrew שָׂדֶה *field*. Cf. Ethiopic dabr (plur. adbar plur. plur. adbarat) *mons, regio montana* and Aram. דִּבְרָא *campus* (Hebr. כִּרְמֶל, דֶּבֶר). Cf. Halevy, *Mélanges*, etc. p. 43.

[2] In the Talmud (Gittin 31 b): שַׁדְיָא *east-wind*. South-wind is sutu = שׁוּתָא (Yebamoth 72 a; Shabbath 116 b; Erubin 65 a; north-wind iltanu (for istanu) = אִיסְתְּנָא; west-wind aharrru = אוּרְיָא. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 140.

[3] For ginu = gan and kiru = kar cf. kitu = kat, gad *linen* II. R. 44, 7 g. h. Also Arabic kattan *linen* (Aram. כְּתָּנָא, cf. Hebr. כְּתֹנֶת *χιτών*) as well as qutun *cotton* may come from this Akkadian gad, kat. The *d* in Ethiopic kedan (plur. kedanat) *tunica* is owing to a partial assimilation to the following *n;* cf. Assyr. nadanu *to give* = נָתַן. Ethiopic kadana *to cover* is = Assyrian katamu, cf. Mandaic שׁלנדא (Syriac שְׁלַדָּא) = Assyrian salamtu *corpse*.

Digitized by Google

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

By Francis Brown, Ph. D.,

Professor in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.

Bezold and Hommel's *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*, contains, in the number for April, 1884, an article by R. Dvorák, which is of great importance for Semitic lexicography. It is entitled "Ueber tinûru des Assyrisch-babylonischen und die entsprechenden Formen der übrigen semitischen Sprachen." No more brilliant philological article has recently appeared; and if the new periodical which contains it can assure us of many such contributions, it will become indispensable to every student of ancient language. The author of this article begins by showing the occurrence of the word (Hebrew תַּנּוּר, *oven*, *furnace*, Aramaic תַּנּוּר, תַּנּוּרָא, Syriac ܬܢܘܪܐ, Arabic tannûr, Assyrian tinûru) in the Semitic languages. He then gives a summary of the attempts to explain its form, e. g., some Arab grammarians making it a taf'ûl form from nûr, others—and the larger number—a derivative from tnr, and, in the absence of that root in Arabic, a foreign word, Gavâlîḳî specifying the Persian language as its source. The derivation from נוּר has been advocated by modern Semitists, as well as the composition of תַּנּוּר (תַּן+נוּר, etc.). The latter theory hardly needs discussion; the former is opposed by the author, on the ground that the taf'ûl formation gives abstracts, and that these are, accordingly, feminine, or plural,—neither of which suits tannûr. The presence of the word, in the form tinûru, on a cuneiform tablet of Ašurbanipal's time, does not indicate, according to Dvorák, that it belongs to the older elements of Semitic language, since Ašurbanipal lived in the seventh century B. C., and we are not at liberty to infer that the word is older than the document in which we actually find it. Hence the Hebrew תַּנּוּר, occurring in Isaiah and the Jahvist narrator of Genesis, must be considered older than tinûru, and cannot be, according to the theory of Assyriologists, borrowed from the Assyrians. After examining the shades of meaning of the word in the Semitic languages, the author calls attention to the tanûra of the Zend, the tanûr of the Pehlevi, the ṭonir of the Armenian, etc., (having the same meaning with תַּנּוּר), and endeavors to show that the Zend form is the original, whence the word passed to the Semitic peoples (the Aramaic exhibiting the earliest Semitic form), and thence back again to the modern Persian, where it is also found. He would assign it to the root tan, = *extend*, *expand*, and explain "oven," "furnace" from that root, by the hollow, extended (distended) form of the fire-pot.

It will be seen that this discussion is of far-reaching significance. The theory brings back, in a new and striking form, that dependence of the Semitic on the Indo-Germanic—more specifically, on the Persian—language and people, which the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has been thought to disprove. The author has certainly exposed, with great clearness, the difficulties attending the current explanations of the form תַּנּוּר, and produced a model of suggestive,

Digitized by Google

well grounded philological discussion. We pass over some detailed questions, which need still more elucidation, to notice one or two general features of the subject that seem to have been inadequately considered by the writer. (a) It is wrong to claim that tinûru, found in Ašurbanipal's time, may not be considered older than that date. Words do not suddenly appear in a literary language, developing according to natural laws, without previous existence in the spoken language. Least of all is it so in a written language where the changes are as slow as in the literary Assyrian. It is one thing to argue that a document is late, because it contains words not found in old documents, and another thing to argue that words are new, because they occur only in a late document. (b) The author does not hold to his own principle; for he can maintain his argument for the priority of the Zend tanûra only by saying that this word "mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit älter ist als seine schriftliche Fixirung im Avesta" (p. 150). (c) As to the time and mode of the borrowing, the author ventures no hypothesis, though holding that the Aramaic is the earliest Semitic form. Now, we indeed know very little of the movements of the Aramæans, and it is *possible*, of course, that they, somewhere and sometime, came into contact with Persians, and got from them the name of the fire-pot. But, from all we now know of the ancient Persians, and their position in Asia before the sixth century B. C., such a contact is not likely. The likelihood is diminished, when we remember that the borrowing of the name would strongly hint at the borrowing of the article also, and all the indications are opposed to the theory that the Assyrians were indebted either to the Persians or to the Aramæans for the arts and appliances of their civilization.

While, then, Dvorák is to be heartily thanked for his most suggestive examination, it must not be forgotten that these general considerations have their part to play in the final settlement of the questions as to tinûru, and as to early Indo-Germanic influence on Semitic language.

In the new *Calwer Bibellexicon*, just completed, there are many contributions from Friedrich Delitzsch. His articles contain a number of new etymologies of Assyrian and Babylonian proper names. There is a decided tendency to regard the verbal element in these names as Imperative, wherever this is possible. In the case of Sargon, indeed, Delitzsch gives the choice between "He (God) has established the king," and "The king is true" (*righteous* or *just*), with "Righteous king" as a third possibility. But Sennacherib (Sin-aḫi-êrbâ) he renders "O Sin (the Moon-god) multiply brothers;" Sanballat (Sin-balliṭ) "Sin, bestow (or support) life;" Shalmaneser (Šalmânu-ušširi), "Shalman, guide aright" (or "let it succeed")—this is not wholly new,—etc. Nebuchadnezzar (Nabû-kudûrî-uzur, so Del.) is translated "Nebo, protect my territory" ("Nebo, schirme mein Gebiet!" cf. Hilprecht, *Freibrief Nebukad. I.*). This translation has never been publicly explained and justified, so far as we are aware.

It may be added, in this connection, that the difficulty which Delitzsch, in an earlier part of the same lexicon (art. "Asnaphar"), feels in identifying Ašurbanipal with the Kineladanos of Ptolemy is obviated by Schrader's present theory, that Kineladan was a specifically Babylonian name for Ašurbanipal, and not at all a corruption or modification of the latter. (E. Schrader, *Kineladan und Asurbanipal*, Zeitschr. f. Keilschriftforschung, July, 1884.)

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By John P. Peters, Ph. D.,

Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Seminary, Philadelphia.

On page 25 of *Babylonian Life and History* Mr. Budge says: "It has been recently shown that the correct reading of the cuneiform sign for Akkad is Uru, and I think that there is no doubt that this is the Ur from which Abraham came." This situation of Ur of the Chaldees would agree better with Prof. Delitzsch's theory of the origin of the Chaldees than the received location at Mugheir.

In the last number of Hebraica I pointed out certain difficulties concerning the date of Nebuchadnezzar I. There are some peculiarities in the large inscription of that monarch which I do not remember to have seen mentioned. Col. i., 10, he is spoken of as ka-šid mat A-ḫar-ri-i "subduer of the West-land," i. e. Phœnicia. Did the Babylonians in the twelfth century actually penetrate to the Mediterranean? Again, in this inscription he is nowhere called by the proper title of a king of Babylon. In Col. i., 2, Hilprecht reads, it is true, malku Bâbili (the regular title, on the other hand, should be šar Bâbili) but Pinches and Budge agree in reading the same ṣi-it Tin-tir-ki (Bâbili), i. e., "offspring of Babylon." Neither does Babylon play otherwise an important part in the inscription. Col. ii., 3, it is mentioned along with Nipur as free from conscription, and Col. ii., 18, the governor of Babylon appears in the list of witnesses. Col. i., 3, Nebuchadnezzar is called sakkanakku Eridi, "governor of Eridu," and Col. ii., 24, among the witnesses, we find Nabû-ku-dur-ri-uṣur amêlu êzzu mat Namar, "Nebuchadnezzar prince of the land of Namar." This inscription seems to have settled, as Hilprecht points out, that the name which some Assyriologists were inclined to read Zimri, with reference to זִמְרִי in Jer. xxv., 25, is in fact Namar. This country or district lies in the north-eastern part of Babylonia.

Among the archives which Mr. Hormuzd Rassam discovered in Ešarra, the temple of the Sun at Sepharvaim, a document of Nebuchadnezzar II. was missing. In his account of the very thorough search after ancient archives which he caused to be made by his army, as also a restoration of the temple, Nabonidus mentions Nebuchadnezzar II. as having been active in a similar manner. Now while Mr. Rassam found an inscription of Nabû-bal-iddina, and also documents of Nabopolassar, no inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. seems to have come to hand. Within a short time the Metropolitan Museum of New York has obtained possession of what appears to be the missing document. It is a clay barrel-cylinder, eight or ten inches in length, perforated, about four inches in diameter at its middle point, and tapering to a diameter of approximately one and a half inches at the extremities (unfortunately I have mislaid my note of the exact measurement of the cylinder and have no cast by me). This was found at Aboo-Habbah (Sippara, Sepharvaim), and is an account of the restoration of Ešarra, the temple of the Sun, in Sippara. The script is archaic, the characters being strikingly similar to

Digitized by Google

those in the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I. as copied by Hilprecht. There are three columns, of which the first contains twenty-seven, the second forty-two, and the third thirty lines. As one line in the second column is double, the actual number of lines is a hundred. Almost, if not quite, every line in the inscription can be read entire or supplied satisfactorily from parallel lines in other places. The first sixteen lines contain the titles, beginning (1) Nabû-ku-dur-ru-u-ṣu-ur (2) šar mi-ša-ri-im (king of righteousness) and ending

(12) za-ni-in E-sagili.....(restorer of Esagili)
(13) u E-zi-da.....(and Ezida)
(14) mâru ki-i-num.....(true son)
(15) ša Nabû-pal-u-ṣu-ur.....(of Nabopolassar)
(16) šar Ka-dingir-ra-ki a-na-ku (king of Babylon am I).

It then proceeds to state how, by the orders of "Marduk, the great lord who has raised me to rule over them," Nebuchadnezzar restored the temple of Šamaš Ešarra which is in the midst of Sippara, which had fallen into decay. This section of the inscription ends at line 67 with the statement: E-šar-ra ša ki-ri-ib Sippara i-na ḫi-ṭa-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti lu e-pu-uš "Ešarra, which is in the midst of Sippara, on account of sin and transgression had made." The remainder is an invocation and prayer to Šamaš, who is, of course, besought to accept favorably this work, to bless the king's deeds, prolong his life, and give him victory over his enemies. To the best of my knowledge this is the most important cuneiform inscription which has yet reached this country.

In the *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft I. of the year 1884, the editor, Prof. B. Stade of Giessen, makes an acute suggestion for the emendation of the text of the fourth chapter of Isaiah which certainly deserves careful consideration, if not unqualified adoption. Presumably every student appreciates certain difficulties in that chapter in its present form. There is no proper connection between the Messianic conclusion, IV., 2–6, and the section II., 1—IV., 1, which it closes. The Messianic בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא seems to refer to the period described in IV., 1, rather than to the Messianic epoch. Then, too, verses 5 and 6 appear to form an anticlimax. Moreover, the construction of verses 4, 5 and 6 is unintelligible, no proper conclusion existing for the condition expressed in the אִם of verse 4. Prof. Stade also notices certain doctrinal difficulties of the last two verses. He suggests this arrangement: 4, 2, 3a, omitting 3b, 5 and 6. The passage would then read: (4) "When the Lord hath purged the filth of the daughters of Zion, and cleansed the blood spots of Jerusalem from her midst, with a breath of judgment, and with a breath of destruction; (2) In that day the growth of Jehovah shall be a beauty and a glory, and the fruit of the land a pride and an adornment for the escaped of Israel; (3) And it shall be, the remnant in Zion, and the remainder in Jerusalem, Holy shall it be called." This makes, probably, a far more forcible and logical Messianic conclusion than that offered by the present text. It brings the passage into immediate connection with verse 1; assigns to בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא its proper Messianic reference without the intervention of an ellipsis; and affords an intelligent conclusion to the condition contained in אִם. Even if we can follow Prof. Stade merely in the transposition of verse 4 to a position immediately after verse 1, without subscribing to his proposed omissions, much will have been done towards the elucidation of the difficulties of this important chapter.

Digitized by Google

I suppose the curious stanza formed by the names of the female luxuries mentioned in Isa. III., 18–23 must have been observed by commentators, but I have not been able to find any notice of it:

(1) העכסים והשביסים והשהרנים
(2) הנטפות והשרות והרעלות
(3) הפארים והצעדות
(4) [ו]הקשרים ובתי נפש והלחשים
(5) הטבעות ונזמי האף (?)
(6) המחלצות והמעטפות והמטפחות
(7) [ו]החריטים [ו]הגלינים והסרינים
(8) [ו]הצניפות והרדינים

Verses 1, 2, 3 and 6, 7, 8 correspond, with an exact reversal of the order of masculines and feminines. The strophe and epistrophe, if they may be so called, are separated by two verses; 4, containing two masculines separated by a broken phrase, and 5, containing a feminine followed by a broken phrase. These two verses do not, therefore, correspond to one another after the manner of the remainder of the stanza, and I suppose that a feminine plural has been lost from the text at the end of verse 5 (v. 21). At the beginning of verse 4, והקשרים should read הקשרים, and similarly in verse 7, והחריטים should read החריטים, and in verse 8 הצניפות should be put for והצניפות, and, on the other hand, in the seventh verse הגלינים must be read והגלינים. The analogy of all the other words in the last two verses shows that we must point this latter word וְהַגְּלִינִים and not הַגְּלִינִים, as in the Massoretic text. This involves its translation, as in the LXX. apparently, as thin silken tissues, rather than, as in the Targum of Jonathan, by mirrors. The former translation also harmonizes better with the context. The peculiar character of this stanza raises the question whether it was an original composition of Isaiah, or a popular song existing ready to his hand.

This last question forces itself still more strongly upon us, as it seems to me, in reference to the lyrical snatch contained in the fifth chapter of Isaiah. I believe commentators are reasonably well agreed that Cant. II., 15 is a fragment of a popular vintage song. Is not the same the case with Isa. V., 1, 2? Has not the prophet used a snatch of some popular vintage song as the text of a scathing sermon, in the form of a poetic parable, delivered or published probably at the vintage season? This would also account for the apparent play on words in the phrase שירת דודי, a play which becomes still more apparent when we compare לידידי with the name ידידיה given to Solomon, 2 Kgs. XII., 25. It may be said, in passing, that if we point, instead of דודי, דּוֹדִי, דָּוִדִי, the assonance with לִידִידִי, required by the verse, is all the more striking. If my suggestion be correct, and we have a fragment of a vintage song with a punning allusion to David and his psalms, perhaps also to Solomon, the difficulties of commentators regarding the interchange of דודי and ידידי, as also concerning the exact sense of the verse, would vanish. (Or is it possible that we have here no vintage song with a punning allusion to the great Psalmist, but rather a reference to Ps. LXXX., which is admittedly prior to Isaiah's time?)

Digitized by Google

GENERAL NOTES.

A Question in Hebrew Grammar.—In Müller's Hebrew Syntax section 68 reads thus: "In Hebrew a peculiar kind of determination is customary, when individuals of a class-conception, which of themselves are indeterminate, or even a class-conception as a whole, are to be represented as determined by the contents." The illustrations are וַיָּבֹא הַפָּלִיט וַיַּגֶּד Gen. XIV., 12, 13; וְבָא הָאֲרִי 1 Sam. XVII., 34; בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב Gen. XIII., 2; and עֵין הַמַּיִם Gen. XVI., 7. Apparently Gen. XIV., 12, 13 and 1 Sam. XVII., 34 denote individuals of a class-conception, and in Gen. XIII., 2 and XVI., 7 the class-conception as a whole is to be regarded as determined by the context. Is this the best mode of explaining these passages? In Green's Grammar, third edition, and in Nordheimer's Grammar, וְאַבְרָם כָּבֵד מְאֹד בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב, Gen. XIII., 2, is explained otherwise, also 1 Sam. VII., 34 in Green. In Gesenius' (Mitchell's) Hebrew Grammar § 108, Rem. 1b, where Gen. XIII., 2 is mentioned, the ordinary use of the generic article seems implied. In Nordheimer, § 720, II. 2, we find the following:

"The article is also prefixed, by way of emphasis, to nouns not used to denote individual objects, but as general terms. It is thus prefixed:

"a. To common appellatives, not designating individuals, but employed simply as generic terms as applicable to any individual or individuals of the class mentioned; in which case it serves to render prominent the nature and properties of the class of objects denoted rather than the objects themselves.....

"b. To material nouns used emphatically in a general sense."

Under this last head Nordheimer places the passage before us, Gen. XIII., 2. In Green § 245, 5d, "It is said, Gen. XIII., 2, that Abram was very rich..... since these are viewed as definite and well-known species of property." The citation from Nordheimer gives a good definition of the generic use of the article. The statement in Green elucidates the application of Nordheimer. It is a more natural explanation of the passage than that mentioned in Müller's Grammar. Perhaps Müller means the same thing; if he does, his language is infelicitous. The article in הַמַּיִם, Gen. XVI., 7, can be explained by reference to Nordheimer, 720, II. 2b, just as well as in the preceding passage. The use of the article after כְּ in comparisons is put by many grammarians under the head of generic article. The note in Riehm's edition of Hupfeld on Ps. XVII., 12, translated also at the foot of page 33 of Ewald's Hebrew Syntax, shows that we must regard this use of the article as in a strict sense the generic use. The last edition of Gesenius' Grammar acquiesces. It remains to be proved that the instances just discussed need any different explanation from the generic article as used after כְּ comparationis.

1 Sam. XVII., 34 is thus explained in Green 245, 5d: "In speaking of the invasion of his father's flocks, David says הָאֲרִי, the lion, and הַדֹּב, the bear, came, 1 Sam. XVII., 34, because he thinks of these as the enemies to be expected under the circumstances." This is in accord with § 245, 3, the article is used to particularize an object spoken of "when it is obviously suggested by the circumstances." Nordheimer, § 720, II. 1, states the same usage as follows: "In Hebrew an article is frequently prefixed to a noun which, although not otherwise directly

Digitized by Google

specified, is definite in the writer's mind, and which, owing to the context, or to a general knowledge of existing usages and circumstances, is also rendered definite by the use of the article to the mind of the reader." This use of the article is not generic, but restrictive. To the writer it seems a more adequate explanation for both Gen. XIV., 13 and 1 Sam. XVII., 34.

It is but just to add that Ewald § 277a refers to these two passages in such a way that we are probably to regard his explanation as that of the generic article. Also Nordheimer, in a foot-note under the section quoted above on the generic article (720, II. 2a), gives the same explanation of 1 Sam. XVII., 34 that is found in Müller. This is, indeed, a peculiar use of the generic article, if there be such a use, and may perhaps throw a side-light on the הָעַלְמָה of Isa. VII., 14. The use of the article to restrict or determine the noun as especially connected with the circumstances of the subjet of discourse, particularly as *natural*, *usual*, *proper*, *necessary*, *expected*, and similar, is a use of the article which is only imperfectly recognized. The use is as much rhetorical as syntactical. The syntax of Green, and the yet more complete discussion in Nordheimer give a satisfactory statement of this use of the article. In Gesenius, Ewald and Müller this use is overlooked. Indeed it is a matter of serious regret (to teachers, at least) that a manual, otherwise so full and symmetrical as Müller's Hebrew Syntax, should be almost totally silent on the use of the article.

F. B. DENIO,
Bangor.

Additional Aramaic Words in the New Testament.—In his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen*, Professor Kautzsch gives an excellent list of Aramaic words and sentences found in the New Testament (see also HEBRAICA, pp. 103 sq.). But it seems that the learned author has overlooked a few words. We may be permitted to complement his list by the following:

SAPPHIRA.—Σαπφείρη (Acts V., 1) = שַׁפִּירָא *the beautiful*. The corresponding masculine name שַׁפִּיר was also in use. One שפיר is mentioned in Talm. Moêd qaton, fol. 11, a.

BETHPHAGE.—Βηθφαγή (Matt. XXI., 17, and elsewhere) = בֵּית פַּגֵּי *house of figs*. So Winer, Kitto, Delitzsch, and others. Bethphage, a place very near to Jerusalem, is also often mentioned in the Jewish literature of the first centuries of the common era. The name, however, is as often spelled בית פאגי as בית פגי. See P'saḥim 63, b; Babha M'tzi'a 90, a; Sifré Num. sec. 191; Toṣiphta P'saḥim chap. VIII., and many other passages. But why shall we translate *Bethphage* by *house of figs?* פגי means *unripe* figs or *unripe* grapes. If we adopt פאגי as the correct spelling, we must give up that translation altogether, and another one must be looked for. Was perhaps Benjamin Muṣaphia on the right track when he (in his Additamenta to the *'Arukh* s. v. בת פאגי) explained פאגי to be derived from the Greek φαγεῖν *to eat?*

BETHANY.—Βηθανία (Matt. XXI., 17, and elsewhere). Was perhaps the Palestinian Aramaic original of this name = בֵּית עַנְיָא, *house of poverty?* A place by that name, it is true, is nowhere mentioned in the literature of the Jews; but this may be accidental. And the rendering of the name in the Greek gospels makes it plausible that the original Aramaic name was that given above. It was a fanciful guess of Lightfoot to identify the Bethany of the New Testament with בית היני, a place mentioned several times in the Jewish literature of the first Christian

Digitized by Google

centuries, as, for instance, in P'sahim 53, a; Hullin 53, a; Babha Metzia 88, a (in which latter place the name is spelled בית הינו), etc., and to translate that name by *house of dates*. Winer (in his *Bibl. Realwörterbuch* s. v.), Kitto (*Cyclop. of Bibl. Knowl.* s. v.), Neubauer (*La Geographie du Talmud* p. 150), and others, have adopted the guess of Lightfoot as correct. So also did Delitzsch; for, in his Hebrew translation of the New Testament, he constantly renders Bethany by בית היני. But one must hesitate to consider the talmudical Beth-hiné as equivalent to Bethany. In the first place, the exact location of Beth-hiné, though in close neighborhood to Jerusalem, is not so very certain. Secondly, בית היני would have been transliterated differently, and would not appear as "Bethania." As to the meaning of בית היני *house of dates*, it must be remarked that the talmudical היני, a shortened form of אהיני, means not *dates* in general, but only *unripe* dates.

B. FELSENTHAL.

Chicago.

The Religion of the Kassites.—This chapter (III.), closely related to that on the Language of the Kassites, will discuss somewhat more fully than it does the first sixteen lines of Rassam's Kassite-Semitic glossary, which are as follows:

1.	wanting		
2. [	]	[ilu] [	
3. ši-		ilu Sîn	"Moon-god"
4. sa-	aḫ	ilu Šamaš	"Sun-god"
5. šú-ri-ia-	aš	ilu Šamaš	"Sun-god"
6. ub-ri-ia-	aš	ilu Râmân	"Air-god"
7. ḫu-ud-	ḫa	ilu Râmân	"Air-god"
8. ma-rad-	daš	ilu Adar	"God Adar"
9. gi-	dar	ilu Adar	"God Adar"
10. 'ga-	la	ilu Gu-la	"Goddess Gula"
11. ka-mul-	la	ilu Ê-a	"Water-god"
12. šú-ga-	ab	ilu Nêrgal	"Lion-god"
13. šú-ga-mu-	na	ilu Nêrgal ilu Nusku	"Lion-god as god of the noon-day sun"
14.	dur	ilu Nêsgal	"Lion-god"
15. šú-gur	ra	ilu ? ? ?	"God Merodach..."
16. mi-ri-zi-	ir	ilu Bêlet	"Goddess Beltis"

The glossary begins with the names of twelve Kassite divinities, of which the first two are yet wanting. That the national god of the Kassites stood in the first line is to be accepted as certain, and that this god probably bore the name Kaššu was already shown on page 29.[1] If these were the twelve highest divinities of the Kassites, the goddess Šûmalî'a, Šîmalî'a, the goddess of the snow-peaks, may have followed in the second line, as she is expressly mentioned as a chief divinity of the land Namar, and, further, also appears in very close connection with the great god of the Kassites, Šukamuna. Generally speaking, this Kassite divinity-list is not exhaustive. Šiḫu, as one of the names of Merodach, is wanting; also Hardaš and Bugaš, if these, as is most natural, represent names of gods; and, finally, Harbê, the name of Bel, as well as Duniâš, if the last is not only a sort of by-name of one of the twelve great gods.

The order of succession, Moon-god, Sun-god, Air-god (lines 3–7), is the usual one in the Assyrian texts. Vid. Tig. I., 5–10, etc.

[1] A god Kassu is attested by the name of a king of the Semitic-Kassite period mentioned on p. 15, Rem., viz. in ilu Kas-su-u-nadin-ahu. If Kassu was the national-god of the people of Kassu, we have a similar concurrence of the name of a people and god as in the case of Assur, Asur, and, perhaps, Susan, Susinak.

Digitized by Google

By the Kassites the god Adar was called Maraddaš (line 8) or Gidar (line 9). As regards the nature of the Bab.-Assyr. god Adar, there is still great obscurity, although the cuneiform literature has long since given us the right clue. The god Adar, which, with its two oft-occurring ideographs Bar and Nin-ib, is preferably designated as the "Decider" (*Entscheider*) or "Lord of decision" is the god of the all-consuming and scortching South- or Noonday-sun; in reality, the same divinity as the Sun-god, however, only when viewed from its exclusively destructive side, as the destroying, devastating Sun-flames. Also the Fire-god Nusku, who is preferably named mâlik milki ilâni rabûtē, "the one who has the power of decision among the great gods" and is also expressly attested as the god of the South- or Noonday-sun, is in reality one with the god Adar.[1] That Saturn, Bab. Kaivânu, is directly dedicated to the god Adar, is easily intelligible. Adar, Gibil (the Fire-god), Nusku, Malik-Moloch are, in reality, the same divinity; and the fact that the inhabitants of the Sun-city, Sippar-Sepharwaim, burned their children with fire, in honor of Adrammelech, i. e. Adarmalik, "Adar, the decider," needs no further commentary (2 Kgs. XVII., 31). Finally, it is of special interest that our Kassite-Semitic glossary (line 13) proves also the god Nêrgal as identical with Nusku. This also is easy to be explained. The lion, under whose likeness the god Nêrgal is worshiped, is the symbol of the destructive Sun-flame, and as the fourth month, the hot month Tammûz, is dedicated to the god Adar, so the lion is that sign of the zodiac in which the sun is found in the fifth month, which last, through its Sumerian ideograph, is placed in closest connection with the fire. Adar (Nusku) and Nêrgal otherwise show a number of traits which still reveal their original identity. As the Assyrians worshiped their Nêrgal,[2] so the Kassites their Šugamuna, chiefly as the god of War and of the Chase.

After Adar follows, as frequently in the Bab.-Assyr. texts his wife, the goddess Gula, Kassite Hala (line 10). She bears, in the Bab.-Assyr. cuneiform texts, the by-names "the great mistress," "the wife of the god of the Noonday-sun," "the mother," "the bearer of the black-headed creatures" (i. e. men), "the mistress who awakens the dead," etc.

The two signs dir-ia in line 15, which follow the frequently-used ideograph for the god Merodach, I do not understand.

The Babylonian goddess designated in line 16 by the ideograph for bêltu, "mistress," who is placed to correspond with the Kassite goddess Mirizir, is at once to be understood as the goddess Beltis, i. e. Ištar, the evening star. But as Beltis (as well as Anunit, the goddess of the morning star) is, in reality, one with Ištar, the Venus-star, and Ištar, on the other hand, is often confounded with Nanâ (Nanai), who originally only personified a special quality of the goddess Ištar—perhaps, as a bow-armed huntress—so may the Kassite goddess Mirizir confidently be set over against the Babylonian Ištar-Nanâ. It would well correspond to this that the records of the gifts of Nebuchadnezzar I., on the one hand, make mention of the Moon-god Sin and bêlit álu Ak-ka-di, "the mistress Akkad," i. e. perhaps Ištar-Anûnit of Agadê, as divinities of the house

[1] The identity of the Fire-god Gibil and the god Nusku is made clear by the Hymn IV. R. 26, No. 3, and is emphatically confirmed by the Table published in my "Assyrische Lesestuecke," 1st ed. p. 39, under the title "Goetter und Goetterzahlen."

[2] For Nergal as the god of war, see Salm. Ob. 11, where he is called sar tamhari, "King of the Contest or War" and chiefly III. R. 38, No. 1, Obv. 1 sq.: for Nergal as also Adar, as god of the chase, see, e. g., Tig. VI., 58.

Digitized by Google

Habban; on the other side, of Sûmalî'a, Râmân, Nêrgal and ilu Na-na-a, i. e. Ǹanâ, as divinities of the land Namar.

The religion of the Kassites, as represented according to our glossary, has, perhaps, not remained free from the influence of that of their new home, Babylonia. However, that the Kassites worshiped the Moon, Sun, Storm, Thunder and Lightning, Fire and Water as gods, and that they, in the goddess of the snow-covered mountain tops, have originated a goddess peculiar to themselves, is, at all events, certain. But whether this worship of a goddess corresponding to the Babylonian Gula, or of a god Merodach, is older than their removal into Babylonia is doubtful. Proper names, at least, as Harbišiḫu, i. e. "Lord (Bel) is Merodach," appear to me to be Kassite only in their outer shell, and, as far as their meaning is concerned, to have clearly arisen on Babylonian soil.—*Friedrich Delitzsch in "Die Sprache der Kossäer."*

A Chaldee Hymn by Israel Nagara.

(The poet, who lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was a native of Damascus and died as Rabbi in Gaza. He was very prolific in his productions. Some of them have considerable merit.. It will be noticed that the hymn here following has the poet's name ישראל as an acrostic.)

י ה רִבּוֹן עָלַם וְעָלְמַיָּא
אַנְתְּ הוּא מַלְכָּא מְלֶךְ מַלְכַיָּא
עוֹבַד גְּבוּרְתֶּךְ וְתִמְהַיָּא
שְׁפַר קֳדָמָךְ לְהַחֲוָיָא

ש בְּחִין אֲסַדַּר צַפְרָא וְרַמְשָׁא
לָךְ אֱלָהָא קַדִּישָׁא בָּרָא כָּל נַפְשָׁא
עִירִין קַדִּישִׁין וּבְנֵי אֱנָשָׁא
חֵיוַת בָּרָא וְעוֹפֵי שְׁמַיָּא

ר בְּרִבִּין עוֹבָדָךְ וְתַקִּיפִין
מָכֵךְ רָמַיָּא זְקַף כְּפִיפִין
לוּ יְחִי גְּבַר שְׁנִין אַלְפִין
לָא יֵיעוֹל גְּבוּרְתֶּךְ בְּחוּשְׁבְּנַיָּא

א לָהָא דִּילֵהּ יְקַר וּרְבוּתָא
פְּרוֹק יַת עָנָךְ מִפּוּם אַרְיְוָתָא
וְאַפֵּק יַת עַמֶּךְ מִגּוֹ גָּלוּתָא
עַמָּא דִּי בְחַרְתְּ מִכָּל אִמַּיָּא

ל מַקְדְּשָׁךְ תּוּב וּלְקַדֵּשׁ קוּדְשִׁין
אֲתַר דִּי בֵּהּ יְחֵדוּן רוּחִין וְנַפְשִׁין
וְיִזַּמְּרוּן שִׁירִין וְרַחֲשִׁין
בִּירוּשְׁלֶם־קַרְתָּא־דְּשׁוּפְרָיָא

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Institute of Hebrew.—The organization known heretofore as "The American Institute of Hebrew," will hereafter be called "The Institute of Hebrew." This "Institute," as will appear from the statement made in the Supplement to this number, includes, as members, thirty-seven professors of Hebrew and of related departments. The Schools of the "Institute" will be The Correspondence School of Hebrew, and the Summer Schools held at Philadelphia. Chicago, at some point in New England, and at Chautauqua.

It is but reasonable to inquire, What will this organization accomplish?

It will eventually raise the standard of scholarship in the Old Testament department of the theological seminaries. If only a small proportion of the men about to enter the seminary have acquired beforehand a knowledge of Hebrew, a great thing will have been accomplished,—provided, of course, this preparation is thorough. As the course of study is arranged, it will soon be seen that only those who come thus prepared are able to do what they themselves desire to do in this department.

It will not be a long time until, through the influence of this organization, instruction in Hebrew will be furnished by our better class of colleges. There can only be offered two objections to this: the difficulty of securing and defraying the expenses of a suitable instructor, and the fact that already the college course includes too much. But such objections are by no means insuperable. If there is demand for this instruction, the colleges will be compelled to furnish it. It will be the work of "The Institute of Hebrew," and of those connected with it, to demonstrate that the demand exists, and indeed to assist in creating it. Through the influence of this organization, there will be aroused a greater interest among clergymen in the study of Hebrew and the Old Testament. This interest has already been excited in some measure; but what has been done in this direction will appear insignificant in the light of what shall be done within five years.

It can fairly be said, that there are but few organizations in existence which have before them a work, so definite, so important, and so assured of success.

The present number of Hebraica.—A single number of a journal devoted to the interests of Semitic study, with articles, notes and reviews by C. H. Toy, Franz Delitzsch, B. Pick, Paul Haupt, Francis Brown, J. P. Peters, B. Felsenthal, F. Denio, H. P. Smith, and G. H. Schodde, may certainly be regarded as a most valuable number. We believe that in America there is room for such a journal. Whether those who ought to stand by the undertaking will do so, remains, in part, to be seen. The April number will be the fourth and last number of the first volume. If encouragement, from the right sources, of the proper kind, and in a reasonable measure, is received, the Managing Editor will undertake the issue of Volume II. If he does not receive this encouragement, he will regard the issue of Volume I. as an experiment, and will not repeat it.

Digitized by Google

Professor Haupt's Series of Articles.—This number contains the first of a series of articles by Professor Haupt on Assyrian grammar. In the April number he will treat of the *e*-vowel in Assyrian. In later numbers he will take up in order (1) *the Changes in the Consonants*, (2) *the Noun*, (3) *the Verb*. When these articles are completed, he will likewise furnish an epitome of Ethiopic grammar. All this is written with special reference to the Hebrew, and is designed chiefly for those who have a knowledge of Hebrew only. Its purpose will be to interest students of Hebrew in the Assyrian and Ethiopic. There is no scholar in this country, or indeed in Europe, who is better able to carry out this plan. It is one in which, we are assured, all readers of HEBRAICA will be greatly interested.

Hebrew Texts with Notes.—There is no lack of grammars for the study of Hebrew. With each passing year one or more new treatises appear in this line. It is quite rare to find a teacher of Hebrew who has not written, or planned to write, a grammar. Each generation furnishes its score or more. But why has not something been done in the way of editing the text of the various books of the Hebrew Bible with grammatical notes, and references to a standard grammar? After a few weeks of elementary drill, the student is plunged into Deuteronomy, or Isaiah, or the Psalms, with no helps, but those of the most injurious character, viz., the King James translation and a commentary. He is, in this way, educated to rely upon the former, and is seldom able to make an independent translation; while so much of his time is taken up in reading what for his purpose is worse than trash, that he fails wholly to obtain any considerable familiarity with the Hebrew text. The time which should have been used in the close and critical study of the text of a Psalm, for example, is given to the perusal of the compilation on that Psalm found in Spurgeon's "Treasury of David."

Ought we not to have editions of the more important books of the Bible with such notes as are furnished in connection with an edition of Homer, or Horace, and perhaps with a vocabulary? How much better work, how much more work, a class would do in the study of Isaiah, if there existed such a text.

At a recent gathering of Hebrew professors, this question came up, and much interest was manifested in it. It was learned that some such work had been thought of, and indeed planned by several. May we not hope that some of our energy may be expended in this direction, and that for a time, at least, we may be spared the appearance of another Hebrew grammar?

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

PROFESSOR MITCHELL'S HEBREW LESSONS.*

In noticing a book of this kind, a larger allowance than usual must be made for the *personal equation*. Teachers differ in their capacity and in their methods. A book which suits one would be no help at all to another. It is moreover difficult to test a text-book thoroughly without use in the class-room, in fact even a year's trial might be insufficient to bring out all its merits. Especially is this the case where a new book displaces one long familiar to the teacher. It is possible that the book before us would stand this test and so reverse some of the judgments expressed below. It need hardly be said, therefore, that the present reviewer expresses only an opinion formed by careful reading of the book—and it will give him great pleasure to be convinced that his opinion is wrong—wherever it is unfavorable to the book.

It is not uniformly unfavorable, however, and such an impression would be a mistake. There are features of conspicuous excellence which ought to receive due mention. One of these is the handsome dress in which it appears. We have rarely seen a Hebrew book, or a school book of any kind, so well printed. The binding is tasteful also, and the whole make-up calculated to enhance the reputation of the publishers. The printing seems to be correct; we have not read all the exercises to be sure, or the vocabulary. In what we have read we have noticed but a single instance of error, and that was only the loss of a Hōlĕm (p. 57, line 13)—a kind of accident (the breaking off of a point) almost unavoidable.

A question ought to be raised just here, however. Ought a lesson book to be so handsomely printed? We think not, if (that is to say) the cost of the book is increased. The student needs many books. To the large proportion of our theological students the cost of text-books is something of a burden. The difference between two dollars and one dollar as the price of a grammar would enable the student to buy another book, and this other book might well be one extremely useful to him. Gesenius' grammar in the last edition (by Kautzsch) is put at the list price of four Marks (a dollar, or rather a little less) and the usual discount can be had from this. The "Uebungsbuch" which goes with it costs 55 cents; Strack's grammar, with exercises, costs 62 cents. I know it will be said there are various reasons for this. But surely the discrepancy is too great. One way of reducing the size of such a book would be to leave out the Chrestomathy, i. e., the Scripture selections and their vocabulary. There is no reason why a class that has gone through an elementary grammar should not be put at once into the Bible with the lexicon in hand.

In the plan of the "Lessons" we notice with approval the giving of a distinct chapter to the subject of *new syllables*. This is one of the points obscure to the

* HEBREW LESSONS: a Book for Beginners. By H. G. Mitchell, Ph. D., Professor in the School of Theology of Boston University. Boston: *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1884. vi and 164 and 68 pages.

Digitized by Google

beginner, and the teacher cannot bring it up too often. No more effective way of enforcing it could be found than that taken by Dr. Mitchell—giving a separate chapter to it with illustrative examples. The same is true of the lesson on the *orthotone prepositions*, and of the one on the so-called verbal particles. In both these cases the learner is apt to be confused, and he needs special instruction as we find it here given.

We are also favorably impressed with the plan of giving some unvocalized passages - Dr. Mitchell prints the book of Ruth without points. For the more advanced student reading without points is a valuable exercise. The unpointed sentences in the lessons (beginning on page 140) seem well calculated to lead up to the continuous text.

And now we have some questions to raise on points which strike us less favorably. Hebrew teachers may not agree about them--perhaps it would be well if they could be discussed by others than ourselves in order to mutual edification. First, in regard to the vowel letters. Would it not be well to make the statement about 'Alĕph a little different in form from the others? The statement is

"The Hebrews originally had no signs to represent vowels; when, therefore, they wished in certain cases to express such sounds, they used some of the consonants for the purpose. The ambiguity of these letters led to the invention of distinct characters.

"1. The consonants thus used were, *etc.*

"א stood for *a* when this vowel (rarely) needed a representative, especially in the middle of a word; sometimes also for other vowels" (p. 3).

In the first place, the sentence relating to distinct characters (points) ought to be removed to a later paragraph. It is only confusing where it now stands.

Secondly, it must be very puzzling to the student to read that the same letter was used occasionally for one vowel and occasionally for another. Lastly, it conveys a mistaken impression to say that the Hebrews ever *chose*[1] this letter to express these vowel sounds. The cases in which א is used (apparently) as a vowel are all cases in which it was at one stage of the language a consonant and survived in spelling (as in our own silent letters) after it became quiescent. In בָּאתָם, for example, we can hardly doubt that we have a form at one time pronounced בַּאְתֶם; so רָאשִׁים was רָאְשִׁים, רֹאשׁ was רֹאְשׁ. In these and nearly all such instances the א was not used as a vowel, but the pronunciation changed after the form of the words was fixed. The words are very rare (like רְאמוֹת) in which, by a false analogy, this letter has been introduced as a vowel letter. Opinions will differ of course as to how much of this should be stated to the beginner. Our own observation is that students will have clearer ideas of the whole subject if the historic process is laid before them somewhat fully.

An elementary grammar should be clear. On the whole Professor Mitchell's statements are easy to understand. Exceptions are the following:

"In such a case the word represented by the consonants is called k'thîbh ('written') while that represented by the vowels, and *usually found in the margin*, is called k'rî ('read')".

The words we have italicised should surely be "whose consonants are usually found in the margin," for just above the word is spoken of as *represented* by con-

[1] Dr. Mitchell does not say that they chose the vowel letters for this purpose, but this impression will almost inevitably be made upon a student who is accustomed to think of the vowels as letters like the consonants.

Digitized by Google

sonants. Even with this change the sentence needs to be expanded, in order to give a good idea of the phenomena under discussion.

"The *daghesh* is often omitted from other letters when they are followed by a vocal sh'wa, yet not from בּ, גּ, דּ, כּ, פּ, תּ, since their value would thus be affected."

Some other word than *value* would be better here.

"It [a syllable] may have two [consonants at the beginning], but no more, *without an intervening vowel*. In the latter case, however, the pronunciation of these consonants is assisted by the introduction of a sh'wa."

The words in italics ought to be omitted altogether. The statement concerning the Š'wâ is misleading. The student having learned here that this sign is introduced to assist in the pronunciation of the consonants (to do which it has a sound of its own) is soon informed that there is such a thing as a *silent* Š'wâ. It would be better to make a general statement that the Š'wâ was invented to denote the absence of a full vowel, and then to show when it is vocal and when it is silent.

Prof. Mitchell describes syllables as *simple* and *mixed*, dividing the latter into closed and intermediate. We prefer the terms *open*, *half-open* and *closed*, because they are descriptive.

A radical innovation is made in the treatment of the verb. The stems are reduced to five by putting the two passive forms with their respective actives. The usual names Qăl, Nîph'ăl, etc., are discarded, and the five species are numbered, as in the usual Arabic grammars, I., II., etc. Now we are not convinced of the desirability of this innovation. Conformity to the Arabic grammar would be well enough if the cases were alike. But the cases are not alike. Arabic regularly makes a passive to all the active species, and indeed on occasion it can make a passive to the reflexive species. It is not so in Hebrew. The passive of the simple stem has disappeared, and the reflexives have themselves become passive in meaning in a large proportion of cases. It seems to us better, therefore, either to reduce the stems to three, each having (theoretically) a passive and a middle voice, or else to range all seven forms side by side, as is the traditional method. This being done, we should not be strenuous as to the technical names. The only point to be considered is that the names are already established. The student can read no other Hebrew grammar with profit without knowing them, he will find them in his lexicon on every page and they will meet his eye whenever he takes up a critical commentary. For these reasons it would be better to introduce them, at least in a subordinate way, in every grammar.

The exercises in reading Hebrew and translating English into Hebrew are copious—possibly too copious, but that is a fault easily remedied. It seems to us that longer sentences might be introduced earlier in the book. A large part of the exercises consist of single words. This is more wearisome to the student than if he had something more connected. Then the real unit with which we have to deal in learning a language is the sentence. Some of Prof. Mitchell's sentences seem to us not happily chosen—as illustrations, that is, of normal Hebrew syntax.

And now, in closing, a few general questions. Ought we to make a difference in the sound of Sĕghôl, as is done by our author, who makes it correspond to *e* in *pet* or (when written *plene*) in *there*? Is it correct to say that a helping-vowel (p. 9) "does not always cause the removal of Dāghēsh-lene and the silent Š'wâ? In other words, does not the fact that the point in שָׁלַחְתְּ does not cause the

Digitized by Google

removal of the daghesh prove that it should be classed rather as a Păthăḥ-furtive than as a helping vowel? Is it not too broad to say (p. 14) that the Relative Pronoun (? Particle) is "*usually* supplemented by a personal pronoun representing the antecedent?" This statement is not very clear without illustrative examples, which are not given either in direct connection with it or in the exercise which follows. Is it true that (p. 47) "a construct followed by a definite genitive may be either definite or indefinite?" We have on the other hand the impression that a construct followed even by an undefined genitive is to some extent definite. בן־מלך is *the* son of a king as distinguished from בן לְמֶלֶךְ a son of a king. In the verb with suffixes shall we say (p. 54) that כתבתְ loses its last vowel? Is it not rather true that the suffix is attached directly to that vowel, as in כתבוני? In the notes (p. 35) the point in א in the word ויבִיאוּ is called a *dagesh*. Is it not really a Măppîq?

The Syntax would be made clearer by a few examples. There is no hint that the verbs with a double medial are found uncontracted as well as contracted in the simple species. H. P. SMITH.

HISTORISCH-KRITISCHES LEHRGEBÆUDE DER HEBRÆISCHEN SPRACHE.*

The author of this grammar is one of the most active among the younger generation of Semitic scholars in Germany. A number of philological and theological works have shown him to be a man of rare erudition in this department, and of indefatigable industry. His best-known writings are probably his "De criticae Sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito," published in 1879, and his "*Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testamentes*," published in 1882, while his "*Studien*" both in Hebrew and Ethiopic, have proved him well acquainted with the minutiæ of the dialects. Naturally we expect that a grammar from such a source would have rare merits, and in this we are not disappointed. It is true that no grammarian of the Hebrew language can hope, at this date, to enlarge the materials of which a grammatical system is to be constructed; nor are the modifications of the traditional text, made by a closer critical study of the Massorah and other aids, of such a character and extent as to offer the grammarian new matter of any importance, as is shown by the texts issued by Baer and Delitzsch. Our Hebrew grammars can, accordingly, differ only in manner and method, but not in matter. A new candidate in this field can hope to receive recognition and favor only by a new and better arrangement and more rational explanation of the data and facts of the language. And in this regard König's work has some features that entitle its author to the thanks of Semitic and Old Testament students everywhere. Especially is there one important characteristic in which his book is distinguished from all the rest and in which he supplies something that scholars have been in need of for a long time. To read only this or that grammar of Hebrew, one gets the impression that there are no points of doubt or debate in the whole field, and that none of the phenomena of the language admit of more than one explanation, the

* HISTORISCH-KRITISCHES LEHRGEBÆUDE DER HEBRÆISCHEN SPRACHE. Mit steter Beziehung auf Qimhi und die anderen Autoritaeten ausgearbeitet v. Dr. Friedrich Eduard Koenig, Licentiat und Privatdocent der Theologie an der Universitaet Leipzig. Erste Haelfte: Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pronomen und dem Verbum. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881. 710 pp. 8vo.

Digitized by Google

one offered by the author we happen to be reading. That such is not the true state of affairs is known to all who have gone a little beyond surface investigation; and that the different grammarians do not explain the facts of the language in the same way, but that each has his theory here and his hypothesis there, is known to all who have taken the trouble to compare two or more of the larger Hebrew grammars. Yet in all of these grammars, from the days of Gesenius on, the method has been in vogue of simply giving the explanation that best suited the author, taking no consideration or making no mention of what other authors have thought on these points. This rather one-sided method we find in all our larger grammatical systems. König, in this regard, supplements all of his predecessors by stating fully and clearly, on all points, the *status controversiæ*, giving the reasons pro and con wherever different views have been given by grammarians. He thus gives a vast amount of valuable information; and this is of such a character as to stimulate the student to further study and to independent investigation. On debatable ground he cites the authorities from Qimḥi on, and then gives the reasons for his own conclusion in the matter. This principal peculiarity of the work has brought with it a lengthy discussion of points that are elsewhere not brought out so prominently, as, for instance, the use of the Hōlĕm, the discussion of which reaches from p. 44 to 49; the pronunciation of the Qāmĕç-Hāṭûph, from 90 to 111. As the book grew out of the author's work in the school-room, he has elaborated especially those points which cause the student the greatest trouble. In this manner he has endeavored to combine practical utility with a philosophically correct method of investigation, namely, the historical and analytical. It is to be hoped that König's work will be completed in the near future. Olshausen did not live to write a Syntax; Stade has promised to do so, but has not done it; we have nothing exhaustive and thorough in the Syntax of the language since Ewald's work. Certain it is that the researches in the Indo-European languages and the comparative method will offer a fine field for the student of Hebrew Syntax. From the industry of König in the past we have reason to hope that he will not disappoint us as did the others.

G. H. SCHODDE.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ANDREAE, H. V. Die Psalmen, aus dem Grundtexte übersetzt u. durch e. fortlauf. Besprechg. erläutert. Frankfurt a. M.: *Schriften-Niederlage d. Evangel. Vereins.* Pp. viii., 580.

BACHER, W. Die hebräisch-arabische Sprachvergleichung des Abulwâlîd. (By Dr. Locoy.) *Jued. Litter.-Blatt*, No. 46, 1884.

BRANDT. Die Entdeckung der babylonischen Alterthümer. *Deutsch-evang. Blätter*, Bd. 9, Heft 2.

BRANDT. Die assyrisch-babylonische Keilschrift-Literatur und das Alte Testament. *Ibid.*, 3.

BROWN, FRANCIS. The Needs of Hebrew Lexicography. *Presbyterian Review*, Jan., '85.

BRUGSCH, H. Thesarus inscription um Aegptiacarum. Leipzig: *Hinrichs.*

BRUGSCH, H. Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter. Nach den Denkmälern bearb. 1. Hälfte. Leipzig: *Hinrichs.* Pp. vii, 280.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDR. Studien über indo-germanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft. Neue Lichtdr.-Ausg. Leipzig: *Hinrichs.* Pp. 119.

Die Kabbala. Ihre Hauptlehren und ihr Verhältniss zum Christenthum. Innsbruck: *Vereinsbuchhandlung.* Pp. 58.

DILLMANN, A. Ueber die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a Jacob. Berlin, 1884.

DUNCKER, M. Geschichte der Alterthums. Neue Folge. 1 Bd. Leipzig, 1884.

EBERS, G. Der geschnitzte Holzsarg d. Haṭbastra im ägyptologischen Apparat der Universität zu Leipzig. Leipzig: *Hirzel.*

FRANKE, A. H. Das alte Testament bei Johannes. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärg. u. Beurtheilg. der johanneischen Schriften. Göttingen: *Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.* Pp. iv, 316.

GEBHARDT. Beiträge zur Erklärung der griechischen Wörter in den Talmuden und Midrashim. Zweite Serie. *Jued. Littblt.*, Nos. 40-41, '84.

GINSBURG, C. D. The Massorah: Compiled from Manuscripts; Alphabetically and Lexically arranged. 2 vols. London, 1883. Pp. 758, 830.

GUYARD, STANISL. Note sur quelques passages des inscriptions de Van. *Journ. assyr.*, Sér. 8, T., II.

HALEVY, J. Notes de lexicographie assyrienne. *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung.* Vol. I., No. 3.

HAUPT, PAUL. Das babylonische Nimrodepos. Keilschrifttext der Bruchstücke der sogenannten Isdubarlegenden mit dem keilschriftlichen Sintfluthberichte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum copirt und herausgeg. Abt. I., den Keilschrifttext der ersten 10 Tafeln enth. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*, 1884.

HILPRECHT, HERM. Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I., Königs von Babylonien, c. 1130 v. Chr. Zum ersten Male veröffentlicht, umschrieben und übersetzt. Inaug.-Diss. Leipzig, 1883.

Digitized by Google

HOFFMANN, G. Nachtrag zu H. KIEPERT's "Karte der Ruinenfelder von Babylon." *Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Vol. 18, No. 6.

HOLTZMANN, A. Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata. Ein Anhang zu W. D. Whitney's Jüdischer Grammatik. Leipzig, 1884.

HOROVITZ, M. Der Talmud. Drei Reden. Frankfurt a. M., 1883.

JAPHET, J. M. Hebräische Lesefibel. 9., verb. u. verm. Aufl. Frankfurt a. M.: *Grobel*. Pp. 32.

JENSEN, P. De incantamentorum sumerico-assyriorum serici quae dicitur "surbu" tabula VI. I. *Ztschr. f Keilschriftforschung*, Vol. I., No. 4.

KAUTZSCH, E. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. *Jued. Litter.-Blatt*, No. 45, 1884; *Lit. Centralblt.*, No. 44, '84; *Theol. Litblt.*, No. 46, '84.

KOENIG, F. E. Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte gegenüber den Entwickelungstheoretikern beleuchtet. Leipzig, 1884.

LEDRAIN, E. Archéologie assyrienne. Collection Sarzec. Une petite ville d'architectures et de sculptures en l'an 4500 avant J.-C. *Rev. pol. et lit.*, No. 2, Jan. 12, 1884, T. 33.

Liber Ezechielis. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Cum praefatione Franc Delitzsch et glossario Ezechielico-babylonico Friedr. Delitzsch. Leipzig: *Tauchnitz*. Pp. XVIII, 134.

LIPPERT, JUL. Allgemeine Geschichte des Priesterthums. Vol. 2. Berlin: *Th. Hoffmann*, 1884. Pp. XXIV, 734.

MARX, G. H. Traditio rabbinorum veterrima de librorum veteris testamenti ordine atque origine illustrata. Leipzig. Pp. 60.

MATTERSDORF, W. Die Methode des ersten hebräischen Unterrichts in der jüdischen Religionsschule. *Jued. Littblt.*, Nos. 36–37, '84.

MUEHLAU, F., and VOLCK, W. W. Gesenius' Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch. (By J. F. McCurdy.) *Amer. Jour. of Philology*, Vol. IV., 3.

MUELLER, DAV. HEINR. Vorläufige Mittheilungen über eine von Professor Joseph Wünsche in der Nähe von Van entdeckte Keilschrift. *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Classe der k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, Jy. '84, No. XVI.

PERLES, J. Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien. München: *Th. Ackermann*. Pp. VI, 247.

POGNON. Inscription de Mérou-nérar I., roi d'Assyrie. *Journ. assyr.*, Sér. 8, T. II., 1883.

PREISWERK, S. Grammaire hébraïque. (By A. Loisy.) *Bulletin critique*, No. 15, '84; (By R. Duval.) *Revue critique*, No. 33, '84.

RABBINOVICZ, R. Variae lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud babylonicum &c. Pars XIV. Tract. Sebachum. München: *Rosenthal*. Gr. 8vo, pp. VIII, 256.

RAWLINSON, H. C., and PINCHES, T. G. A selection from the miscellaneous inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. V., 2. *The Athenæum*, Sept. 6, '84.

SAYCE, A. H. The literary works of Ancient Babylonia. *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung*, Vol. I., No. 3.

SCHIFFER, S. Das Buch Koheleth im Talmud u. Midrasch. Leipzig: *Schulze*. Pp. 140.

SINNETT, A. P. Die esoterische Lehre oder Geheimbuddhismus. Uebersetzung aus dem Englischen. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*. Pp. XX, 260.

WOLFF, PH. Arabischer Dragoman. Grammatik, Wörterbuch, Redestücke der neuarabischen Sprache. Leipzig: *Brockhaus*. Pp. VI, 370.

Digitized by Google

ANNOUNCEMENT.

The present number of HEBRAICA closes the first volume. The Managing Editor feels warranted in continuing its publication.

The first number of Vol. II. will be issued October 1st. This postponement (from July) is made, in order that the subscription-years of THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT and HEBRAICA may be the same; the new volume of the former beginning in September, that of the latter in October. It is hoped that the friends of Semitic study in America will manifest, *in a practical manner*, their interest in this undertaking. With the support which it ought to receive, HEBRAICA will grow more and more valuable. Shall it not receive this support? For such help as may be rendered by those interested in its success, the Editor and Publisher will be greatly obliged.

It is understood that subscriptions already paid are extended in accordance with the new arrangement.

WILLIAM R. HARPER,
Managing Editor.

MORGAN PARK, ILL., May 1st, 1885.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOLUME I. APRIL, 1885. NUMBER 4.

THE CYLINDER OF NEBUKADNEZZAR AT NEW YORK.*

BY J. F. X. O'CONNOR, S. J.,

Professor in Woodstock College, Maryland.

Having learned that a collection of cuneiform inscriptions had arrived at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, I visited the Museum during the month of August, 1884, to examine the new collection and to practice copying the cuneiform contract tablets at the east end of the building.

Among the valuable pieces of the new collection was a cuneiform Babylonian Cylinder. Upon expressing a wish to copy it, I was informed it could be done only on two conditions. The first was the permission of General L. P. di Cesnola, Director of the Museum; the second was the permission of the owner of the collection, as it was not yet Museum property. With kindly courtesy, facility for study and the privilege of copying the Cylinder was granted by the Director of the Museum. Mr. Bernard Maimon, the actual owner and original collector, also consented with the restriction that no publication should be made until the purchase of the Cylinder by the Museum.

I began my work of copying the inscription in the Museum on August 27th, and completed it during the first week of September.

On October 7th, a communication was sent to me, by the Director's orders, that the Cylinder was now Museum property and the publication open to me, but no restrictions would be placed on any one, and a cast would be forwarded as soon as possible. Towards the end of October I received a cast of the Cylinder, with

* The following is an explanation of the abbreviated references in the article:

I R., II R., III R., IV R., V R. = WAI. = *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.* Sir Henry Rawlinson. The numerals before R., indicate the volume; after, the page. (London, 1861-70-75-80.) Del., *Assyr. Lesest.* = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestuecke.* (Leipzig, 1878.) Del., *Assyr. Stud.* = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien.* (Leipzig, 1874.) Del., *Wo lag das Paradies?* = Friedrich Delitzsch. (Leipzig, 1881.) ASKT. = Paul Haupt, *Assyrische Sumerische Keilschrifttexte.* (Leipzig, 1881-82.) SFG. = Paul Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze.* (Leipzig, 1879.) BAL. = Paul Haupt, *Beitraege zur Assyrischen Lautlehre.* (1883.) KAT. = Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament.* (Giessen, 1883.) Neb. = *Inscription Nebuchadnezzar,* I R., 53-58. Neb. Bab. = *Cylinder-inscription from Babylon,* I R., 51, No. 2. Neb. Senk. = *Cylinder-inscription Senkereh.,* I R., 51, No. 2. Tig. I. Lotz = *Tiglathpileser,* I. Wm. Lotz. (Leipzig, 1880.) Sarg. Cyl. = David G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's.* (Leipzig, 1883.) Menant. = *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne.* (Paris, 1880.) AVAAW. = J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Woerter.* (Leipzig, 1882-83-84-85.) ABVW. = J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., *Altbabylonischen Vertraege aus Warka.* (Berlin, 1882.) Cont. Tab. 17 Nab. = J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., *Contract Tablet, 17th year of Nabonidus.* (London, 1882.)

Digitized by Google

a note stating that the first one made was forwarded to me according to promise. After taking precautions to be assured that the text was as perfect as could be under the circumstances, the translation was announced on November 17th. With the full text in hand, I began the work of translation and collation with other Babylonian texts, and towards the end of December the work was completed.

The writing, in the peculiar Babylonian archaic character, is divided into three sections. On the terra-cotta cylinder, a smooth band, unmarked by characters, running from end to end, indicates the beginning of each column. Unlike the Semitic languages, Ethiopic excepted, the Babylonian, as well as the Assyrian cuneiform, is read, like our English, from left to right.

This particular Cylinder is of interest, less from any new historical fact that it reveals than from its being, as far as known, the first unpublished original that has found its way from that ancient empire of Babylon to the city of New York, there to tell its story of the work of the mighty king, and confirm anew the facts made known by the other inscriptions of this same monarch.

Every new document, whatever its value, is an additional link in the chain that binds us to the history of past nations. The question is often asked, "Of what practical use are these inscriptions?" For the Semitic student no answer is required, but it may be worth while for those not professionally interested in these new and important researches to glance at the significance which these discoveries and interpretations bear in the eyes of leading Assyriologists. We have but to look at the works of Delitzsch, Haupt, Schrader, to see how this language, hidden for centuries, now comes forth to help us reconstruct the history of forgotten nations. The results of cuneiform studies have given rise to a literature full of the deepest interest to men of all opinions and pursuits. These studies may be looked upon from a two-fold point of view, that of philology and history; but both have the same end—the practical use of the results of interpretation.

"The excavations of Mesopotamia, during the last few years," says a paper, read before the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, "have been productive of especially good results. Not only has Assyrian grammar and lexicography been enriched by magnificent 'finds' of bilingual and grammatical tablets, but a considerable quantity of history has been made known to us through the discovery of Cylinders which were inscribed during the latter years of the Babylonian empire. They are peculiarly valuable, because they are the productions of those who lived at the time when the events happened which they record." The contract tablets, and the Egibi tablets give an insight into the commercial affairs of Babylon, and reveal their great loan and banking system. Some of these contract tablets, or notes of legal transfer, are now in the New York Museum. (Cf. E. A. Budge, *On Recent Inscrip. of Neb.*)

As to the discovery of this Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, the writer learned the facts from Mr. Maimon personally, who gave him the following details: Amid the ruins at Aboo Habba, (the site of Sippara, Sepharvaim of the Hebrews, situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, north of Babylon and southwest of Bagdad), while searching in the ruins and thrusting into them a spear he held in his hand, Mr. Maimon found considerable resistance in the loose rubbish. Working the spear around the object, he found it to be of considerable size, and, upon digging it out, discovered this Cylinder, bearing an inscription in cuneiform characters.

Digitized by Google

The name Nebuchadnezzar has been variously explained. It is found in the cuneiform writings as Nabu-kudurri-usur, written also Na-bi-uv-ku-du-ur-ri-u-ṣu-ur, (V R. 34, Col. II., 67). In Hebrew it becomes Nebû-khodr-eṣṣôr, and by successive modifications and corruptions is written and spoken Nebu-chad-neṣṣor. Nebuchadnessor. The transition is easy to the German Nebukadnezzar, and the English Nebuchadnezzar. In the Ναβουχοδανὸσορ of the Septuagint, we find the origin of Nabuchadonosor. (Ant. Jud. x., 6.) The name has three elements—Nabû "Nebo," kudurru "crown," uṣur "protect." "Nebo, protect my crown." Others give to the word kudur, the meaning "landmark." (I R. 52, 5 and 6.) (Cf. Schrader, KAT. 362.) (Fleming, *East India Inscription*, p. 22,—Budge, *Recently Discovered Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar*, p. 3.)

The word Nebo, nabû = "to speak," "prophesy," "prophet," appears as a usual element in the names of Babylonian Kings, Nabopolassar, Nabu-pal-uṣur, "Nebo, protect my son." From them it passed to members of the royal household, as the general Nebu zardan, and even to persons whom the Babylonians held in honor, as the Jewish captive youth Abednego, signifying "servant of Nebo," so named by the feast-master of Nebuchadnezzar, from the Hebrew "Abed," "servant," and "Nebo," which the Jews, either not understanding or rejecting through contempt, changed to Nego. (KAT. p. 429.) This use of the name of the deity in the names of individuals, appears, as is well known, in the Hebrew names of the Angels, Mi-chael—who is like God.

This would hardly be the place to give the history of Nebuchadnezzar and his works. (Cf. G. Rawlinson, *Seven Monarchies*, Fourth Mon., c. VIII., c. VII., notes 12, 13.) Suffice it to say here, that unlike the Assyrian Kings, Assurbanipal and Sennacherib, who glory in their battles and conquests, and in the recital thereof, Nebuchadnezzar's chief glory, if we judge from his inscriptions, seems to be the building and restoring of the temples of his gods.

The temple referred to in the inscription with which we are concerned, is the temple of E Parra, the temple of the Sun at Sippara. Sippara or Aboo Habba, is situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, and being one of the earlier cities, the river Euphrates itself is called the "river of Sippar." The name appears with varied spelling, Si-par, Si-ip-par, Sip-par, (II R. 13, 26, d.—V R. 23, 29.—II R. 48, 55, a, b), and with and without determinative.

The god of Sippara was Samas, the Sun god. His temple was called E Parra, the temple of the Sun. Another city sacred to Samas was Larsa, called in the non-semitic text, *babbar-unu-ki*, "dwelling of the sun" (I R. 2, No. 111, IV., 4, 3). In Semitic phonetic spelling it is found La-ar-sa-am-ki. The temple there was E-babbara. (*Neb. Grot.*, II., 42.) (Cf. Del., *Paradies*, P. 223. *Assyr. Stud.*, *Akkad. Glos.*, p. 174. Haupt, ASKT., p. 37, No. 41.)

The other temples mentioned in this inscription, E-Saggil and E-Zida, were erected, the one to Merodach at Babylon, the other to Nebo at Borsippa, the sister city of Babylon. Both were subsequently restored by Nebuchadnezzar. E-Sagila was the "temple of the lofty head," and was also named "the palace of heaven and earth, the dwelling of Bel, El, and Merodach." (*Neb. Borsip.*, I., 15 *ff.*) E-Zida, in Assyrian, bîtu kenu, means the "everlasting dwelling."

The name Babylon occurs in many different forms in the Babylonian inscriptions. Commonly it is written KA-dingir-RA = "the gate of god," Bab-ili, Bâbîlu; ka, being the Akkadian for "gate," and dingir, the ideogram for "god." (IV R. 12, 13.) The oldest non-semitic form appears as Tintir. (IV R. 20, 3.)

Digitized by Google

We find the name of the city as a pure ideogram: (*a*) Ka-dingir-(-ra)(ki), (Khors, 2, 6. I R. 48, No. 5, 3); (*b*) as a phonogram: Ba-bi-lu(ki), (I R. 52, No. 5); (*c*) as combined ideogram and phonogram: Ba-bi-dingir, *i. e.* Ba-bi-ilu. (*Neb.*, IV., 28). (Cf. Del., *Paradies*, p. 212. Schrader, KAT. p. 121.) Babylon is the Greek form of Babel or Bab-ili, and Ba-bel is the Semitic translation of the Akkadian KA-dingir-RA.

Instead of the Assyrian *ilu*, in Babylonian we read dingir; thus ilu-šu, his god, becomes dingir-na; abu-šu, his father, adda-na. The syllable *ra* suffixed takes the meaning, "to," "for," as adda-na-ra = to his father. Ka-dingir-ra = the gate to god. (Cf. Haupt, SFG. p. 3.) The passages where this name occurs are endless, thus: ina ka-dingir-ra epuš. (I R. *Neb.*, Col. IV., l. 17; VI., ll. 26, 29; Col. VII., ll. 1, 4, 34, 40.) Again: ina Babili epuš. (I R. *Neb.*, IV., 28, 31.) Bab-ilu and Si-par are both found in the Syllabary. (II R. 13, 25.)

Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, reigned in Babylon from about B. C. 604 to B. C. 560. The first king of Babylon was Nobonassar, B. C. 747; the last, Nabonidus, B. C. 555, who reigned 17 years until the time of Cyrus. According to the Babylonian canon of Ptolemy, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign is placed at 604 B. C., his father Nabopolassar's at 625, and that of Evil-Merodach, 561. (Cf. Schrader, KAT. p. 490.)

These observations are deemed sufficient for the understanding of the meaning of the inscription.

The substance of the inscription is as follows:

I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, lawful son of Nabopolassar. I, the King of righteousness, the interpreter, the spoiler, filled with the fear of the gods and loving justice, have placed in the hearts of my people the spirit of reverence towards the gods, and as a devout worshipper, have rebuilt their temples E Saggil and E Zida.

This proclamation we issue:

My great Lord Merodach singled me out as the restorer of the city and the rebuilder of its temples, and made my name illustrious.

This proclamation we make:

The temple of E Parra, the temple of Samas, which is at Sippara, and which long before my reign had fallen to ruins, I rebuilt.

The great god Samas hearkened to no king before me, and gave no command to do this work. But I, his servant, filled with awe of his divinity, in piety and wisdom built his temples, at his inspiration.

I lifted up my hands in constant prayer, for the building of his temple E Parra. The god Samas accepted the lifting up of my hands, he heard my prayer for the building of his temple. Samas, Ramanu and Merodach heard me. My prayer was heard by Samas my Lord, the judge of heaven and earth, the warlike, the great hero, the supreme, the glorious Lord, who governs the decisions of justice. The temple of my great Lord, the temple of Parra, at Sippara, in joy and jubiliant exaltation I built.

O great god Samas, when thou dost enter in joy into the work made by my hands, grant that it may be lasting; look with favor upon me, and may I receive a blessing from thy lips.

Let me sate myself with glory, and grant me a long life and the establishment of my kingdom forever. Let me be an everlasting ruler, with a righteous sceptre, true power, governing my people in peace and prosperity forever.

Digitized by Google

By the power of my arms, give success to my warriors in battle; send me, O Samas, prosperous omens—peace and prosperity, and let my armies disperse the power of mine enemies.

In the cuneiform text as here given, the lines marked with the numerals are the copy of the Archaic Babylonian, the original text of the Cylinder. The lines marked *b.* are the transcription, character for character, of the old Babylonian into the later Babylonian of the sixth century B. C. The lines marked *a.* are the Assyrian characters of the seventh century B. C., as we find them in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings.

Thus, the triple text may serve as a useful reference for the study and comparison of the Babylonian and Assyrian characters.

In the transcription, the method has been to keep as closely as possible to the syllabication of the original. The marked letters in the transcription have the usual values of the corresponding letters in Hebrew:

š = sh, ṣ = ts, ḫ = ch hard, ṭ = teth, ḳ = koph.

The work upon the Inscription has been done in the intervals of other serious study, and if it be allowed "*parva componere magnis*," the writer would conclude in the words of Friedrich Delitzsch in his introduction to the *Paradies:* "It was a difficult work, difficult in itself, and much more difficult from external circumstances; and now that I have reached the end, and look back, there arise before me many defects....which are pardonable, indeed, but still remain imperfections. Nevertheless, in the rough ore brought with patience from the depth of the mine, some pure metal may be found. May the science of Archæology, and especially Biblical science, sift this out; may they make subservient to their advancement that wide field and promising perspective of language, culture and religion which has been opened to them by the researches of Assyriology."

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION.

COL. I.

1.	Nabû-ku-dur-ru-u-ṣu-ur	1. Nebuchadnezzar,
	šar mi-ša-ri-im	King of righteousness,
	pa-aš-ru, ša-aḫ-tu	master of life and death,
	ša pa-la-aḫ ilâni mu-du-u	who knoweth the fear of the gods,
5.	ra-'-im ki-it-ti	5. loving justice
	u mi-ša-ri-im.	and righteousness;
	mu-uš-te-'-u ba-la-ṭam	seeking life,
	mu-ša-aš-ki-in	establishing
	ina bi-i ni-ši-im	in the mouth of the people
10.	pu-lu-uḫ-ti ilâni rabûti	10. the fear of the great gods;
	mu-uš-te-ši-ir eš-ri-it ilâni	seeker of the temple of the god;
	za-ni-in E-Sag-gil	restorer of the temple Saggil,
	u E-Zida	and the temple Zida;
	aplu ki-i-num	true Son

Digitized by Google

15.	ša Nabû-pal-u-ṣu-ur	15. of Nabopolassar
	Šar Bâbîli a-na-ku	King of Babylon am I.
	Ni-nu: il Marduk	We (proclaim): the god Merodach
	belu ra-bi-u	my great lord
	ana be-lu-ut ma-da	to rule the country
20.	iš-ša-an-ni-ma	20. raised me up;
	a-na za-nin-nu-ti ma-ha-za	for the restoration of the city,
	u ud-du-uš eš-ri-e-ti-šu	and the renewing of its temples
	šu-ma ṣi-ra-am	my lofty name
	ib-bi-u	he gave forth.
25.	ni-nu-mi-šu E-Parra bît il Šamas	25. We (proclaim) this: The temple of Parra, the temple of the Sun
	ša ki-ri-ib Sippar	which is in Sippara,
	ša u-ul-la-nu-a.....?	which long before me (had fallen to ruins?)
	e-mu-u.....?	and decay.....(I built?)
COL. II.	il Šamaš en-ni ra-bi-u	The god Šamaš my great lord
30.	a-na ma-na-ma šarri ma-aḫ-ri-im	30. not to any former King
	la im-gu-ur-ma	had he hearkened and
	la ik-bi-u e-bi-šu	had not commanded to do (this)
	â-ši.....?	I.....(his servant?)
	e-im-ku mu-ut-nin-nu-u	wise and pious,
35.	pa-li-iḫ i-lu-ti-šu	35. (was in) fear (of) his divinity.
	a-na e-bi-eš eš-ri-e-ti	to build the temples
	li-ib-ba (uštallit):	he (directed) my heart:
	u-ga-ru am-ša-as-si (?)	I cleared the grounds (?)
	aš-ši ga-ti	I lifted up my hands,
40.	u-sa-ap-pa-ša aš-ši (?)	40. and I made supplication (?)
	a-na e-bi-eš bîti E-Parra	for the building of the temple Parra,
	u-mi-šu um-ma	day by day (to)
	Šamaš en-ni ra-bi-u	the god Šamaš, my great lord.
	ni-iš ga-ti-ia im-ḫu-ur-ma	the lifting up of my hands he accepted;
45.	iš-ša-a su-pi-e-a	45. he received my prayers
	a-na e-bi-eš bîti šu-a-ti	for the building of that temple,
	e-bi-eš bîti ša il Šamaš	the building of the temple of Šamaš.
	il Šamaš il Ramânu u il Marduk	Šamaš, Ramanu and Merodach
	ip-ru-us-ma.....(?)	turned (?) and (hearkened).

Digitized by Google

50.	il Šamaš il Ramanu u il Marduk	50. Šamaš, Ramanu and Merodach
	ša e-bi-eš bîti E-Parra	for building the temple Parra
	an-num (?) ki-i-num	true mercy
	u-ša-aš-ki-nu-um	established
	i-na te-ir-ti-ia	during my reign.
55.	a-na il Šamaš en-ni	55. Unto Šamaš, my lord,
	da-a-a-nu si-i-ru-um	the supreme judge
	ša ša-me-e u ir-ṣi-ti	of heaven and earth,
	kar-ra-du ra-bi-u	the warlike, the great hero,
	it-lu ka-ab-tu.....	the supreme, the glorious lord,
60.	be-lu mu-uš-te-ši-ir	60. the lord who directs
	pu-ru-us-si-e ki-it-ti	the decision of righteousness,
	beli ra-bu-u beli-ia	to the great lord, my lord,
	bit-su E-Parra	his temple E Parra,
	ša kirib Sipar	which is in Sippara,
65.	ina ḫi-da-a-ti	65. in joy
	u ri-ša-a-ti	and jubilant exaltation
	lu e-pu-uš	I built.
	ilu Šamaš beli rabu-u	The god Šamaš, my great lord
	a-na E-Parra biti-ka nam-ru	into the temple E Parra, thy glorious temple,
70.	ḫa-di-iš i-na e-ri-bi-ka	70. upon thy joyful entering therein
COL. III.	li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šu-ul-bi-ir	the brickwork of my hands let it endure.
	ki-ni-iš na-ap-li-is-ma	look with grace (upon me) and
	dam-ga-tu-a li-iš-šak-na	mercy, may it (be) established (by)
	ša-ap-tu-uk-ka	thy word (lip).
75.	i-na ki-bi-ti-ka ki-it-ti	75. by thy righteous command,
	lu-uš-ba-' li-it-tu-ti	let me sate myself with glory;
	ba-la-ṭam ana û-um ru-ku-u-ti	life unto days remote,
	ku-un kussî lu-si-ri-ik-tu-um-ma	stability of my throne mayest thou grant.
	li-ri-ku li-iš-ša-libu	may they be long (the days of my reign)
80.	ri-'-u-u a-na dâra-a-ti	80. lordship for eternity,
	ḫaṭṭu i-ša-ar-ti	a righteous sceptre,
	ri-e-u-ti ṭa-ab-ti	just sway,
	ši-bi-ir-ri ki-i-num	true insignia of sovereignty,
	mu-ša-li-im ni-ši	prosperity to my people

Digitized by Google

85. lu-i-ba (?) ḫaṭṭu šar-ru-ti-ia	85. giving peace (?) to the sceptre of my royalty
a-na dâra-a-ti	unto eternity.
i-na kakkê ez-zuti	with mighty weapons,
te-bu-ti ta-ḫa-za	with a successful battle
lu-zu-lu-ul um-ma-ni-(ia?)	let me adorn my troops.
90. il Šamaš atta-ma	90. The god Šamaš thou,
ina di-i-num u bi-i-ri	in judgment and oracles,
i-ša-ri-is a-pa-la-an-ni	in righteousness, bind me
ina a-ma-ti-ka	in thy word.
ša-li-mu	grant success,
95. ša-la-ma bi-e-ri	95. a lasting prosperity.
lu-ti-bu-u lu-za-ak-tu	May they draw near, may they sting,
kakku kakkua	the weapon; my weapon,
kakke	the weapons
na-ki-ri-im	of the enemy
li-mi-e-si	let it disperse.

Digitized by Google

THE SCRIBE.

By H. L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D.,

Translated from advance sheets of *Realencykl. f. Prot. Theol. u. Kirche.* 2d Edition. Vol. xiii. Leipzig, 1884, by O. O. Fletcher.

The order of the Scribes, i. e., of the doctors of the law, first appears[1] among the Jews, after the Babylonish exile. At that time the authority of the law had taken the place of the authority of the king; the law, and indeed principially the Pentateuchal law, had become the absolute norm of the common life.

Ezra, whose work it was to give the law this position, bears the title סֹפֵר. (See, especially, Ez. vii., 6—ספר מהיר בתורת משה; 12, 21—סֹפֵר דָּתָא. Cf. also Neh. viii., 1, 4, 13; xii., 36; viii., 9; xii., 26.) We may conclude, partly from the former use of the word סֹפֵר, partly from the additional expressions in the places cited (particularly מָהִיר), that this title was accorded him because of his care for the restoration and dissemination of manuscripts of the law. (Cf. likewise Neh. xiii., 13—Shelemiah, the kôhēn, and Zadoq, the sôphēr; and 1 Chron. ii., 55—מִשְׁפְּחוֹת סֹפְרִים who dwelt in Yă'bēç.)

The translation of the Old Testament word סופר is the frequent *γραμματεύς* of the New Testament. Matt. ii., 4; v., 20; ix., 3; xv., 1; xvii., 10; xxi., 15; xxiii., 2 sqq.; xxiii., 34, etc.

Two other features of the Scribe's employment, which in course of time became most prominent, gave occasion for the synonymical Greek designations *νομικός* (Matt. xxii., 35; Lk. vii., 30; x., 25; xi., 45 sq., 52; xiv., 3; Tit. iii., 13) and *νομοδιδάσκαλος* (Lk. v., 17; Acts v., 34—*πατρίων ἐξηγῆται νόμων* Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii., 6, 2).

So far as we can judge from the Pentateuch, the Mosaic law was never a *corpus juris ecclesiastici*, answering to our conceptions of system; still less was it a *corpus juris*. And yet when this law had received its unique position, old customs, which had up to this become no more than unwritten law [Gewohnheitsrecht], could be advanced to the rank of official, statutory law; but new law, properly so called, might be no longer produced.

Then it became the main purpose to search out and interpret the letter of the written law; so to interpret it that it could find application to the present, and indeed to as many of the relations of the present as possible. Even of Ezra himself we read (Ez. vii., 10): "He had prepared his heart to seek (לִדְרֹשׁ) the law of Yahveh, and to do and teach (וְלַמֵּד) in Israel statutes and judgments [משפט, Recht]." If we take into consideration the condition of the Torah as just mentioned, if we recall further that, from the time of Malachi, the prophetic spirit had departed from Israel, that, with the death of the generations which returned from the exile, the impulse to an independent religious life, which lay in the specific experience of divine help, was extinct, that the feeling of peculiar weakness drifted toward a slavish, literal service of God, and that the slow, but constant, change in the social and other relations made the formation of new legal axioms

[1] From an earlier age. Cf. Jer. viii., 8—עֵט שֶׁקֶר סֹפְרִים.

Digitized by Google

requisite, we cannot be surprised that many of the interpretations of the law given by the Scribes, and more particularly by those of the later time, remind us of the Lord's denunciation of those who "strain out gnats and swallow camels" (Matt. XXIII., 24). One example in lieu of many. Let us compare the proof of the resurrection of the dead which Christ rests upon Exod. III., 6 (Matt. XXII., 23 sqq.) with the way in which Deut. XXXI., 16 is applied in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin, fol. 90, col. 2): "The Sadducees asked Rabban Gamaliel how he would prove that God would raise the dead. He answered them: Out of the Torah; for there we find, ויאמר ה' אל-משה הִנְּךָ שׁוֹכֵב עִם אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וְקָם. They replied: But perhaps we are to join וְקָם with הָעָם הַזֶּה וְזָנָה. And immediately after we read that the celebrated authorities Jehoshua' ben Hananya and Shim'on ben Yoḥay explained the cited verse just as Rabban Gamaliel did! The Middoth, the hermeneutical rules, contributed some method, at least in appearance, to these interpretations (see my article "Hillel," PRE.,[1] VI., p. 115, col. 1; further, J. Hamburger, *Realencyklopœdie fuer Bibel u. Talmud*, Part II., pp. 206–208; still later in PRE.,[1] article "Thalmud").

In the almost infinite variety of cases arising in the daily life within the civil, criminal and ritual law, new questions were constantly calling for answer. Therefore a cessation of the work of interpretation was impossible. After Jehuda hanasi had codified, in the Mishna, the interpretations which had found recognition up to the end of the second century after Christ (the oral law), the discussions of the Amoraïm[1] were only the more zealously carried on.

To this activity of the Scribes, looking to the ascertainment of the law, an addendum forms, the purpose of which is to secure the observance of the law. In order to prevent transgression of its prohibitions, they make supplementary prohibitions, in observing which there was not left to the Israelite any possibility, much less any enticement, to become disobedient to a single statement of the written or oral law. Pirqe Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers) I., 1: The men of the Great Synagogue said.....Make a hedge about the law, עֲשׂוּ סְיָג לַתּוֹרָה. In the Talmud, Mo'ed qaton, fol. 5, col. 1, and Y'bamoth, fol. 21, col. 1, Lev. XVIII., 30 is explained עֲשׂוּ מִשְׁמֶרֶת לְמִשְׁמַרְתִּי, i. e., "Add a guard to my law."

The Scribes were, therefore, not so much theologians as jurists. Consequently we are to assume that the members of the Synedria, at least the more prominent ones, were chosen, as far as possible, from their number; compare for Jerusalem, among others, the following common expressions: "The high-priests and scribes and elders" (Mk. XI., 27, *et cet.*), "the high-priests and scribes" (Matt. XX., 18, *et cet.*).

If the Jews were to remain the people of the law, the knowledge of the law once acquired must be preserved in all coming time, and care for true tradition must be had among the succeeding generations. The pedagogic activity requisite for this purpose (especially in the earlier age when there was as yet no written Mishna) was a further essential task of the Scribes. The instruction was oral; only in particular cases was a codex of the Bible consulted. The exercise was constant repetition; hence שָׁנָה (repeat) signifies freely *learn*, *study* (Pirqe Aboth, II., 4*b*; III., 7*b*) and *teach* (*ib.*, VI., 1). The formal statement of propositions and the holding of discussions thereupon occurred mostly in certain "houses of learn-

[1] [The Amoraim were the expositors of the Mishna, the oral law reduced to writing.]

Digitized by Google

ing" (יְשִׁיבָה, בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ); in Jerusalem, halls and rooms of the outer temple court were used for this purpose (cf. Matt. XXI., 23; XXVI., 55; Mk. XIV., 49; Lk. II., 46; XX., 1; XXI., 37; John XVIII., 20). Teachers (Matt. XXVI., 55) and pupils (Lk. II., 46; Pirqe Aboth, V., 15) sat; the teacher upon a somewhat elevated place (Acts XXII., 3; cf. Pirqe Aboth, I., 4; Aboth de R. Nathan, 6).

The religious addresses on the sabbaths and at other times were, in no small part, by Scribes (cf. Hamburger as cited above, pp. 921 sqq., especially 924, 926). Many Scribes busied themselves likewise with the Haggada (cf. Hamburger, pp. 19–27; W. Bacher, *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer*, Strassburg i. E., 1878; the same author, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, in the *Monatsschrift f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1882 ff.) The Halacha was, however, the peculiar field of their professional labors.

Most of the Scribes belonged to the party of the Pharisees (cf. Mk. II., 16, *γραμματεῖς τῶν φ.*· Lk. V., 30, *οἱ φ. καὶ οἱ γρ. αὐτῶν*· Acts XXIII., 9, *τινὲς τῶν γρ. τοῦ μέρους τῶν φ.*), as was quite natural, from the essential character of Phariseeism; consequently they lived mostly in Judea, and especially in Jerusalem (Scribes of Galilee, e. g., Lk. V., 17). But since the high-priests were Sadducees, there must also have been Sadducæan Scribes.

The Scribes did not receive either salary or fee for their judicial or pedagogic labors. Many maintained themselves by the work of their hands (cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Juedisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*, 3d edition, Erlangen, 1879; S. Meyer, *Arbeit u. Handwerk im Talmud*, Berlin, 1878); many were so wealthy that they could live upon the income from their fortune; not seldom did it occur that some one entertained a Scribe, either through pity, or as a guest for a time. It was considered wrong for any one to make any profit whatever out of his acquaintance with the law: cf. Pirqe Aboth, I., 13: "He who uses the crown of the study of the law for his own profit, shall perish;" Baba Bathra, fol. 8, col. 1: "In the time of a famine, Rabbi [Jehuda ha-nasi] declared that one should desire to feed those learned in the law, but not the ignorant. Then said Jonathan ben Amram, refusing to name his share in the knowledge [of the law], Feed me as thou wouldest feed a dog, a raven." But there must have been many exceptions to this commendable principle; for Jesus says (Mk. XII., 40; Lk. XX., 47) of the Scribes, "You devour widows' houses, and in pretence make long prayers;" and (Lk. XVI., 14) the Pharisees are characterized as *φιλάργυροι*. The fact also that the Scribes lay claim to an altogether unbecoming amount of esteem, goes to prove the supposition that the disinterestedness of the Scribes was not so universal as it seems to have been, according to Jewish sources.

LITERATURE.—A. Th. Hartmann, *Die enge Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen*, Hamburg, 1831, p. 384 sqq.; Gfroerer, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, I (1838), p. 109 sqq.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch* [in this also the older literature, as: Th. Ch. Lilienthal, *De νομικοῖς juris utriusque apud Hebræos doctoribus privatis*, Halle, 1740, 4vo]; A. Hausrath, *Neutestamentlich. Zeitgeschichte*² I. Heidelberg, 1873, p. 76 sqq.; E. Shuerer, *Lehrbuch der neutest. Zeitgesch.*, Leipzig, 1874, § 25; Ferd. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästin. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880, cap. VIII.—X.; also the historical works of L. Herzfeld, J. M. Jost, H. Graetz (vol. III.), and H. Ewald.

Digitized by Google

PIRKE ABOTH; or, SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS.

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.

Allegheny, Pa.

Translated from the Hebrew Edition of Prof. H. L. Strack, of Berlin, Germany.

[What is included in brackets is by the translator.]

CHAPTER III.

1. Akabya,[1] the son of Mahalalel, said: Consider three things and thou wilt not be led into transgression; bear in mind whence thou hast come, and whither thou art going, and before whom thou must be ready[2] to render[3] judgment and account. Whence hast thou come? from a polluting substance; and whither art thou going? to a place of dust, vermin and worms;[4] and before whom hast thou to render judgment and account?[5] before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be he!

2*a*. Rabbi Chanina,[6] suffragan[7] of the priests, said: Pray for the peace of the government;[8] for, were it not for the fear of it, man would devour his fellow man alive.

2*b*. Rabbi Chanina,[9] the son of Teradyon, said: Two persons sitting together and are holding no conversation about the law, such is an assembly of scorners; for it is said,[10] "Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful;" but when two persons are sitting together, and are holding converse about the law, the divine presence[11] rests in their midst; for it is said,[12] "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon his name." This refers to two; but suppose only one is sitting engaged in the study of the law, will the Holy One (blessed be he!) appoint him a reward? (certainly), for it is said, "He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him."[13]

---

[1] He belongs to the oldest authorities whose names are given, probably contemporaneous with Gamaliel I.

[2] עָתִיד Bibl. *ready*; in later Hebrew, to denote what shall certainly come to pass in the future.

[3] לִתֵּן, also iv., 10-22; v., 1. The verbs נ"פ and פ"נ form, in the Mishna, the infinitive with ל, without ת, as לִשָּׂא, לִטַּל, לִקַּח.

[4] [*Vermin and worms*, a ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, worms of all kinds.]

[5] [Cf. Matt. xii., 36; xviii., 23; Heb. ix., 27.]

[6] Another reading is Hananya.

[7] In the Bible only the plural סְגָנִים, "suffragans of the priests." He must have lived before the destruction of the temple. From the fact that Chanina is always mentioned with that title, we may infer, with certainty, that he was the last incumbent of that office.

[8] 1 Tim. ii., 1, 2; Jer. xxix., 7.

[9] Another reading is Hananya. His daughter was the famous Berurya, wife of Rabbi Meir. [The Talmud contains many stories concerning her. Her end was tragic. She had ridiculed the saying of the Rabbis, that women were light minded. "By thy life," said her husband, "thou wilt one day admit the truth of their assertion." By his order, one of his disciples laid a snare for her, into which she fell at last; and the consequence was, that she strangled herself.]

[10] It is to be observed that the Talmud, in quoting Scripture, mostly cites only a few words, and not the whole verse (section), and leaves it to the hearer (reader) to supplement the words necessary for the argument. Thus, here, the first two verses of the First Psalm are used as an argument.

[11] שְׁכִינָה, cf. Weber, *Altsynagog. Theologie*, p. 179 sq. [12] Mal. iii., 16. [13] Lam. iii., 28.

Digitized by Google

3. Rabbi Simon[1] said: Three who have eaten at the same table and have not discoursed on the words of the law thereat, are to be considered as if they had eaten of the sacrifices to the dead;[2] for it is said,[3] "All tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean." But three who have eaten at the same table and have discoursed on the words of the law thereat, are to be considered as if they had eaten of the table of the Lord; for it is said,[4] "And he said unto me, this is the table that is before the Lord."

4. Rabbi Chanina,[5] the son of Hachinai, said: He who is wakeful in the night, and walketh on the highway by himself, and giveth his heart to vanity, such an one is guilty against his soul.

5. Rabbi Nehunjah,[6] the son of Ha-kanah, said: Everyone who takes upon himself the yoke of the law, the yoke of the powers that be is removed from him, as well as the yoke of conventional manners. But he who casts off from himself the yoke of the law, then the yoke of the powers that be, as well as that of conventional manners, is laid upon him.

6. Rabbi Halaphta,[7] the son of Dosa, of Cephar Hananyah,[8] said: Ten who sit and are engaged in discoursing on the law, the divine presence rests in their midst; for it is said,[9] "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty." Suppose only five are assembled, (is it the same as with ten? Yes); for it is said,[10] "He hath founded his troop in the earth." And suppose only three (are assembled, it is the same); for it is said,[11] "He judgeth among the gods." Is it so with two? (Yes), for it is said,[12] "They that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard." And is this the case with one? (Yes), for it is said,[13] "In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee."

7*a*. Rabbi Eleazar, of Bartotha,[14] said: Give to him[15] of his own; for thou and what thou hast are his, and thus it is said[16] by David,[17] "For all things are from thee, and of thine own have we given thee."

---

[1] Simon ben Yochai (cf. also iv., 13b; vi., 7), famous pupil of R. Aqiba. For a long time he was regarded as the author of the Sohar, which was, however, composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, by Moses ben Shemtobde Leon. [Cf. Pick arts. *Simon ben Yochai*, in McClintock & Strong's Cyclop., ix., p. 757; also the art. *Moses de Leon*, ibid., vi., p. 689.]

[2] See Ps. cvi., 28. [Cf. Num. xxv., 2.]

[3] Isa. xxviii., 8. The word "place," מקום, means here "God."

[4] Ezek. xli., 22.

[5] A pupil of Rabbi Aqiba.

[6] Teacher of Ismael, a cotemporary with Aqiba. [Cf. Pick, art. *Nechunjah ben Ha-Kanah*, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s. v.]

[7] A cotemporary with Hanina ben Teradyon. § 2*b*.

[8] A place in Galilee. Cf. Ad. Neubauer, *La geographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 178, 22b.

[9] Ps. lxxxii., 1. That ten are necessary to form a congregation (עֲדָה) is inferred from Num. xiv., 27 [where the ten spies are called עֵדָה]. Cf. also *Megilla*, fol. 23, col. 2.

[10] Amos vi., 9.

[11] Ps. lxxxii., 1, אֱלֹהִים are judges. Three belong at least to a court.

[12] Mal. iii., 16. [13] Exod. xx., 24.

[14] According to I. Schwarz, *Das heilige Land* (Frankfort a. M. 1852), p. 161, in Upper Galilee.

[15] i. e., God.

[16] Supply "in the scripture." On the mode of Talmudic quotation cf. W. Surenhusius Βίβλος καταλλαγής. Amst., 1713. [Also Pick, art. *Quotations of the Old Testament in the Talmud*, McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s. v.] The passage referred to here is from 1 Chron. xxix., 14.

[17] In a similar way Jonah iii., 10 is quoted in *Thaaniyoth*, II., 1, by נאמר באנשי נינוה ["concerning the men of Nineveh it is said"]. Cf. Rom. xi., 2, ἐν Ἠλείᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή;

Digitized by Google

7*b*. Rabbi Jacob[1] said: He who is walking on the way musing (on the law), and pauses in his musing, and says, How beautiful is this tree! how beautiful is this farm!—is, according to the Scripture, worthy of death.

8. Rabbi Dosetai,[2] the son of Janai,[3] said, in the name of Rabbi Meïr:[4] He who forgets a single subject of his studies is considered by Scripture as having incurred guilt against his soul; for it is said,[5] "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen." Possibly his study may have overmatched his strength, (what then?); but it is said,[5] "And lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life." Hence he is not worthy of death, except he deliberately lets it depart from his heart.

9. Rabbi Haninah,[6] the son of Dosa,[7] said: Whosoever's fear of sin takes precedence of his wisdom, his wisdom abides; but whosoever's wisdom takes precedence of his fear of sin, his wisdom does not abide. He also said: Whosoever's works exceed his wisdom, his wisdom abides; but whosoever's wisdom exceeds his works, his wisdom will not abide.

10*a*. He also said: With whomsoever the spirit of mankind is pleased, the Spirit of God is also pleased; but with whomsover the spirit of mankind is not pleased, the Spirit of God is also not pleased.

10*b*. Rabbi Dosa,[8] the son of Harchinas, said: Sleep in the morning,[9] wine at noon,[10] and puerile conversation and spending time at places where the ignorant sit, draw a man out of the world.

11. Rabbi Eleazar[11] Hammudai[12] said: He who profanes holy things, and observes not the holy days,[13] and offends his neighbor in public, and sets at naught the covenant of our father Abraham,[14] and gives explanations not in conformity with tradition, though he has in his favor a knowledge of the law and[15] good works, he has no share in the world to come.[16]

12. Rabbi Ishmael[17] said: Be humble before thy superior, gentle towards youth, and receive all men with joy.

13. Rabbi Aqiba said: Jest and frivolity train men for immorality. Tradition

---

1 Generally regarded as father of Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob. Another reading is Simeon.

2 Dositheus.

3 Abbreviated from Jonathan.

4 Rabbi Meïr was a famous disciple of R. Aqiba. [Cf. Pick, art. *Meïr*, in McClintock & Strong.]

5 Deut. iv., 9.

6 Legend ascribes to him the power of miracles. Cf. *Berakhoth*, fol. 33, col. 1; *Thaanith*, fol. 24, col. 2. He lived at the time of Jochanan, the son of Saccai.

7 Abbreviated from Dositheus.

8 Cotemporary of Jochanan, the son of Saccai.

9 When the Shema is to be recited.

10 Not the use of wine itself is forbidden; but the fact that one sits at the wine, instead of working while it is day.

11 He lived at the time of the Adrianic war.

12 Of Modiim, a place situated two hours east of Lydda, often mentioned in the first book of the Maccabees.

13 מועדות already occurs in 2 Chron. viii., 13.

14 Jerus. *Pea*, i., 1, זה שהוא כושך לו ערלה. 1 Macc. i., 15, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας. [Reference is to those who, belonging to the Grecian party, were ashamed of circumcision.]

15 The words ו תורה, "a knowledge of the Law and," are not in the Cambridge codex.

16 Cf. Mishna, *Sanhedrin*, ch. x, where those are enumerated who have no share in the world to come.

17 Ishmael, a cotemporary of R. Aqiba and R. Tarphon.

Digitized by Google

is a fence for the law; giving tithes forms a fence for riches;[1] vows form a fence for abstinence; the fence for wisdom is silence.

14. He also said: Man is beloved, because he was created in the image (of God); a greater love was made known unto him, because he was created in the image;[2] for it is said,[3] "That in the image of God made he man." Israel are beloved, because they are called children; the love was enhanced by it being made known to them that they were called the children of God; for it is said,[4] "Ye are the children of the Lord your God." Israel are beloved, for to them was given a precious instrument;[5] the love was enhanced by it being made known to them that a precious instrument was given to them, by which the world was created; for it is said,[6] "For I give you good doctrine, forsake not my law."

15. Everything is foreseen,[7] and free will is accorded, and the world is judged beneficently, and all according to the majority of works.

16. He used to say, Everything is given on pledge,[8] and a net is spread over every living creature.[9] The mart is open, and the merchant credits, and the ledger is open, and the hand writes down, and whoever desires to borrow, let him come and borrow, but the stewards[10] make constantly[11] their daily rounds, and make man refund, whether he consents to or does not consent, and they have that on which they may support (their claim), and the verdict is a veracious verdict, and everything is prepared for the banquet.[12]

17. Rabbi Eleazar,[13] the son of Azariah, said: Where there is no learning, there can be no proper behavior; where there is no behavior, there can be no learning; where there is no wisdom, there is no reverence; where there is no reverence, there is no wisdom. Where there is no prudence, there is no discretion; where there is no discretion, there is no prudence. Where there is no meal, there is no learning; where there is no learning, there is no meal. He used to say: To what is every one to be compared whose wisdom is in advance of his actions? To a tree whose branches are many, but whose roots are few,[14] and the wind comes and uproots it and overturns it;[15] for it is said,[16] "And he shall be like the destitute one in a desert plain, and shall not see when good cometh; and he shall sit amongst the things parched up in the wilderness, a salt land and not inhabited." But to what may he be compared whose actions are in advance of his wisdom? To a tree whose branches are few, but its roots many; and though all the winds in the world come and blow at it, they cannot make it stir from its place; for it is

---

[1] Cf. *Sabbath*, fol. 119, col. 2, towards the midst: עַשֵּׂר בְּשְׁבִיל שֶׁתִּתְעַשֵּׁר [i. e., give tithes that thou mayest become rich.]

[2] The words "a greater love.....image" are wanting in ancient MSS. and editions, and are probably spurious.

[3] Gen. ix., 6. [4] Deut. xiv., 1.

[5] Here is meant "the Law."

[6] Prov. iv., 2.

[7] צפה used of the eyes of God, Prov. xv., 3. [Cf. Matt. x., 30; Heb. iv., 13.]

[8] [Cf. Matt. xii., 36.] [9] [Cf. Heb. ix., 27.]

[10] [πράκτωρ, Lk. xii., 58; ὑπηρέτης, Matt. v., 25.]

[11] תָּדִיר constantly like the biblical תָּמִיד. Cf. Dan. vi., 17, 21, בְּתָדִירָא.

[12] Cf. Rev. xix., 9, μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι.

[13] President of the Sanhedrim at Jabneh, after the deposition of Gamaliel II.

[14] [Cf. Matt. vii., 26.]

[15] [Cf. Matt. vii., 27.]

[16] Jer. xvii., 6.

Digitized by Google

said,[1] "For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit."

18. Rabbi Eleazar Hisma said: Nesting[2] and the observance of the menses[3] are important constitutions; astronomy and geometry are ornaments of wisdom.

---

[1] Jer. xvii., 8.

[2] קִנִּין "nesting," a Talmudic treatise in the 5. order of the Mishna, treats of birds for sacrifices in accordance with Lev. v., 1-10.

[3] נִדָּה, a treatise of the 6. order of the Mishna. [It treats the subject of the menstruating woman, and occupies 145 pages of the Babylonian Talmud.]

Digitized by Google

WÂTEH-BEN-HAZAEL,

Prince of the Kedarenes about 650 B. C.

By Professor Paul Haupt, Ph. D.

In the account of his expedition against the country of Arabia, king Sardanapalus[1] relates the severe punishment which he inflicted on Wâteh, the son of Hazael, the sheikh of the Kedarenes.[2] After his cousin and namesake, Wâteh, the son of Birdadda, had fled before the victorious Assyrian army unto the Nabatheans, Wâteh-ben-Hazael had come to Nineveh ana kullum tanitti ili Aššûr. Thereupon, the account goes on to say, Sardanapalus placed him in a cage, and bound him with the asi of dogs. Thus, like a watch dog, Wâteh had to keep watch at the great gate of the rising sun[3], that is, at the east side of the wall of Nineveh, which bears the name Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti.

The cuneiform text of the annals which give us the account of this humiliation of Wâteh, is contained in Vol. III. of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, London, 1870, pl. 24, ll. 7–20; in George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, London, 1871, p. 260, ll. 7–18; and finally in Vol. V. of Rawlinson's work, pl. 7, ll. 123/4, and pl. 8, ll. 1–14. The last named text is taken from the new decagon cylinder[4] Rm. 1, which was found by Hormuzd Rassam in the northern palace at Kouyunjik. In transcription, this text reads as follows:

COL. VII. 123. DIŠ[5]-U-a-a-te-' ma-ru-uš-tu im-ḫur-šu-u-ma
e-diš-ši-šu in-na-bit a-na KUR Na-ba-a-a-ti

COL. VIII. 1. DIŠ-U-a-a-te-' TUR-DIŠ-Ḫa-za-DINGIR
TUR-ŠEŠ-AD ša DIŠ-U-a-a-te-' TUR-DIŠ-Bir-DINGIR-IM
ša ra-man-šu iš-ku-nu

[1] Sardanapalus (Greek Σαρδανάπαλλος) reigned at Nineveh from B. C. 668–626. The Assyrian form of the name is Ašûr-bânî-abla or Ašûr-bân-abla, i. e., "the God Assur (is) the begetter of the son." In Ezra iv., 10, the name appears in the corrupt form אָסְנַפַּר (with Aleph qamezatum et metheghatum) Asnappar (not Osnappar). אסנפר stands for אסנ[רב]פר = אסר-בן-פל. See Bosanquet, in Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 337; Schrader KAT. 376; Delitzsch in *Libri Danielis, Ezræ et Nehemiæ*, ed. Baer, Lipsiæ, 1882, pp. vii–ix. Sardanapalus was (cf. V R. 1, 8; 62, 4) the son of Esarhaddon (681—668), the grandson (V R. 1, 25; 4, 126; 62, 7) of Sennacherib (705—681), the great-grandson of Sargon II. (722—705). Esarhaddon (Hebr. אֵסַרְחַדּוֹן, 2 Kgs. xix., 37; Isa. xxxvii., 38; Ezra iv., 2) is = Assyr. Ašûraḫaddina, Ašûr-aḫa-iddina, i. e., "the God Assur gave a brother;" Sennacherib (Greek Σεναχήριβος, Herod. ii., 141 Σαναχάριβος, Hebr. סַנְחֵרִיב) = Assyr. Sinaḫeriba, Sin-aḫe-erib (or erba), i. e., "the Moon-god Sin increased the brothers;" Sargon (Hebr. סַרְגֹּן, Isa. xx., 1) = Assyr. Šarru-kenu "the legitimate king," in Akkadian Šar-gena.

[2] Hebr. בְּנֵי־קֵדָר, Isa. xxi., 17; Pliny, V., 12: *Cedrei*; Greek Κεδραῖοι or Κεδαρηνοί.

[3] Cf. *abullî Shamash*, Lyon, *Sargonstexte*, pp. 38, 67 and 44, 84.

[4] Cf. American Oriental Society: Proceedings at New York, October, 1882, p. ix, No. 5.

[5] The words printed in capitals are Akkadian ideographs. Dish means in Akkadian "man," kur "country" and "mountain," tur "child," dingir "god," shesh "brother," ad "father," im "wind," lugal "king," shar "totality," mesh "multitude," gal "great," sha "and," en "lord," gish "wood," urku "dog," ka "gate," murub "waist" or "zone," uru "city," ki "place." Cf. my *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881/2, p. 164, § 8, and my *Akkadian Glossary*, ib., pp. 148—156.

Digitized by Google

a-na LUGAL-u-ti KUR A-ri-bi
DINGIR-ŠAR LUGAL DINGIR-MEŠ KUR-u GAL-u
ṭe-en-šu u-ša-an-ni-ma
il-li-ka a-di maḫ-ri-ia
a-na kul-lum ta-nit-ti DINGIR-ŠAR
ŠA DINGIR-MEŠ GAL-MEŠ EN-MEŠ-ia
an-nu kab-tu e-mid-su-ma
GIŠ ši-ga-ru aš-kun-šu-ma
it-ti A-SI-UR-KU ar-ku-us-šu-ma
u-ša-an-ṣir-šu KA-GAL MURUB URU-NINÂ-KI
ni-rib mas-naq-ti ad-na-a-ti.

In Assyrian this is to be read:—

COL. VII.
123. U'âte'a maruštu imḫuršû-ma
ediššišu innabit ana mât Naba'âti.

COL. VIII.
1. U'âte'a mâr Ḫazâ'ili,
mâr aḫi abi ša U'âte'a mâr Bir-Dadda,
ša râmânšu iškunu
ana šarrûti mât Aribi,
5. il Ašûr, šar ilâni, šadû rabû,
ṭenšu ušannî-ma
illika adî maḫrî'a
ana kullum tanitti il Ašûr
u ilâni rabûti belê'a.
10. annu kabtu emidsû-ma
šigâru aškunšû-ma
itti ASI kalbi arkussû-ma
ušanṣiršu abulli qabal al Ninu'a
Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti.

George Smith, in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 260, translates as follows: "Vaiteh, misfortune happened to him, and alone he fled to Nabatea. Vaiteh, son of Hazail, brother[1] of the father of Vaiteh son of Birvul,[2] who himself appointed[2] to the kingdom of Arabia; Assur, king of the Gods,[3] the strong and mighty,[3] a decree repeated, and he came to my presence. To satisfy the law of Assur and the great Gods my lords, a heavy judgment took him, and in chains I placed him, and with ASI and dogs I bound him, and caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh Nirib-barnagti-adnati."

1 *was* brother.
2–2 Bir-daddi, whom the people of his country appointed.
3–3 The strong mountain.

Digitized by Google

This translation is repeated in George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, seventh edition, London, 1883, p. 136, ll. 7–18. The unessential corrections which are made there I have indicated in the foot-notes.

M. Joachim Ménant, in his *Annales des rois d' Assyrie*, Paris, 1874, p. 271, renders this passage: "Shamaïti, atteint par les revers, s'enfuit vers le pays de Nabaïti (les Nabathéens). Shamaïti, fils de Haza-ilu, frère du père de Samaïti, fils de Bir-bin, s'étant mis de lui-même à la tête du royaume d'Aribi, Assur le puissant, le terrible, le roi des Dieux, lui donna un ordre et il vint en ma présence. Pour satisfaire aux décrets d'Assur et des Grand-Dieux, mes Seigneurs, il subit un jugement sévère. Je l'ai chargé de chaînes, je l'ai lié avec des ASI et des chiens et je l'ai fait conduire devant les grands portiques de Ninua."—

From these translations, it is not clear why Sardanapalus should have inflicted such a cruel punishment upon Wâteh. For, apparently, the Arabian sheikh was guilty only of having come to Nineveh. At other times, Sardanapalus, like his royal ancestors, showed mercy even to obstinate rebels, when they voluntarily presented themselves at the Assyrian capital.

The king says that he imposed upon Wâteh a heavy annu. Annu is punishment for *sin*. It corresponds to the Hebrew אָוֶן[1] (Num. XXIII., 21; Job XXXVI., 21; Isa. I., 13), and means primarily "worthlessness, iniquity, sinfulness," then also the punishment for this; even as in Hebrew עָוֹן (from עָוָה) Isa. V., 18; עֲוֹלָה Hos. X., 13; and חַטָּאת Zech. XIV., 19 and Prov. XXI., 4 also mean "punishment for sin."

What sin had Wâteh committed? The mention thereof must be contained in the words kullum tanitti il Ašûr. Wâteh came to Nineveh, to kullum the majesty of Assur. It is clear that kullum in this connection cannot mean "satisfy," but "insult, slight." Kullum is the construct state of the Infinitive P'ă"ēl of כלם.[2] Cf. Hebr. נִכְלָמִים 2 Sam. X., 5 and 1 Chron. XIX., 5 (LXX. ἠτιμωμένοι).

But what induced Wâteh to go to Nineveh and insult the national deity of Assyria in the presence of the Assyrian king? The royal annals say, il Ašûr tenšu ušannî. This does not mean, "Assur a decree he repeated" (?!) or "Assur lui donna un ordre," but "The god Assur had smitten him with insanity."

It is true that ušannî may mean "he repeated," corresponding to the Hebr.

---

[1] Assyrian annu, of course, does not come from a stem אוּן, mediæ ו, but from a stem mediæ geminatæ, אנן. Instead of annu we also find (with resolution of the doubling by the insertion of a ר) arnu, construct state aran (e.g. Sennach. Sm. 60, 6). Cf. Hebr. אַרְנֶבֶת *hare*, Lev. XI., 6; Deut. XIV., 7 (Arabic arnab) = annabtu, feminine to Assyr. annabu, an intensive form of the stem אנב *to spring* (Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, London, 1883, p. 65); Aramæan כּוּרְסְיָא *throne* (Arabic kursiyy) for כִּסְּיָא, Hebr. כִּסֵּא, Assyr. kussû (= Akkadian guza); דַּרְמֶשֶׂק in the book of Chronicles for דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Assyrian Dimashqu or Dimmashqu (genitive, *i* or *a*), Arabic Dimashqu and Dimishqu. The construct state of arnu = annu, aran, is *Analogiebildung*. Cf. my remarks in Schrader's *KAT.* pp. 498 and 532/3.

[2] On another stem כלם see Lyon, *Sargonstexte*, p. 73, and Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 51.

Digitized by Google

שָׁנָה, e. g., II R. 39, 9 f, šunnî-šû-ma *repeat it, say it a second time*, Akkadian ša-munni-gu-tab;[1] or *he reported*, corresponding to the Aramæan שַׁנִּי, e. g. allâku ḫanṭu illikâ-ma ušannâ âti (cf. Hebr. אָתִי) *a courier came and reported to me;* ušannî, however, like the Hebrew שָׁנָה, means also "to change, to alter." In *ASKT.* 51, 58/9, therefore, ušannî appears as the synonym of unâkir, from the stem נכר. According to the notations which I have introduced in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 20, n. 3, šunnû *to repeat, to report*, has a שׁ1 (= Arabic ش), while šunnû *to change, to alter*, has a שׁ3 (= Syriac ـــ). With šunnû is connected šinâ *two*, šânû (= šâniyu) *second* (feminine šânîtu); with šunnû *to change*, šattu (construct šanat, plural šanâti) *year* (Aram. שַׁתָּא, constr. שַׁנַת).

Ṭenšu[2] stands for ṭemšu; מ before ד, ט, ת, ס and שׁ was pronounced like נ in Assyrian. Hence we find ṣindu *team, span*, for ṣimdu (צמד);[3] mundaḫṣe *warriors*, for mumdaḫṣe, plural of mundaḫṣu = mundaḫiṣu = mumdaḫiṣu, Participle to amdáḫiṣ = amtáḫiṣ[4] *I fought*, from מחץ, Aramaic מחא;[5] innindu *he was placed*, for innimdu, yan'amidu, Hebr. יַעֲמֹד; mandûdu *length*, for mamdûdu, from madâdu *to be extended*;[6] nindágara *let us listen to each other*, V R. 1, 125, for nimdágara; undînâ, *Nimrod Epic*, 45, 85, for umdînâ, yumtanni'a; perhaps also sându *shoham stone*, for sâmdu, sâmtu, sahmatu (Hebrew שֹׁהַם);[7] uduntu *blood*, for udumtu (אדם), burrûntu *dark-colored* (feminine of burrûmu); ḫanṭu *swift*, for ḫamṭu, from חמט, ḫamâṭu (Imperfect *u*, see Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*, 78, arkišunu ard-ud aḫmuṭ urriḫ, cf. urriḫa kakkešu, V R. 4, 8, a denominal Pā"ēl from urḫu *road, march*) *to flare, to tremble, to hasten;* ušanṭil *I extended*, Imperfect to šumṭulu (*ASKT.* 175) *to extend*, Shaphel of

---

[1] Var. tagh. See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* of June 6, 1882, p. 112, and my *Akkadische Sprache*, Berlin, 1883, p. xxxiii.

[2] Cf. ṭenšunu, Assurbanipal Sm. 249, j; iṣbat ṭenšu, Haupt, *Nimrod Epic*, 60, 12.

[3] Cf. Arabic عندى = Hebrew עִמִּי; HEBRAICA, p. 175, n. 1.

[4] Cf. amdáḫar *I received*, for amtáḫar, Ifte'al of מחר; umdallû *they filled*, for yumtalli'û; umdaššer (Assurb. Sm. 198 undiššer) *I was deserted* for umtaššer, umtaššir (*e* on account of the following ר), reflexive-passive stem of the Pa"el muššuru (see my BAL. 91, 2); tâmdu *sea* = tâmtu, tâmatu, tahmatu, a by-form of ti'âmdu = ti'âmtu, tihâmatu, feminine to the Hebrew תְּהוֹם. Ti'âmdu may be the same word as the Arabic تهامة Tihâme, the name of the sandy stretch of coast along the Red Sea. Cf. the Assyrian name mât Tâmdim or mât Marratim (Hebr. מרתים, Jer. l., 21) for the southernmost part of Lower Babylonia (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 182), and the Greek Πόντος, Latin *Pontus*, for the district in the north-east of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Pontus Euxinus.—For the *e* in umdaššer instead of umdaššir, cf. umaššera, V R. 1, 45 and 112; uštešera V R. 1, 68; 2, 127; 3, 28; 4, 113; 5, 65; Haupt, *Nimrod Epic*, 10, 46; ugammeru, *Tig.*, vi., 57; namerišu, *Tig.*, vii., 100; unammera *I made brilliant*, Esarhaddon (Budge), 74, 48; za'erî'a, *Tig.*, viii., 32; za'erût, *Tig.*, viii., 41, etc., etc.

[5] See my "Beitraege zur assyrischen Lautlehre" in the Goettingen *Nachrichten* of March 3, 1883, p. 97. I cite this essay as *BAL.*

[6] כדד *to measure* (Imperfect imdud, ASKT. 65, 27) is a denominal verb, and means properly "to determine the extension, the length, of a thing."

[7] See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 131, 27.

Digitized by Google

מטל; šanšu *sun*, for šamšu;[1] tanšîlu *likeness*, for tamšîlu, Infinitive Pā"ēl of משל; ḫanšâ *fifty*, for ḫamšâ (Ethiopic ḫamsâ) and ḫanšu *fifth*, for ḫâm(i)šu, kanṣaku for kamṣaku[2] *I bow* from kamâsu, (Impf. ikmis), etc.

Ṭemu is the form qatl of the stem טעם, and stands for ṭa'mu, like belu *lord* (fem. beltu, construct belit, plural beleti = belâti) for ba'lu, Hebr. בַּעַל; remu *mercy*, for raḥmu, Hebr. רַחֲמִים; šeru *morning*, for šaḥru, Hebr. שַׁחַר; ṣeru *wilderness, field*, for ṣaḥru, Arabic صحراء ṣaḥrâ', plural صحارى Sahara; rešu *head*, for ra'šu, Hebr. רֹאשׁ, Aram. רֵאשָׁא; ṣenu *flock*, for ṣa'nu, Hebr. צֹאן. Cf. my *Familiengesetze*, p. 66, and my *BAL.* p. 94, n. 2.

Ordinarily the Assyrian ṭemu means "report, message, order," e. g. ṭemu utîrûni *they brought the message*, cf. Hebrew טַעַם, Jonah III., 7.[3] In the combination ṭemu ušannî, however, ṭemu, like the Hebr. טַעַם, means "understanding, intellect."[4] Ṭenšu ušannî[5] accordingly means "he altered his intellect," or "alienated his reason," "deprived him of reason." The expression answers exactly to the Hebr. וַיְשַׁנּוֹ אֶת-טַעְמוֹ, 1 Sam. XXI., 14; cf. לְדָוִד בְּשַׁנּוֹתוֹ אֶת-טַעְמוֹ[6] in the superscription of Ps. XXXIV. So also in Syriac we have the expression שְׁנִי טַעֲמֵהּ *mutavit saporem suum*, for "he pretended to be insane," and the Participle Qal שָׁנֵיא means *insipidus, delirus, insanus*, whence שְׁנִיוּתָא *amentia, insania*.

---

[1] Cf. Hebrew נשׁה *to forget* = Assyrian mašû, Imperfect imšî *he forgot;* דָּשֵׁן *fat* = Arabic dasim, etc. The ן in these stems is due to a partial assimilation of the מ to the dental sibilant.

[2] See my remarks in Dr. Flemming's *Nebukadnezar*, p. 38, 62.

[3] Cf. also IV R. 67, 58a (*SFG.* 64, 7) and *ib.* 54, 8–12a = Smith *Assurbanipal*, 297: ana elî ša šarru belî'a ṭe-e-me iškunannî umma: ṭem ša Arabi mala tašimmû šuprâ alakti-šî (in Hebrew transcription אן עלי ששר בעלי טעכא ישכנני אם טעם שערב) *on account of the fact that the king my lord gave orders to me, saying:* "*News of the Arabians, which thou hearest, send here* (properly *this way*)." Compare moreover Assurb. Sm. 38, 13: urruḫiš ṭemu aškunšunûti; ib. 124: išâkanka ṭemu; 134 uqâ'û pân šikin ṭemî'a; 154 idâgalû pân šakân ṭemî'a; 172 iškunšunûti ṭemu; 180 ušannušu šikin ṭemî'a; 198 and 248 ṭe-e-mu ša Elamti; Haupt's *Nimrod Epic* 1, 6 ub-la ṭe-e-ma.

[4] Cf. ša lâ îšû ṭemu u milki, Sennacherib Sm. 116, 23; lâ râš ṭemi u milki, ib. 111, 3; ṭemi u milki Assurb. Sm. 9, 2 (V R. 17, 4 and 5 c), etc., etc.

[5] Cf. also ṭenšu tušannû III R. 35, No. 6. l. 60 = Smith, *Assurbanipal*. 292 x.; ušannî ṭenša Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestuecke*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 83, 5; III R. 38, 12 and 13:—Kudurnanḫundi Elamû ša nîš ilâni rabûti lâ [išṣuru] ša ina ša-ni-e ṭe-e-me ana emûq râmânišu [ittaklu] *Kudurnanhundi, the Elamite, who did not* [*keep*] *the oath of the great gods, who, in the distortion of his mind,* [*trusted*] *in his own power.* Assurbanipal Sm. 135: nikis qaqqadi Te'umman belišunu qirib ali Ninua emurû-ma ša-ni-e ṭe-e-mi iṣbatsunûti. Umbadarâ ibqumaziqnâšu (cf. ibâqam ziknâšu ib. 142 and qaqqaru ušešir ina ziqnišu ib. 161 and V R. 4, 29; for the form ziqnâšu with long â before the suffix cf. arnâšu V R. 3, 17, and ḫîṭâšu Deluge IV, 15) Nabû-damiq ina paṭri parzilli šibbišu isḫula karassu *When they saw the cutting off of the head of Te'umman, their lord, in the city of Nineveh, fury overcame them: Umbadara tore his beard, Nebodamiq with the iron sword of his girdle pierced through his own body.* Cf. also Sennacherib Sm. 119, 23: ušannû milik ṭemišu.

[6] מ with Dagesh orthophonicum; cf. Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, § 40.

Digitized by Google

Accordingly I translate the whole passage as follows: When misfortune overtook Wâteh (the son of Birdadda) he fled alone to the land of the Nabatheans. Wâteh, the son of Hazael, however—the cousin of Wâteh-mâr-Birdadda, who had made himself king of Arabia—the god Assur, the king of the gods, the great mountain, alienated his reason, so that he came into my presence to slight the majesty of the god Assur and the great gods, my lords. A heavy penalty I imposed upon him, placing him in a cage and binding him fast together with young (?) dogs. Thus I made him watch at the great gate of the wall of Ninua (which bears the name) Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti.

I add a few words for the explanation of the text.

Col. VII., l. 123.—The name Wâteh is written in Assyrian U-a-a-te-'. It is evidently the nomen agentis of an Arabic verb primæ و and tertiæ gutturalis (ا, ء, ح, ع, or غ) perhaps = واتع or واتح. The *e* in Uâte'u represents the pronunciation of the *i* before a guttural.[1] Instead of U-a-a-te-'u we find in other passages I-a-u-ta-'u, e. g. III R. 34, 23 and 28a, 34 and 37b (Assurbanipal Sm., 283, 87; 287, 22 and 27). Iauta'u seems to correspond to an Arabic form يَوْتَع,[1] a name like יִצְחָק,[2] יִקְטָן, יַעֲקֹב, יִדְלָף, יִבְשָׁם, יָאִיר (afterwards מָאִיר,[3] i. e. the frequent name of German Jews, *Meyer*), also יְהוֹה. Cf. also the name of the Arabian tribe I-sa-am-me[4]-'u (this was read Ishâme'u, with ש, at the time of Sardanapalus, see my *BAL.*) V R. 8, l. 110, i. e. يِسَمع,[5] with an accented *a*-vowel after the first stem-consonant, a formation like the Assyrian išábir *he breaks*, inádin *he gives*, irábiṣ *he couches*, etc. (*BAL.* 98), or the Ethiopic isámĕ', isábĕr, etc. Accordingly this oldest Semitic verbal form[6] of which I have treated in my article in vol. x. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1878, p. 244 seq., was still in existence, at least in proper names, at the time of Sardanapalus not only in Assyrian and Ethiopic, but also in Arabic dialects. The name Isáme'u is a positive proof for this fact.

U-a-a-te-'u is the form qâtil or Participle, and I-a-u-ta-'u the form yaqtalu or Imperfect, of the stem ותא; the relation is the same as between יָאִיר and מָאִיר. But that I-a-'i-lu-u, Ia'ilû on the Esarhaddon Cylinder (I R. 46, 20a), as is generally assumed,[7] is only a modification of the same name,

---

[1] Cf. the Arabic imperfect forms يورع yaura'u, يوجل yaujalu, يوجع yauja'u, يوجى yaujâ, يوحم yauhamu, etc.

[2] Cf. F. Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur hebraeischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 140; Stade, *Hebraeische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, § 259a.

[3] Cf. Lagarde, *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, Lipsiæ, 1874, p. 154.

[4] *E* instead of *i* again, on account of the following guttural.

[5] Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 298, reminds us of the biblical name מִשְׁמָע Gen. xxv., 14; 1 Chron. i., 30; cf. also 1 Chron. iv., 25.

[6] Cf. also Koenig, *Aethiopische Studien*, Leipzig 1877, pp. 82/3.

[7] See, e. g., Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 298; Budge, *Esarhaddon*, 52; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. I., Stuttgart, 1884, p. 550. Cf., on the other hand, Schrader, *KGF.* 54.

Digitized by Google

I regard as impossible. U-a-a-te-'u[1] mâr Ḫa-za-ili was evidently a brother of Ia'ilû. The latter name is combined by Schrader (*KAT.* 25, n.) with the Hebr. יוֹאֵל; ilû, however, cannot be = אֵל, but represents, as appears from the long û at the end, אֱלָהּ, Arabic ilâhun; so that Ia'ilû is = יְהוֹ+אֱלָהּ, i. e. "Yah is God."

maruštu corresponds to the Akkadian nin-giga (Sumerian am-giga); see *ASKT.* 43, 38, and compare Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 186, 76. It is a form like šamuktum, II R. 32, 32c, or anuntu, V R. 9, 82.

imḫuršû-ma means literally "it was over against him, it faced him." On the stem מחר see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 124/5. The length of the *u* in the suffix šû is owing to the influence of the enclitic ma *and*. That the suffix šu also in other cases has a long vowel cannot be proved.

Line 124.—edišši-šu *he alone* is a denominative derivative from edu *one* (= âdu, a'adu, aḥadu) Hebr. אֶחָד (= aḥḥad).

innabit is the Imperfect Niphal from abâtu *to perish* = Hebr. אבד, where the ד is due to a partial assimilation of the ת to the ב, as in כָּבֵד *heavy* = Assyr. kab(i)tu. See my article in the *Andover Review* of July, 1884, "The Language of Nimrod, the Kashite," p. 98, n. 1. innabit stands for ינאבת in'abit, see my *Familiengesetze*, p. 10, 1. This regressive assimilation of the first stem-consonant takes place only with stems פ"א; cf. innamir *he was seen*, from אמר, innitqa (= ינאתק) *he was carried away*, from אתק = עתק (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 304), innirišu *it is planted* = ينغرش (yan'arašu, yan'erašu, yan'erišu, innerišu, innirišu) IV R. 7, 53a, innimmedu *it is placed* = Hebr. יֻעֲמַד IV R. 7, 54a.[2] In other cases the prefix נ is assimilated to the first stem-consonant, even in the case of stems פ"י, e. g. i'aldû *they were born* (IV R. 15, 22a and 2b) for iwwaldû (Hebr. יִוָּלְדוּ) = inwalidû.[3] We find also the same formation from אבת, with a somewhat different signification, however: ekallâti i'abtâ *the palaces were ruined* (*Tig.* VI. 99, sing. 'i-a-bit, VIII. 4). i'abtâ is = יאבתא, with tešdîded א, and this = ינאבתא, with assimilation of the vowelless נ to the following א. Cf. also Haupt, *ASKT.* 76, 2 and 10.

Na-ba-a-a-ti is to be read neither Nabâti nor Nabaiti, but Naba'âti;[4] so also ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia *my return* ta'ârtî'a, da-a-a-nu *judge* da'ânu, ḫa-a-a-al-tu *army* (*KAT.* 74) ḫa'âltu, da-a-a-aš-tu *treading* da'âštu, not târtî'a, dânu, ḫâltu, dâštu. a-a, after a syllable ending in *a*, is not the sign of prolongation only, but â with preceding hiatus.[5] Naba'âti stands for Nabayâti,

---

[1] Schrader, in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of March 4, 1880, p. 276, reads Uaiti' and considers it a diminutive form.

[2] Cf. *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*, vol. I., Munich, 1884, p. 286, ll. 53 and 54.

[3] Cf. V R. 1, 27: ashar Assurahaddin abu bani'a qiribshu i'aldu, *where Esarhaddon the father my begetter had been born;* Haupt, *Nimrod Epic*, p. 5, l. 23.

[4] Cf. the form Ni-ba-'-a-ti, Niba'âti, IV R. 54, 13a (Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 297, 13).

[5] Cf., however, sa-a-a-i-du (with ص) *ASKT.* 32, 76?; *SFG.* 64, 6.

Digitized by Google

Hebr. נְבִיוֹת. In Assyrian, intervocalic ' becomes א; cf. â'u *who* (*SFG.* 64, 7) = ayyu, zâ'iru *enemy*, ḫâ'iru *husband*, dâ'išu *crushing*, = zâyiru, ḫâyiru, dâyišu;[1] uqâ'iš *I presented* = uqâyiš, uqayyiš; qâtâ'a *my hands*, înâ'a *my eyes*, šepâ'a *my feet*, birkâ'a *my knees*, dîmâ'a *my tears*, idâ'a *my arms*, = qâtâya, înâya, etc.; pânû'a *my face*, abû'a *my father*, râšû'a *my head*, (*Sennacherib*, V. 56) = pânúya, abúya, ra'šúya; Kaldâ'a *Chaldean* = Kašdáya;[2] re'u *shepherd* = reyu, ra'yu;[3] išâ'u (V R. 8, 88) or išе'u[4] *he seeks* = išâyu (iša'yu, iša'ayu) etc., etc.

Col. VIII., l. 1.—On mâru *child* (fem. mârtu *daughter*) see my remarks in Schrader's *KAT.* 508, s. v. מאר.

Ḫazâ'ilu is = חֲזָאֵל, also written חֲזַהְאֵל. See Schrader, *KAT.* 551, s. v. חזאל. The writing Ḫa-za-a-ilu (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 304) III R. 24, 9a, is a mistake for Ḫa-za-ilu-a; and *a* in this case is the Akkadian ideogram for ablu, construct abil, bil, bal (= Aram. בַּר!) *son* (Akkadian ibila).

Line 2.—Whether the Akkadian ideogram tur-šeš-ad or a-šeš-ad *child* (or *son*) *of the brother of the father*, was read in Assyrian mâr aḫi abi, or whether it was reproduced by a single word for "cousin," cannot be decided.

Birdadda is the Old Testament name בֶּן הֲדַד. The name signifies "son of Dadda," the Syrian god of the atmosphere, Adad in Macrobius, sat. 1, 23 (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 750). Cf. Schrader, *KGF.* 539; *KAT.* 454; Theo. G. Pinches "Upon the name Ben-hadad," in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology of Feb. 6, 1883, p. 71. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 298) combines the name Birdadda with the name of one of the three friends of Job, בִּלְדַּד הַשּׁוּחִי. Bil in Bildad represents the intermediate steps between the Assyrian ablu, (a)bil, and the Aramæan בַּר.[5] In the latter the vowel *a* is due to the influence of the ר; cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 17; *Syrische Grammatik*, § 54. The Aramæan בַּר, therefore, is not a dialectical modification of בֵּן,[6] but an Akkadian loan-word. That Assyrian ablu *son*, is of Akkadian origin[7] I

[1] Cf. HEBRAICA, p. 179.

[2] Cf. the Biblical Aramæan קְרִי: כַּשְׂדָּאֵי, plural כַּשְׂדָּאֵי, for the כְּתִיב: כַּשְׂדָּיֵא, כַּשְׂדִּיֵא, etc. See Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen*, Leipzig, 1884, § 11, 1b.

[3] See my article in the *Andover Review*, l. c., p. 97, n. 2.

[4] The א in išе'u stands for ', but the א in the imperfect tash'u-m *Deluge*, I., 7 (*ASKT.* 55, 4), is an א = y. The א in the Infinitive Ifta"al shite'u or shute'u and in the Participle mushte'u or multe'u, again is = ', multe'u is = multeyu, multa'(i)yu. multene'u is = multane'u multaneyu, multana'yu, mushtana'iyu.

[5] Cf. the Syriac forms: בְּרִי *my son*, בְּרָכוֹן *your son*, בְּרְהוֹן *their son* (not בַּרְכוֹן, בַּרְהוֹן with *a*); the *i* here is the original vowel, Noeldeke's *Syrische Grammatik*, §§ 146 and 54.

[6] Cf. Fleischer, in Levy's *Neuhebraeisches Woerterbuch*, vol. I., Leipzig, 1876, p. 287.

[7] Friedrich Delitzsch in his review of Dr. Hommel's essay *Die sumero-akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhaeltnisse* (Separatabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung*) in a recent number of the Leipzig *Literarisches Centralblatt* thinks ablu a genuine Semitic word, as well as gushuru *beam*, labiru *old*, turahu *steinbock*, qanu *reed*, etlu and etelu *lord*, etc. I, however, still maintain that ablu is of Akkadian origin.

Digitized by Google

have already maintained in *SFG.* 9; cf. also Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 2; Haupt, *ASKT.* 184. The word ṭbira, which in Akkadian means "field-laborer," seems also to be related to this Akkadian ibila *son*; cf. *ASKT.* 214, No. 70.

Lines 3 and 4.—ša râmânšu iškunu ana šarrûti mât Aribi *who had made himself king of Arabia* (ana šarrûti literally *to the kingdom*) refers not to Wâteh the son of Hazael, but to Wâteh the son of Birdadda, who had fled to the Nabatheans. The successor of Hazael had been, first, his son Ia'ilû. After the death of the latter, as it seems, his brother Wâteh-ben-Hazael had the next claim to the throne; but the cousin of Ia'ilû and Wâteh-ben-Hazael, Wâteh-ben-Birdadda, usurped the dominion.

râmânu means literally "highness" (stem רום) and then like nafs *soul*, in Arabic, or rees *head*, in Ethiopic, it is used as a reflexive pronoun. Cf., e. g., Arabic القيت نفسى في دجلة alqaitu nafsî (or bi-nafsî) fî Dijlata *I threw myself into the Tigris;* Ethiopic rassáya reesô káma za-idáwî *he gave himself out to be ill, pretended illness* (German, *er stellte sich an wie einer, der krank ist*), Dillmann, *Ethiopic Chrestomathy*, p. 24, l. 4. See also Siegfried, *Lehrbuch der neuhebräischen Sprache*, Karlsruhe, 1884, §§ 31 and 90d.

šadû rabû (Akkadian kur-gal, IV R. 27, 15a) *the great mountain* or *rock*, is a common epithet of Assur and Bel in Assyrian, e. g., Sennach. Sm. 2, 4; 4, 2; 6, 10, etc. Cf. Ps. XVIII., 3:—יְהוָה סַלְעִי ... אֵלִי צוּרִי אֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ, *Yahveh is my rock.... my God, my mountain*[1] *wherein I find refuge.* צור is = Aram. טור *mountain.*[2] Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, London, 1883, p. 48, calls attention to the Assyrian proper name Ilušadû'a *God is my rock* or *mountain.* He also regards the Hebrew שַׁדַּי as only an intensive form of this Assyrian šadû. But this I still consider doubtful.

Line. 7.—illika *he came*, does not stand, as is commonly assumed, for i'lika, with assimilation of the aspirate, but it is an analogical formation after the stems פ"ן. The Hebrew יֵלֵךְ, on the other hand, is an analogical formation after the stems פ"י.

Line 8.—tanittu *majesty*, stands for tanidtu, taniddâtu, tanihdatu, stem נהד, from which we have na'idu *lofty.* Cf. *SFG.* 29, 4; Assurb. Sm. 7, 36; 248; 318; V R, 1, 36; *KGF.* 165, 27, etc., etc. Alongside of tanittu there also occurs tanâtu. This stands for tanâttu = tanâdtu = tanâdatu = tanahdatu. The plural is tanâdâti.

Line 10.—kabtu is syncopated from kabitu (intransitive participle of kabâtu) whence its construct state is kabit, and the feminine kabittu. Cf. namru (construct namir, feminine namirtu) *bright, clear* = Arabic نمر

---

[1] Cf. the use of רוֹמֵם in בְּצוּר יְרוֹמְמֵנִי Psalm xxvii. 5; מִן־קָמַי תְּרוֹמְמֵנִי Psalm xviii., 49.

[2] Cf. the name Ταῦρος, Taurus, Kiepert, *Manual of Ancient Geography*, London, 1881, p. 20. See also Olshausen, in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy of July 10, 1879, p. 559.

Digitized by Google

namir, damqu, feminine damiqtu *propitious*, gamru, feminine gamirtu *complete*, qardu, feminine qarittu *valiant;* baṭlu, feminine baṭiltu *ceasing*, šadlu, feminine šadiltu *wide*, etc., etc.

Line 11.—In ši-ga-ru the *a* is long, as appears from the orthography ši-gar-ru, col. VIII. 111 (Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 281, 93, si-gar-ru with סַ (?)), hence šigâru. The word is not of Semitic origin, as is supposed by Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, p. 46, but is an Akkadian loan-word. The Akkadian form is sigar = Sumerian simar. Cf. *ASKT.* 43, 40; II R. 23, 32c; IV R. 17, 5a; 18, 28b; 20, No. 2, 3. In Ezek. XIX., 9 this Akkadian sigar *cage*, appears in the form סוּגַר: וַיִּתְּנֻהוּ בַסּוּגַר בַּחַחִים וַיְבִיאֻהוּ אֶל־מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל — *posueruntque eum in cavea cum uncinis* (*per nares transfixis*) *et duxerunt eum ad regem Babyloniæ*. Cf. *Liber Ezechielis*, ed. Baer, Lipsiæ, 1884, p. xv. בן אשר punctuates this ἅπαξ λεγόμενον as בַּסּוּגַרוֹ מלרע; בן נפתלי, on the other hand, as בַּסּוּגַרוֹ מלעיל. Instead of סוגר, however, we should read סיגר.

Line 12.—itti asi kalbi arkuššu *I bound him with the asi of dogs*. itti can only mean "along with," "at the side of," not "with the aid of." For the latter we should have ina, not itti. Accordingly asi cannot mean "chain" or "collar," but must be a particular kind of dog, perhaps the young of dogs, pups, puppies.[1] The Assyrian word for "pup" seems to be mîrânu (for مهران) a derivative of mâru, mîru, mûru *young, child;* cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, p. 36; Schrader, *KAT.* 346, 8. mâru and mîrânu are connected with the verb umâ'eru, Participle mumâ'er, etc. Whether asi be an Akkadian ideogram, or an Assyrian word phonetically written, cannot be decided.

ittu (Hebr. אֵת) is, as I pointed out in the last number of the HEBRAICA, p. 178, n. 5, the feminine to idu *hand, side*, and therefore stands for idtu; cf. ṣimidtu *team*, for ṣimittu, ilittu *birth*, for ilidtu, kišittu *property*, for kišidtu, abuttu *field-labor*, for abudtu (Hebr. עֲבֹדָה), ma'attu for ma'adtu, fem. of ma'adu *much* (cf. Hebr. מְאֹד), Hebr. אַחֵת aḥḥát (Geez, aḥattî) for aḥḥádt, fem. of אֶחָד *one*, Ethiopic walatt *daughter* = waladt, ולדת, Arab. 'abattu *I have served* for عبدت 'abadtu. idtu is a form like bintu *daughter*, V R. 2, 70. The plural itâti alongside of idâti (cf. Delitzsch, in Lotz's *Tiglathpileser*, 116) is an analogical form. Cf. above our remarks on aran, construct state of arnu = annu, p. 219, n. 1. That the Hebrew אֵת cannot be the feminine of the Assyrian ina (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, Göttingen, 1884, p. 226) I have already remarked, *ASKT.* 194.

arkus-šu *I bound him*. Generally s+š, just like š+š, s+š, z+š, becomes *ss*; e. g. ulabbissu *I clothed him* for ulabbiš-šu, murussu (IV R. 29, 50c; *SFG.* 26, 7) *his sickness* for muruṣ-šu (murṣu, = Arabic مرض marad, Aram. מַרְעָא), izûssu *he allotted to him* for izûz-šu, iqîssu *I presented to him* for

[1] Cf. on the other hand Budge, *The History of Esarhaddon*, London, 1880, p. 133, s. v. ASI, and Delitzsch's *Assyrische Studien*, p. 35; Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 198, n. 3.

Digitized by Google

iqîš-šu (*ASKT.* 46, 35 and 36), rupussa *her width* for rupuš-ša (*Deluge*, I. 26; *Sennacherib Sm.* 163, 23) etc., etc. The verb רכס *to bind together, to bind to*, which is quite common in Assyrian, occurs in the Old Testament in only two places, namely, Exod. XXVIII., 28; XXXIX., 21:—וְיִרְכְּסוּ אֶת־הַחֹשֶׁן מִטַּבְּעֹתָיו אֶל־טַבְּעֹת הָאֵפוֹד בִּפְתִיל תְּכֵלֶת, *and they shall bind the Hoshen* (i. e. the breast-plate of the high-priest) *from its rings to the rings of the ephod with threads of violet-purple.*

Line 13. - ušanṣir is the Shaphel of naṣâru, Imperfect iṣṣur, Imperative uṣur. As a rule, vowelless נ, as in Hebrew, is assimilated to the following consonant; e. g. appu *face*, šattu *year*, šuttu *sleep, dream*, aššatu *wife*, nappašu *air-hole*, maṣṣartu *watch*, maddattu *tribute* (= mandantu), zibbatu *tail*, libittu *brick*, imittu *right side* (feminine to imnu = yaminu), kettu *righteousness*, akkis *I cut off*, aqqur *I destroyed*, assuḫ *I carried away*, abbî *I called*, taššuka *she bit*, iššiq *he kissed*, iddin *he gave*, aššî *I lifted up*, ikkir *he was hostile*, izziz *he established himself*, etc., etc. Cf. Hebrew אַפַּיִם (Aram. אַנְפִּין), שְׁנָה (Aram. שַׁתָּא), שִׁנָּה (Aram. שְׁנַתָּא), אִשָּׁה (Aram. אַנְתְּתָא), Arabic منفس manfas, Aram. מַטַּרְתָּא, Hebr. מִדָּה Neh. v., 4 (Aram. Ezra IV., 13; VII., 24 מִנְדָּה, Syriac מַדַּ[אְתָּא *SFG.* 16, 4), Hebr. לְבֵנָה, זָנָב (Aram. לִבְנְתָּא, לִבְתָּא), יָמִין, בֵּן (Aram. כְּאנָא, כֵּינָא), Aram. נְכַס, Hebr. קְרֶקֶר, נָבָא, נָסַח (Aram. נְשַׁךְ, נָתַן, נָשָׂא, נָכַר, Ethiopic nâzáza (*KAT.* 511, s. v. נזז).

Instances in which the נ is retained as in enzu *goat* (Hebr. עֵז, Arabic عنز) bintu *daughter*, enšu *feeble*, mandattu *tribute*, manzazu *resting place*, sinûntu or (with partial regressive assimilation of the feminine ת) sinûndu *swallow* (Aram. סְנוּנִיתָא), etc., are relatively rare. In the stem נצר we find also in Hebrew, as is well known, alongside of יצר (with assimilation of the נ) the uncontracted form יִנְצֹר.

ka-gal means in Akkadian "large gate." In the vocabulary Sm. 12 (V R. 13) which treats of the different kinds of watches, this word is rendered in Assyrian by abullu. We find, in line 19, Akkadian ennun-kagal = Assyr. mâṣarti abulli. mâṣartu is = maṣṣartu, manṣartu, like mâdattu *tribute* = maddattu, mandantu, from nadânu *to give*. abullu is the Aram. אַבּוּלָא *city-gate, entrance in the city-wall*, which has usually been wrongly connected with the Greek ἐμβολή. Cf. Delitzsch, in the Additions to the German edition of George Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 298; *Hebrew and Assyrian*, p. 24, n. 1.

qablu (Akkadian murub, synon. ib) is usually translated "midst," being probably regarded as a metathesis of the Arabic qalb *heart*. But how can an אַבּוּלָא be in the midst of a city? In the bilingual fragment IV R. 29, No. 2, qablu is found along with qaqqadu *head* (cf. Hebr. קָדְקֹד), napištu (plural

Digitized by Google

napšâti) *soul* (Hebr. נֶפֶשׁ, plur. נְפָשׁוֹת; Aram. נְפֵשׁ,[1] נַפְשָׁא, plur. נַפְשָׁתָא), kišâdu (plur. kišâdâti = Ethiopic kĕsâdât) *neck*, irtu[2] *breast*, and qâtu *hand*. In the legend of the descent of the goddess Istar into Hades (IV R. 31, 54a) we read that, after having passed through the fifth gate, the keeper of the Under-world took from the goddess šibbu ša qabliša. šibbu is, as we have already mentioned in the HEBRAICA, p. 175, the "girdle;" qablu must therefore mean, as a part of the body, "waist." The qablu of a city, however, is the *enceinte* or surrounding wall. In Assurbânipal, Smith, 317a, (cf. III R. 34, col. b, 50), therefore, qablu has the determinative BAD *wall*, Assyr. dûru: dûr qabal ali ša Ninua. qabal tâmdi, likewise, does not mean the midst of the ocean, but the zone of the sea immediately surrounding the continent, the sea near the shore. This is important for geographical statements in the cuneiform inscriptions. The Phœnician city Arados (Hebr. אַרְוָד) for example, is called al Armada ša qabal tâmdim,[3] i. e. it was situated on an island near the continent. Also the island of Cyprus to be sure is frequently called mât Atnâna ša qabal tâmdim; see Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 291.

---

[1] נֶפֶשׁ is not = נֶפֶשׁ, and this = nafsh, but stands for nafish, the regular construct state of napishu, whence נַפְשָׁא *soul* is syncopated, just as kabitu *heavy*, gamiru *complete*, namiru *clear*, etc. (fem. kabittu, gamirtu, namirtu; constr. state masc. kabit, gamir, namir) become in Assyrian kabtu, gamru, namru, etc. Similarly מֶלֶךְ *king* is not = מֶלֶךְ = malk, but = malik and מַלְכָּא *the king* is syncopated from malika (= Assyr. ma-li-ki, Lyon, 13, 17); cf. also Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, § 191 a, n. 1. Both נֶפֶשׁ, נַפְשָׁא and מֶלֶךְ, מַלְכָּא are formations like כֹּתֶף, כַּתְפָּא (originally כַּתִפָּא) *shoulder*. מַלְכָּא (originally כַּלְכָּא) appears in Arabic, as is well known, as malikun, and for נַפְשָׁא we have still in Assyrian the intransitive feminine form napishtu, plural napshati for napishati.

Noeldeke, in his *Syrische Grammatik*, § 93, says: "Die einsylbige Grundform qatl, &c., wirft, wo keine Endung antritt, bei starken Wurzeln den Vocal hinter den 2. Radical (!), z. B. מֶלֶךְ fuer malk; קֹדֶשׁ qedosh fuer qudsh." This is not correct. The *i* in melik, as we have seen, is not the attenuation of the characteristic vowel of the first syllable, but rather the characteristic intransitive vowel of the form qatilu; and qedosh stands not for qodsh, qudsh, but for quḍush. As I have remarked in my BAL. p. 90, the Assyrian Segholate forms qatlu, qitlu, qutlu have in the construct state qatal, qitil, qutul, e. g. abnu *stone*, aban; pagru *corpse*, pagar (e. g. V R. 2, 116 and 118; 3, 9); karshu *stomach*, karash; qarnu *horn*, qaran; zikru *name*, zikir; ziqpu *point*, ziqip; niklu *art*, nikil; riksu *band*, rikis; kibsu *step*, kibis; uznu *ear*, uzun; mursu (with ض) *sickness*, murus; lubshu *garment*, lubush; puhru *totality* (with خ) puhur, etc., etc. Syriac forms like תְּרֵעָא, תַּרְעָא *door*, פְּגַר, פַּגְרָא *corpse*, צְפַר, צַפְרָא *morning*, etc., correspond exactly to such Assyrian formations as pagru, pagar, etc.; similarly רְגַל, רַגְלָא *foot*, and פְּלַג, פַּלְגָא *half*, to Assyrian zikru, zikir; riksu, rikis, etc., etc. Formations like בְּעַל, בַּעְלָא *lord*, כְּרַס, כַּרְסָא *stomach*, צְלַם, צַלְמָא *image*, טְעַם, טַעְמָא *taste*, *reason*, on the other hand, are based on the analogy of נֶפֶשׁ, נַפְשָׁא, כֹּתֶף, כַּתְפָּא, מֶלֶךְ, מַלְכָּא, etc., etc. Kautzsch's statement (*Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen*, § 54) "Die Hauptform des Singular pflegt den charakteristischen Vocal hinter den zweiten Stammconsonanten zu werfen" is, therefore, not accurate. I shall treat of this question shortly in a special article.

[2] Irtu (construct irat) could be a formation like biltu (construct bilat, cf. בְּלֹא Ezra iv., 13, 20; vii., 24) *tribute* (*KAT.* 377) from יבל, or rather ובל. Cf. יְהִיר (Prov. xxi., 24; Hab. ii., 5) = Germ. *sich bruestend, sich in die Brust werfend*. Cf. also Flemming, *Nebukadzenar II.*, Goettingen, 1883, p. 33, 36.

[3] Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 281, and for the מ in the Assyrian form Armad, my *BAL.* 88, 2.

Digitized by Google

[While correcting the proofs, I have noticed that Mr. Ernest A. Budge, in his *History of Esarhaddon*, London, 1880, p. 41, l. 3, has already translated, "In front of the great gate at the *border* of the city of Nineveh;" Assyrian (according to his transcription): ina di-khi ABULLI GABAL AL-sa NINUA, D. A.; and in the foot-note on the same page he adds, "Compare ina BAB tsi-it, D. P., Sam-si GABAL, D. P., NINUA, D. A. u-sa-an-tsir-su, D. P., si-ga-ru. "In the gate of the rising sun, at the border of Nineveh, I caused him to be guarded in wooden bonds." Similarly, p. 33, l. 9: Ca-sid D. P., Tsi-du-un-ni sa ina GABAL tam-tiv "the conqueror of Tsidon, which (is) upon the border of the sea." In the glossary, p. 139, Mr. Budge combines this GABAL with the Hebrew גְּבוּל or גְּבוּלָה. P. 35, ll. 15 and 16, on the other hand, he translates sa la-pa-an D. P., CACCI-ya ina KABAL tam-tiv in-nab-tu "who from before my weapons into the *midst* of the sea had fled;" similarly, p. 79, l. 12, sa a-khi tam-tiv u GABAL tam-tiv "of the sea-coast and the *middle* of the sea;" and p. 159, s. v. Yātnana, ina kabal tamti erib Samsi "in the *middle* of the sea of the setting sun" (i. e. Mediterranean). He seems to assume two different words; one gablu, with ג (cf. V R. 28, 84 h), and the other qablu, with ק. Since Mr. Budge's laborious work has been censured beyond measure, I take pleasure in being able to state that I consider *The History of Esarhaddon* fully as good as George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal* and the *History of Sennacherib* by the same scholar. I could not, I am sorry to say, study Mr. Budge's book before the beginning of April of this year. Of his remarks which seem to me worthy of note, I should like to point out among others, the combining of citu or kitû with Chaldee כִּתוּנָא, Greek χιτών (p. 137),[1] ummânu *army* with Hebrew הָמוֹן (p. 158),[2] šadû *mountain* with Arabic سَدّ or سُدّ (p. 152),[3] dadme *dwelling places* with אֶדֶם (p. 137), and lalû[4] with Akkadian lal *to fill* (p. 145), etc.]

Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti was the name of the eastern gate of the wall of Nineveh. Col. IX. 108, king Sardanapalus relates of Wâteh-ben-Hazael's cousin, Wâteh-ben-Birdadda, who at last had fallen into the hands of the Assyrians: ulli kalbi addîšû-ma ina abulli ṣît šanši ša qabal ali Ninua ša Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti nabû zikirša ušanṣiršu šigâru *I placed on him a dog-collar, and at the gate of the rising of the sun of the wall of the city of Nineveh, (the gate) whose name they call* Nerib-masnaqti-adnâti *I left him to keep guard in a cage.*

---

[1] Compare my remarks on p. 181 of the HEBRAICA, n. 3.

[2] Cf. Lyon, *Sargonstexte*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 77, 71: "Das Wort ummanu *Heer*, welches seinen Plural ummanati bildet, wird getrost dem hebr. הָמוֹן, das ja auch von Kriegsheeren gebraucht wird, gleichzusetzen sein!"

[3] Cf. my remarks, HEBRAICA, p. 181, n. 1.

[4] Cf. Flemming's *Nebukadnezar II.*, p. 44.

Digitized by Google

ullu is the Hebrew עֹל, Arabic غُلّ ghull, which means not only "yoke," but also "iron collar." Cf. Deut. XXVIII., 48: וְנָתַן עֹל בַּרְזֶל עַל-צַוָּארֶךָ *and he will place a chain of iron on thy neck.*" Alongside of ullu there also occurs allu with the same meaning, just as we have urḫu (Hebr. אֹרַח, Aram. אוֹרְחָא) and arḫu alongside of one another with the meaning "road." That the first stem-consonant of this allu is not א (Lyon, *Sargonstexte*, pp. 72/3) but אַ = ע, has been already remarked by Dr. Jensen, p. 299 of the first volume of the Munich *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*. With the frequent imperfect âlul, allu has nothing to do; âlul does not mean "I bound," but "I hung;" for example, pagrešunu (Hebr. פִּגְרִים) ina gašîše âlul *I hung their corpses on boat-hooks.* For âlul see my essay on the Sumerian dialect in the Göttingen *Nachrichten* of Nov. 3, 1880, p. 514, n. 3. gašîšu is a boat-hook, that is, a pole with an iron hook at one end (German *Staken*), Talmudic גְּשׁוֹשׁ. Cf. Fleischer in Levy's *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I., Leipzig, 1876, p. 438, additions to p. 386, Col. I. line 17.

addî is Imperfect from nadû; see my glossary to the cuneiform account of the Deluge in Schrader's *KAT.* p. 510, s. v. נדי, and my *Akkadische Sprache*, pp. 33 and xxxviii.

ṣît in ṣît šanši is exactly the Hebrew צֵאת, Infinitive construct of יצא (Gen. XIX., 23; Ps. XIX., 6; Neh. VI., 15); ṣît stands for ṣi't with quiescing of the א, as rîmu *wild bull* (Hebr. רֵאם, רִים)[1] for ri'mu, šîru *flesh* (Hebr. שְׁאֵר) for ši'ru, etc., etc.

zikru (construct zikir) *name*, is a synonym of šumu (Chald. שֻׁם), and corresponds to the Hebrew זֵכֶר. Cf. Exod. III., 15: זֶה-שְׁמִי לְעֹלָם וְזֶה זִכְרִי לְדֹר דֹּר *this is my name for eternity and this my title for all generations;* so also Hos. XII., 6: יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת יְהוָה זִכְרוֹ *Yahweh is the god of hosts, Yahweh is his name.*

nabû (= nabâ'u, stem נבא, cf. Ethiopic nabába *to speak*) has in Assyrian the meaning of the Hebrew קרא. nabû zikra is = קָרָא שֵׁם. With the same meaning we find also qebû (stem קבע) šuma or zikra, also zakâru šuma.

neribu (plural neribeti for neribâti) means "entrance," from the stem erêbu *to enter*, cf. erêb šanši *entrance of the sun*, i. e. *evening*, Hebr. עֶרֶב. neribu stands for nerabu, naghrabu. In Syriac the word appears as נְאֲרָבָא, see my *BAL.* 97.

masnaqti (not barnagtu!) comes from the stem sanâqu, Imperfect isniq *to be narrow*, and means therefore "strait, passage." In Syriac the stem סנק has the meaning of *indigere*, cf. אִסְתְּנַק *indiguit*, סְנִיק *indigens*, סְנִיקוּתָא

[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, pp. 6 and 7.

Digitized by Google

and סְנָקְנָא *indigentia* (Assyrian sunqu).[1] In Hebrew we have the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον צֵינֹק *prison*, Jer. XXIX., 26: וְנָתַתָּה אֹתוֹ אֶל־הַמַּהְפֶּכֶת וְאֶל־הַצֵּינֹק *thou shalt put him in the stocks and in prison.* Others combine צֵינֹק with the Arabic زِنَاق zinâq, and translate "collar." צֵינֹק means properly "straits." The צ from ס arises from a partial assimilation to the final ק. Cf. צָחַק in Genesis and Exodus (as well as in Judg. XVI., 25 and Ezek. XXIII., 32) for שָׂחַק *to laugh.* In Arabic we have for this ضحك dahika, and similarly instead of סָנַק *to be narrow*, we find ضنك danuka. סנק and צנק, סחק and צחק have, in the mouths of the Orientals, almost the same pronunciation.[2] The stem סנק or צנק is, moreover, only a modification of the stem צוק, Arabic ضاق dâqa, cf. הֵצִיק. In Aramæan this צ appears as an ע, cf. Syriac עֲקָתָא *angustia.* Accordingly, מֵעִיק (= Hebr. מֵצִיק) Amos II., 13, עָקַת רָשָׁע Ps. LV., 4, מוּעָקָה (Hebr. מוּצָק) Ps. LXVIII., 11, are Aramaisms.

adnâti[3] stands for admâti, as Hebrew דָּשֵׁן *fat*, for דָּשֵׁם, Arabic dasim, and means "dwelling-places," as it seems, especially "dwelling-places of the gods, temples." It is a synonym of the well known word admânu.[4] Nerib-maṣnaqti-adnâti is, therefore, "the entrance to the passage to the temples," a Ninevite "Cathedral Street Gate."

---

[1] In Ethiopic the Assyrian sunqu (construct sunuq) appears in the form senq (written سنق or سنق). Ethiopic senq, however, does not mean *indigentia, fames*, but rather *κατ' ἀντίφρασιν commeatus, viaticum*, just as Assyrian bubu'tu means not only *hunger* but also *food.* For bubu'tu see Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, 186, 85; my essay on the Sumerian dialect, p. 517, n. 2; Schrader, *Berliner Sargonsstele*, p. 35, 70. Cf. also sunqu bubuti V R. 3, 135; 4, 59.

[2] Cf. the transposition of the aspiration in Neoionic *κιθών tunica* = Attic *χιτών*, *ἐνθεῦτεν thence* = *ἐντεῦθεν*, etc.

[3] Compare for this word: Pognon, *L'inscription de Bavian*, Paris, 1880, p. 26 and p. 217. Pognon says: adnati est un pluriel. Ce mot m'est inconnu et je le traduis d'apres le sens de la phrase par *lieux, endroits.* On le trouve encore a la ligne 20 (de l'inscription de Bavian). See also II R. 67, 36 and Strassmaier, *Woerterverzeichniss*, p. 36, No. 191.

[4] Cf. e. g. Neb. VII, 39; VIII, 23; Tig. VII, 74 and 90; VIII, 17; Sennacherib Sm. 150, 77; Lyon, *Sargonstexte* 36, 49. Akin to admanu from the stem אדם (√דמם) is the frequent plural dadme *dwelling places, countries*, from the stem דדם (= דמדם) an incomplete reduplication of the biconsonantal root דם. For dadme see e. g. Neb. VIII, 22; IX, 55; Sennacherib Sm. 6, 17; 52, 16; 86, 23; 90, 54; Assurb. Sm. 95, 76; Esarh. Budge 34; Lotz, Tig. 194, No. 1, 9. Cf. also Delitzsch, *Hebrew und Assyrian*, p. 59.

Digitized by Google

SYRIAC VERSION OF EPISTLE OF KING ABGAR TO JESUS.

By Professor Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.,
New York City.

The following Syriac Version of the Apocryphal Epistle of King Abgar to Jesus, and Jesus' reply, is from a parchment leaf lately sent to the writer by the Rev. William Hayes Ward, D. D., who obtained it, with a number of other fragments, from a monastery in the Tûr in Mesopotamia. The leaf is 9½x6½ inches in dimension, is written in very old Estrangela in two columns to the page, each column 7 to 7¼ inches high and 2 to 2¼ inches wide. One corner of the leaf is mutilated, causing a few small gaps in the writing. As to age, it seems to belong to the eighth century, but it may be older by a century more. The other matter on the leaf is the end of a homily on the love of poverty, or, as the matter itself seems to interpret the title, love to the poor and wretched.

The copy here given corresponds with the manuscript, line for line, letter for letter, and point for point; except that some of the points may be faded out, and those I do not venture to supply. In line 59, however, the scribe added above the line, as a correction to the last word of the line, a *waw* between the *olaf* and *pi*. This, as at least unnecessary, I have not copied.

Lines 1–4 are at the end of the second column on the first page of the leaf; lines 5–35 occupy the first column of the second page, and lines 36 to 66 occupy the last column.

Lines 1–5, with an undecipherable word in line 6, as well as the last two words of line 39, with lines 40–42, are in red.

In line 5, the parchment is wholly gone as far as the word that appears in the copy below; in line 6, the mutilated undecipherable word in red at the beginning is followed by a place torn away, so that the body of the Epistle here begins in the middle of a word. But it probably began ܕܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ, with only three more Syriac letters to be supplied. The gap in lines 7 and 8 I do not venture to supply.

All that has hitherto appeared in print of these Epistles, in the Syriac version, is to be found in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, Williams & Norgate, 1864), and Phillips' *Doctrine of Addai* (London, Trübner, 1876); but I have not access to those works, and cannot tell how they agree with this text. But they mention Addai (i. e. Thaddeus) as the disciple sent, or to be sent, by Jesus to Abgar; while this fragment clearly names Judas instead.

1. ܠܘܬ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܟܪ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܟܪ ܐܒܓܪ
ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ
ܕܒ ܐܢܐ ܝܗ
ܕܒܥܐ ܒܨ ܕܐܢܫ
5. ܕܐܘܢܫܟ . . .

Digitized by Google

. . . . ܥܡܟ ܟ

. . . ܐܟ ܐܫܬܐ

. . . ܐ ܐܬܝܒ.

ܘܠ ܫܩܕܢܐ ܐܟܡܢ:

ܐܘ ܘܥܕܐܦܟ ܒܟ 10.

ܟܝ ܐܢ ܟܫܩܕܢ

ܘܫܡ: ܐܟܫܝܬ

ܘܬܩܟܡ: ܐܝܬ

ܩܒܐ ܐܢ. ܐܘܐ

ܒܬܥܐ ܐܡܐ ܦܥܒ 15.

ܐܢ. ܘܠܟܟ ܘܐܦܫܟ

ܐܬܟ ܐܫܬܐ

ܐܟܐ ܐܢ. ܐܩܕܐ

ܐܟܡܢ ܐܢ: ܐܒ

ܐܦܥ ܟܟ ܐܟ 20.

ܐܟ. ܫܐܢ ܒܟ

ܫܐ ܐܟ ܥܬܟ ܐܢ

ܐܢ ܐܟ ܟܐ

ܘܫܥ ܐܟ ܐܦܐ

ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܟ 25.

ܐ ܘܒ ܐܢ ܘܟܐ

ܐܟ ܟܟ ܐܢ.

ܐܟ ܐܢ ܐܦܟ

ܐܐܒ ܒܟ ܐܦ:

ܘܥܬܐ ܐܟ 30.

ܟ. ܐܥܐ ܐܢ

Digitized by Google

ﻋﺎﺼﺎ ﺍﻣﺮ ﻛﻢ.

ﺍﻒ ﻣﻌﺒﺪ ﻫﻢ

ﻭﻣﻜﻢ ﻛﻠﻲ ﺍﻟﻴﻮﻣﻴﻢ

ﻣﻌﺎﻧﺪ ﻫﻌﺰﻩ 35.

ﻛﻢ. ﻣﻜﻤﻠﺎ ﻫﻲ

ﺍﻟﺰﻫﻌﻢ ﻫﻌﻤﻨﺎ

ﺍﻣﺮ ﻛﻢ: ﻫﻌﻤﺎ

ﻛﻠﻒ ﻫﻤﺎ ﺍﻣﻜﻢ

ﻫﻌﻢ ﻣﻊ ﻫﻌﺪﺍ 40.

ﻋﻢ ﻣﻠﻤﺎ ﻫﻌﻜﺎ

ﺍﻟﻜﻢ ﻣﻒ ﺍﻧﺎ

ﻫﻌﻢ ﺍﻣﺎ ﻫﻌﻌﻢ

ﻫ ﻢ ﺍ ﻣﺎﻫ. ﻫﻤﻫ

ﻫﻢ ﻣﻜﻤﻠﻢ ﺍﻣﻜﻢ 45.

ﻣﻌﻌﻢ ﻛﻢ ﺍ ﻫﻤﻢ

ﻫ. ﻣﻜﻢ ﺍﻟ ﻣﺎﻟﻌﻢ.

ﻫﻢ ﻫﻌﻌﻢ ﻣﺎﻫﻢ

ﻛﻚ ﻫﻒ ﻫﻲ ﻫﻌﻫﻫ

ﻛﻢ ﺍﻧﺎ ﻛﻌﻮ: 50.

ﺍﻟﻌﻨﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻛﻒ

ﻫﻨﺎ. ﻫﻚ ﻣﻨﻪ

ﻭﻣﻠﻚ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻫﻜﻫ.

ﺍﻟﻌﻨﻢ ﻫﻲ ﻫﻌﻢ ﻫﻫ

ﺍﻧ. ﻫﻤﻲ ﺍﻧﻜﻨﺎ 55.

ﻛﻌﻮ ﻣﻊ ﻫﻜﻫ. ﻫﻨﺎ

ﺍﻧ ﻫﻌﻢ ﻫﻜﻨﻌﺎ

Digitized by Google

ܟܘ ܣܡ ܡܢ ܙܟܝܢܐ.

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ.

ܫܠܡ ܠܟ ܟܘ. ܘܠܐܟܝܢ 60.

ܘܐܡ ܟܕ̈ܘ ܟܝ

ܒܝ ܟܟܝ ܐܝܬ

ܐܦ ܟܝ ܢܩܥ ܟܝ

ܟܕ̈ܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡ

ܟܕ̈ ܘܐܣܟܟ 65.

ܣ̈ ܐ: ܗܘ ܟܗ ܣ̈ ܘ

The same day that I received them I sent a translation of these Epistles to *The Independent;* but in my haste I missed some letters, so that that translation has here a few corrections.

One word in the title of the Letter of Abgar, rendered "blessed" below, is evidently the common abbreviation for that word, though not specially marked as such in the manuscript. If not an abbreviation, it is to be rendered "good."

The following is a translation; italicizing the words that are written in red in the manuscript:

"*Begins the Letter of King Abgar; Abgar, the black, Prince of the region, to Jesus the blessed Redeemer who appeared....of Jerusalem....* [Whereas it has been h]eard by me....and of the healings [wrought (?)] by thy hands, and not with perfumes and medicaments! For as it was said thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk, and cleansest the lepers, and castest out the unclean spirits and devils, and healest them that are led captive in lingering diseases, and thou raisest the dead; and since all these things are rumored of thee, I thought that thou wert one of the crowned (?) that thou had descended from God from heaven, and [therefore] thou doest these things; or that certainly thou wert of God and [therefore] thou doest these things. For this reason, therefore, I wrote, entreating from thee that thou wouldst be persuaded and come to me, and heal this sorrow (or, disease) which I have. For also I have heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and desire to vex thee. But I have a city, small and beautiful, that is enough for two.

"*Copy of the matters that were written from Jesus by the hand of Hanania, tabellarius, to Abgar, prince of the region.* Blessed is he that believeth in me, though he hath not seen me; for it is written concerning me that they who see me will not believe in me, and they who have not seen me shall believe and live. But as to that which thou didst write me, that I should come to thee; it is fitting that I should fulfill here everything for which I was sent; and after that I shall have fulfilled [it], then I shall be taken up to him who sent me. And when I shall have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples to heal thy sorrow (or, disease), and also to give life to thee.—But after these letters, also, those follow them [that are written] in the Syriac tongue, [to the purport] that after Jesus had ascended he sent to him Judas...."

Digitized by Google

PLEIADES, ORION AND MAZZAROTH.

Job xxxviii., 31, 32.

By John G. Lansing, M. A.

Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.

The first word to be considered is מַעֲדַנּוֹת. It is translated in the E. V. "sweet influences," as derived from עָדַן. Lexicons and commentaries generally make מַעֲדַנּוֹת, by transposition, equivalent to מַעֲנַדּוֹת. This transposition word is derived from עָנַד *to bind*, Arabic عند = Aanad *vicinage*, *nearness*, *a thing at one's side*. This word is used twice as a verb (Job xxxi., 36 and Prov. vi., 21), and nowhere as a substantive, save in this place according to the transposers. According to this transposition, the word in the passage is variously rendered "bands," "bindings," "twistings," "clusterings," etc., of the Pleiades. But the transposition is demonstrably wrong. The feminine plural noun מַעֲדַנּוֹת occurs only in this passage. But the masculine form מַעֲדָן occurs in four places. To translate the masculine form in these places as derived from עָנַד, shows the absurdity of translating the feminine form in this passage as derived from that root. Without transposition, מַעֲדַנּוֹת is manifestly derived from עָדַן as the root. Gesenius says of עָדַן "a root not used in Kal, which appears to have had the signification of softness, laxity; Arab. غدن = *Ghadan* to be flexible, to vacillate, غَدَنٌ softness, laxity, languor, غَدَانٌ a cane, or reed, a tall rod (pr. vacillating, vibrating in the air)." But غدن = Ghadan is not the Arabic word that corresponds to the Hebrew עָדַן, but an entirely different word, having a different spelling and a different meaning. The Arabic word that corresponds to the Hebrew עָדַן exists under precisely corresponding letters: Hebrew עָדַן, Arabic عدن = Aadan. So much is unmistakably shown by the usages of the words in Hebrew and Arabic. Now the Arabic word عدن = Aadan means to remain, to stay, to keep a thing to a certain place without allowing it to quit that place, and to do so by some gentle, sweet, harmonious influence or power; as when camels tied to a certain stake in a certain spot move around it in a comparatively large circle, contentedly feeding upon the luxuriant grass that abounds. The strict accuracy and unquestionable force of this meaning as the true meaning of both the Hebrew and Arabic words עָדַן and عدن appear from the usages of the words, and will further appear when we come to apply it in the interpretation of this passage, after we have considered the lexical meaning of כִּימָה.

כִּימָה is a noun fem. sing. from the root כוּם. Of this root Gesenius says,—"An unused root. Arabic كام *Kam* to heap up, كُومَةٌ = *Komatun*, *a heap*, like the Hebrew כִּימָה, which see." Turning then to כִּימָה, Gesenius defines,—"A heap,

Digitized by Google

cluster (from the root כּוּם, which see); specially of stars, hence the Pleiades, or the seven stars, consisting of seven larger stars, and other lesser ones closely grouped; Arab. ثُرَيَّا = *Thuraya* (plenty, multitude), more fully عقدالثريا = *Ookd-eth-Thuraya* the bundle of the Pleiades." But Gesenius does not give us the full meaning of the Arabic كام = Kam, and his other Arabic references to the Pleiades are incomplete. The Arabic has a number of names for the Pleiades, indicating their appearance in the heavens, their significance in the economy of nature, etc. Among these names we have the one mentioned by Gesenius, viz., الثريا = Eth-Thuraya, which means the Pleiades as comprising, in appearance, many stars in a small space; for it is said that, amid its conspicuous stars, are many obscure stars, the number altogether being said to be twenty-four, according to an assertion of Muhammad. ثريا also means a cluster of lamps, resting in holes in the bottom of a lantern. The lamps are so called as being likened to the Pleiades in the heavens. The Pleiades are also called by the Arabs النَّجْم = En-Nagmoo, that is, *The Asterism*, because it was regarded as being the most beneficial and excellent of all star-groups in its influences on the weather. And because the setting of one star and the simultaneous rising of another, that is the Pleiades, indicated approaching rain, and took place just before the rains began to fall in Arabia; therefore the Pleiades were also called نوء = No-un. Alluding to the copiousness of the tears he had shed because of the absence of his divine friend, the matchless Ibn-Il-Fared says

جاد ان ضنّ نوء الطرف اذ يسقط خىّ

"Still in a parched land would torrents flow,
Though on earth's rim the Pleiades had failed to glow."

But the word used by the Almighty in calling Job's attention to the Pleiades was כִּימָה, root כּוּם, Arabic كام = Kam, and كومة = Komat corresponding to כִּימָה. But Gesenius does not give us the radical and full meaning of the Arabic. The Arabic كام = Kam means something more than "to heap up," and كومة = Komat more than "a heap," as see Butris Bustani's Arabic Lexicon, *et al.* The word كام = Kam is used with reference to many particles of sand being gathered together and heaped up so that they stand upright, like a pillar, upon a certain place, socket, or pivot. The word is also used with reference to a thing or person standing upon and turning around upon a certain point or pivot, as when a person stands or turns round upon the tip of his foot. This is the meaning of the word God employs. God employs it to indicate a certain group of stars. That group of stars is none other than the Pleiades, because precisely this is the truth about the Pleiades, and about them alone. By a series of calculations independent, and indeed ignorant of the truth contained in this passage in Job, the science of Astronomy has recently discovered that the heap or

Digitized by Google

cluster of stars called the Pleiades constitute the standig-place, the point, socket, pivot about which the whole solar system revolves. They have discovered that Alcyone, the brightest star of the Pleiades, is *the* center of gravity of our vast solar system, the starry pivotal point on which and about which worlds and systems of worlds go moving through space. There is a plain intimation of this fact when we consider the number of stars there grouped together in comparatively so small a space. Now it becomes apparent what is the true meaning and peculiar force of the word מַעֲדְנוֹת as derived from עָדַן, Arabic عدن Aadan, to keep or hold a thing to a certain place without allowing it to quit that place, and to do so by some gentle, sweet, or harmoniously working influence or power, as when camels tied to a certain stake in a certain spot move around it in a comparatively large circle, contentedly feeding upon the luxuriant grass that abounds. So the Pleiades keep and hold in their places the worlds and systems of worlds as they go moving in their circling orbits around that starry stake, that pivot of power. In their revolutions around the Pleiades these worlds and systems of worlds move most harmoniously. There is not a deviation, not a disturbance. So the holding and keeping influences or powers of the Pleiades are gentle, sweet, harmoniously working. It is the harmonious operation of God's great laws reigning throughout the universe. Did not such harmony prevail, were the Pleiades to let go or loosen for a moment their constant and harmonious holdings and keepings of the worlds of the solar system, destruction and disturbance would come to those worlds, and cosmos be turned to chaos. And so the wisdom, power and goodness of God are mightily and magnificently manifest. The force of the challenge to Job and the glorious truth contained in the same are apparent. Canst thou bind together, stop, bring to naught these constant and powerful and harmonious holdings of the Pleiades? And so understand, moreover, that God reigns in and over human affairs, wisely, beneficently, omnipotently,—making every thing to work together for good.

The bands of Orion are his מוֹשְׁכוֹת, from מָשַׁךְ, Arabic مسك = Masak, that is, *the drawings, the takings hold, the drawn bandings, the girdlings* of כְּסִיל. According to the Hebrew and Arabic usages of the word כְּסִיל, it refers to the constellation of Orion. The three stars about midway in the constellation, and arranged somewhat obliquely as to the rest of the constellation, constitute the bands or girdlings of Orion. From these girdlings three other stars are ranged downward, constituting Orion's pendent sword. The interpretation which represents Orion as a giant chained to the skies, etc., is a comparatively modern myth which is utterly without foundation in the language, and utterly unworthy being thought of in this connection. God is speaking; and God is speaking about past and present and eternal facts, and not about the possible and passing and puerile fancies of men. כְּסִיל is derived from כָּסַל whose primary meaning appears to be "to be fleshy, to be fat," whence כֶּסֶל *loin, flank*. The word is applied in a

Digitized by Google

good and bad sense. In a good sense, as meaning "strength, firmness, boldness." In a bad sense, as meaning "languor, inertness, folly." The corresponding Arabic word كسل = Kasal comprises both of these meanings, and not simply the meaning of "languor and inertness," according to Gesenius. According to the first meaning, and the root of the word, we have the signification of giant, and hence Orion, a constellation or set of stars representing in full outline a giant figure. But we must go to the Arabic, and to the ideas of the old Arabian Astronomers, to be confirmed and further informed in the interpretation of כְּסִיל by Orion. As in the case of the Pleiades, so the Arabs have a number of names for the constellation Orion. It will suffice to mention two or three of these as illustrative of the passage. Orion was and is called الجَبَّارُ = Al-gabbaro, that is, "the great, mighty, gigantic one." This is the word used in the Arabic versions. Orion was so called because the relative position of the stars constituting that constellation represented the form of a kingly and gigantic personage enthroned in the heavens and marching through the skies. The constellation of Orion was also called الجَوْزَاء = Al-Goza, from جوز = Goz, meaning "to pass in or along, to traverse or cross the middle, and pass through it." The constellation of Orion was so called because of the three very bright stars disposed obliquely in the midst thereof, constituting the bands or girdlings of the starry giant Orion, as passing along and about his middle or waist or loins, and so called by the Arabs النَّظْمُ = En-Nazm, and نِطَاقُ الجَوْزَاء = Nitak-ul-Goza, and فَقَارُ الجَوْزَاء = Fakar-ul-Goza. The word God employs is כְּסִיל. It is derived from כָּסַל *to be fleshy, large, strong, firm, bold; hence giant; hence Orion.* The precisely corresponding Arabic word is كسل = Kasal, which has the same meanings and additional meanings: as, for example, a person strongly taking and firmly holding a certain position; and again, the strong cord or band of a bow as wound around one end and strongly pulled across the middle, and firmly wound around the other end. These definitions refer plainly and can refer only to the constellation Orion. How so? What is the fact about that constellation? Just this: that those three brilliant stars which constitute the bands or girdlings of Orion never change their form. They preserve the same relative position to each other and to the rest of the constellation from night to night, and year to year, and age to age; so that they present precisely the same appearance to us now that they did to Job in the land of Uz milleniums ago. In the vast firmament of starry hosts, where constant and stupendous changes are going on, these stars constituting the bands of Orion do ceaselessly, changelessly maintain their relative positions. And so as to the force of the challenge,—Canst thou loosen, open, disband these firm bands?—Canst thou bring change, disturbance, disorder as to the relative positions uniformly and uniquely occupied by these stars in all time? Alter these unvarying positions, annul the law which binds them together in these

Digitized by Google

eternal relations, burst open those blazing bands—if thou canst. And so as to the truth set forth,—Understand, O Job, understand, O man, that the All-wise, All-mighty, All-good God is uniformly, unchangeably, unendingly so.

Job's scientific knowledge, as well as spiritual appreciation of these astronomical allusions, can scarcely be a matter of doubt. If any one doubt it, let me remind him that he is making God to darken counsel by using words without knowledge in thus addressing Job with language of which Job had no true or adequate comprehension. Let me remind him that Job's spiritual appreciation of such language as this was such as to overwhelm him with penitence, humility and awe; and the production of such an effect is conceivable only on the ground that Job's scientific knowledge was very accurate and very profound. Let me remind him of the preeminent position occupied by the Arabians from the very earliest times as to the science of Astronomy. Let me remind him of the meanings of those three ancient Arabic expressions before mentioned as used to designate Orion and his girdlings or bands, نظام الجوزاء and نطاق الجوزاء and فقار الجوزاء, that is, the regularly ordered, the eternally ordered, the eloquently and magnificently ordered bands of Orion. Let me remind him that there are numerous passages in the poetry of the old Arabians that display a remarkable knowledge of Astronomy, similar to that revealed and displayed in these passages of Scripture, which were, I doubt not, thoroughly understood by the great Arabian patriarch Job. I quote a couplet from an old Arabian poem at hand,—a poem celebrating the matchless and immemorial hospitality of the Arabians:—

"I looked to the sky's azure tent, where Orion already
Stood watching by night, *and his sword in its belt glittered steady.*"

Beha Ed Deen Zoheir, an Arab poet of Egypt who flourished in the thirteenth century, says,—

وَتفرَّعَتْ لِلْمَجْدِ مِنْكَ ثَلَاثَةٌ كَثَلَاثَةِ ٱلْجَوْزَاءِ فِى جَنَبَاتِهِ
مِن كُلِّ مَهْدِيٍّ غَدَا فِى مَهْدِهِ يَسْمُوْ اِلَى اَسْلَافِهِ بِسِمَاتِهِ

"Well mayest thou rest! three sons are thine,
Who shall perpetuate thy line,—
Like those three brilliant stars that shine
On old Orion's breast.
Who in their very cradle bore
Marks of God's guiding hand, and wore
Signs of that worth, with which of yore
Thy ancestors were blest."

"Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?" The word is מַזָּרוֹת. We are advised to change the מ into נ and derive the word from נָזַר *to separate*

Digitized by Google

oneself, abstain, consecrate. We are advised to change the ר into ל and convert מַזָּרוֹת into מַזָּלוֹת. According to this latter change we are to render the word by "lodging places," from the Arabic منزل = Manzal, and refer it to the signs of the Zodiac. But all this is so arbitrary and unnecessary, so utterly without any reasonable foundation, that it becomes irreverent and preposterous to think of God, who is here speaking,—to think of God as thus changing, accommodating, corrupting language in its usage,—God, who all through this chapter has been using words that corresponded with the utmost truth and accuracy to the actual, scientific, creative facts about those phenomena concerning which he was speaking. מָזַר is an unused root in the Hebrew, but it is not an unused root in the Arabic. The root exists under precisely the same letters in Arabic, viz., مزر = Mazar. One of the principal definitions of this root in Arabic refers to the perforated piece of wood at the top of the tent into which the upper extremity of the tent pole is thrust as a button into its loop, and also to the pulling of the ropes that join this piece of wood at the top of the tent to the stakes all around the tent about which the several ropes are looped or buttoned. Now it is utterly impossible to give this language any other interpretation than that which refers it to the satellites as they move about their planets, held to the planets by the law of gravitation; to the planets and their satellites as they move about the sun, held by it and to it according to the same law of gravitation; to the sun and the planets and the satellites and the whole solar system moving about Alcyone of the Pleiades, held by it and to it according to the same wonderful law. And so as to the force of the challenge,—What does man know about the movements of these bodies, about the law of gravitation? How much less can he effect as to the sending forth of these planets, each in its appointed time, each to its appointed sphere, each with its appointed velocity, and thus maintain them? Here is a complexity of bodies, a complexity of relations, a complexity of movements. And yet in the midst of all this manifold and marvelous complexity, there is a marvelous harmony. In all this complexity and harmony the infinite wisdom, power, and goodness of God are transcendently manifest. And the teaching,—the same is certainly and gloriously true as to man in the complexity of human affairs.

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By JOHN P. PETERS, PH. D.

Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia.

The prophet Isaiah (x., 8) makes the Assyrian king say, הֲלֹא שָׂרַי יַחְדָּו מְלָכִים. I do not know that attention has been called to the reference which is here made to the difference of usage of the related Hebrew and Assyrian, in the words for "king" and "prince." The Hebrew מֶלֶךְ has the signification of the Assyrian š a r, and, *vice versa*, Assyrian m a l a k u corresponds in sense to Hebrew שַׂר. The prophet plays upon this difference of use.

Amos I., 6—Gaza is to be punished עַל־הַגְלוֹתָם גָּלוּת שְׁלֵמָה. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 9th edition, would render this "because they took captive," *die gefangenen in voller Zahl.* The LXX. explain גָּלוּת שְׁלֵמָה by αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ Σαλωμών. The translation of the LXX. makes no sense, but suggests a change of pointing for the Hebrew which makes an unintelligible passage intelligible, viz., גָּלוּת שְׁלֻמָה. What the prophet seems to mean is, that Gaza is to be punished for its breach of a professedly friendly relation, in kidnapping Hebrews to be sold as slaves. It means "because they carried captive them who were at peace." The same meaning belongs to the phrase in the 9th verse, where Tyre is guilty of the same crime. Perhaps it is not necessary to change the pointing of שְׁלֵמָה in order to justify such a rendering. A glance at שָׁלוֹם and שָׁלֵם in a Hebrew lexicon will show any one that, at least according to our Massoretic pointing, the two words have been somewhat confused in use. So, in our English Bibles, at Gen. XXXIII., 18, we read, "And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem," where the real sense is, "And Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem." At Mic. II., 8, it has been suggested that we should read שְׁלֻמָה for שַׁלְמָה (cf. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 427).

Isa. XI., 15.—The sense of this verse seems to be, "As Jehovah laid under the ban the tongue of the Egyptian sea; so will he wave his hand against the Euphrates with a blast of his breath, and smite it into seven rivulets, and make a way for sandaled feet." The comparison throughout the passage is one of the past and the future. The rescue from Egypt is made the text of a promise of rescue from Assyrian bondage. This comparison is carried so far that, in imitation of the Song of the Sea, (Exod. XV.) we have here (Isa. XII.) a similar song to be sung after the new deliverance, Isa. XII., 2 even being quoted partly from Exod. XV., 2.

Amos V., 25–27.—The use of tenses and conjunctions, as also the connection of thought, in this passage, seems to me to be the same as in the passage from Isaiah just quoted. "Sacrifices and meat offerings ye offered unto me in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel; so shall ye take up Sikkuth, your king, and Kiun, your star-god, your images which ye made for yourselves, and I will carry you captive beyond Damascus." The wandering out of captivity in the past is compared with the wandering into it in the future; the worship of the true God

Digitized by Google

in the past, with that of idols in the future. In the translation of the passage I have transposed צַלְמֵיכֶם, as suggested by Professor Schrader (KAT. 442) to a position after אֱלֹהֵיכֶם. He would point סַכּוּת and כִּיּוּן, explaining the former as Sak-kut, a Sumerian-Akkadian name of Adar, and the latter as the Assyrian Ka-ai-va-nu, or Saturn, making them thus nearly identical. The former name reminds us involuntarily of סְכוֹת בְּנוֹת of 2 Kgs. XVIII., 30, which latter Mr. Budge says is the god Zarpanituv.

Isa. VII., 14.—The best commentary to this passage is, it seems to me, Mic. IV., 10. In the latter passage, the Daughter of Zion is in travail with the birth of a purified remnant. The capture of Jerusalem itself is represented as part of the throes of labor. "Writhe and twist, Daughter of Zion, like one that giveth birth; for now shalt thou go out of the city and dwell in the field." In Isa. VIII., 8, 11, עִמָּנוּ אֵל seems to be used to indicate the purified remnant which shall still remain after the Assyrian river has overflowed the land, against which no counsel or might of the foe shall prevail, because it is a god-with-us. In Isa. VII., 14, in spite of the very unusual word used, הָעַלְמָה, I believe that the בַּת-צִיּוֹן is spoken of. She is pregnant with the עִמָּנוּ אֵל, the purified remnant, and in the distress that is at hand the prophet sees the pangs of birth. It is quite possible that we owe the unusual word here used, הָעַלְמָה, to the unoriginal form in which the prophecy has been preserved to us, as a mere abstract put into shape apparently by some one other than the prophet, at some period posterior to the events recorded. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the LXX., ἡ παρθένος, may represent the original reading; so that we should substitute, in the Hebrew, הַבְּתוּלָה for הָעַלְמָה. This would be the natural word to use with reference to the Daughter of Zion (cf. Jer. XVIII., 13; XXXI., 4, 21; Amos V., 2). Is it possible that we have in the Hebrew a doctrinally modified text, the LXX. testifying to the true original? The Targum of Jonathan, usually so free in its use of משיחא, even in Isa. LIII., gives no hint, of a Messianic character, of the prophecy in Isa. VII., 14. nor, where עִמָּנוּ אֵל is again used, in Isa. VIII., 8, 11.

Digitized by Google

GRAMMATICAL QUESTIONS.

By Profssor F. B. Denio,

Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me.

THE REPETITION OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE BEFORE A SECOND GENITIVE.

The language of the grammars on this subject is pretty harmonious. Gesenius (§ 114 : 1): "The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *construct state* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (וְ), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens; e. g.*, Gen. XXIV., 3 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וֵאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth.*" Ewald (339: *b*): "If a noun in the construct state or a preposition refers to several nouns, it is always to be repeated (see § 289), unless those which follow attach themselves readily, in accordance with the meaning, to the first; as זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבַשׁ *flowing with milk and honey*, Exod. III., 8, and other examples in Judg. I., 6, 7; 1 Chron. XXIX., 2; Prov. I., 3. [Judg. I., 6, 7, and 1 Chron. XXIX., 2, give four instances of a pair of genitives after a single construct noun. Prov. I., 3, is more noteworthy: לָקַחַת מוּסַר הַשְׂכֵּל צֶדֶק וּמִשְׁפָּט וּמֵישָׁרִים : *to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment and equity.* Four genitives, the last two of which are joined by וְ]. When there are several nouns the construct state is often repeated with every one, or with every two, Jer. VIII., 1., Isa. II., 2." Jer. VIII., 1, gives five genitives, each preceded by its own construct state, which is עַצְמוֹת *bones* in every instance. Again, Isa. II., 2, gives three pairs of genitives after the thrice repeated רוּחַ *spirit*. An examination of this passage will show that the two genitives attached to the same construct are closely united to form a single idea. Ewald (§ 289 : *c*) seems to furnish an explanation for the non-repetition of the construct in the instances where it is not repeated with each genitive. "Similarly, a poetic writer may only mentally resume the construct state in the case of a subsequent member of the sentence, whether this be in the beginning of the following part, Prov. I., 3, or after some other words in the middle of it, Job. XXVI., 10." That is, in Prov. I., 3, cited above, מוּסַר is to be repeated after the ăthnāḥ, because there is no וְ before צֶדֶק [?]. In Job XXVI., 10, the explanation is good for the somewhat peculiar translation of Ewald, which, however, seems both unnecessary and harsh. In any case this seeming explanation in Ewald (§ 289 : *c*) is applied only to poetic constructions, and therefore will have no value for a frequent occurrence of the construction in prose. There are several instances where this explanation has no value, and another may be suggested which is to the mind of the writer much better; it is an explanation which is in accord with the citation from Ewald (§ 339 : *b*). The translator of Ewald's Hebrew Syntax (after § 289 : *c*) inserts a passage as follows: "Nor does the Hebrew even like to have two or more nouns co-ordinated after one construct noun; the governing word is rather repeated before the second subordinated noun; thus, *the God of heaven and the God of earth*, Gen. XXIV., 3; *the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, Exod. III., 6, 15; but the shorter mode of expression is also

Digitized by Google

used, see verse 16." In Müller's Hebrew Syntax (§ 75 : c) the same statement is made as in Gesenius. A remark is added, however, (§ 75 : c. Rem. *a*): "Rarely as in Gen. XIV., 19, קֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ 'Possessor of heaven and earth,' where, however, both genitives are still of the same kind, viz., possessive."

The liking of the Hebrews to repeat the construct noun is doubtless caused by the tendency to circumstantiality in narrative. This tendency has powerfully colored the New Testament diction (Winer's New Testament Grammar, § 65 : 4). The exceptions to the rule cited from the grammars, however, are far too numerous to be called rare. They are so numerous as not to prove the rule, but to break it down. It is not said that the exceptions are more numerous than the instances of conformity, though the general impression of the writer would lead him to say so. The following references show something of the frequency of the violation of the rule: Deut. XII., 6; XXVIII., 4, 51; XXXII., 19; Isa. I., 28; X., 28; XLV., 14; LX., 6—give illustrations of genitives in pairs. Deut. VIII., 7; Isa. I., 11; XXXVII., 3—give illustrations of genitives in groups of three. Isa. XXXVI., 17 gives two pairs. Deut. VIII., 8 gives five genitives after one construct. This list is not exhaustive, and is purposely confined to these two books. The writer doubts whether as many instances of accordance with the rule will be found as he has noted exceptions. Of course these two books cannot prove universal usage. Their usage, or lack of usage, is enough to raise the question how extensive an usage the rule records.

A more important question is, What is the difference in thought between the phrase in which the construct is repeated and the phrase in which it is omitted? One suggestion has been noted above, viz., that the construct was repeated in thought with the second genitive. This was suggested only for the usage in poetry. Without doubt, this is a correct explanation of some cases, but not of most. Another suggestion is to be found in the quotation above from Ewald (§ 339 : *b*), in the words "unless they attach themselves readily, in accordance with the meaning, with the first." The citation from Müeller (§ 75 : *c*, *Rem. a*) is in harmony with this. To put it in another form, it is like the mode of conception in the New Testament Greek, when a preposition is expressed with only the first of several nouns governed by it. Cf. Winer's New Testament Grammar (50 : 7), "When two or more substantives dependent on the same preposition immediately follow one another, joined together by a copula, the preposition, if the substantives in question denote things which are to be conceived as distinct and independent, ...but not repeated, if the subtantives fall under a single category, or (if proper names) under one common class." To the same effect Buttmann's New Testament Grammar (§ 147 : 30), "By omitting to repeat the preposition, the writer gives an intimation that he regards the members rather as homogeneous, belonging together, or united into one whole; by repeating it, that he wants to have them taken as independent, of a dissimilar or even contrary nature." Similar are the explanations given of the repetition or non-repetition of the article after the first of two or more nouns of the same number, gender and case and connected by *καί*. Buttmann, § 125 : 15, 16 and 17; and Winer, § 19 : 3, 4 and 5.

The principle involved is rather a necessity in the nature of thought than a mere usage. It is likely, therefore, that the same phenomena and the same mode of expression might occur in languages so widely dissimilar as the Greek and the Hebrew. Therefore, it would seem that, where the Hebrew *wished to portray with*

Digitized by Google

circumstantiality the individual relations or properties of that which was expressed by the construct noun, he repeated it with each genitive, or sometimes with each pair of genitives. If he wished to unite these relations in a group and to ignore the individual relations, he did not repeat the genitive. To illustrate the point take an example which has been mentioned above: אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וֵאלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב Exod. III., 6, 15; IV., 5. In Exod. III., 16, we find only one construct: אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב. This same form is found in 1 Kgs. XVIII., 36; 1 Chron. XXIX., 18, and 2 Chron. XXX., 6. In these last references וְיִשְׂרָאֵל is used in the place of the וְיַעֲקֹב of the earlier expression. Where אֱלֹהֵי is not repeated it shows more clearly the idea of the one God in his relations with the race-ancestors. Where אֱלֹהֵי is repeated it brings out the idea of God in relation to each of the great ancestors of the race. This may account for the fact that the later expressions all group the three names together. In the earlier conception, because, perhaps, the writer had the three individuals more distinctly in mind, Abraham, Isaac and Jabob are individualized by the repetition of אֱלֹהֵי. In the later writings the three ancestors were conceived in their common relation to the race rather than in their individual relation. Some confirmation of this conception is found in the phrases in Exod. II., 24, בְּרִיתוֹ אֶת־אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יִצְחָק וְאֶת־יַעֲקֹב, and 2 Kgs. XIII., 23, where the preposition אֶת is used with אַבְרָהָם and omitted with the following genitives. It is worthy of note that this group of names occurs with אֶל after וָאֵרָא in Exod. VI., 3; with לְ after נִשְׁבַּע or נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי in Gen. L., 24; Exod. XXXIII., 1; Num. XXII., 11; Deut. XXXIV., 4; after זָכַר in Deut. IX., 27; as appositives after a preceding noun in Deut. I., 8; VI., 10; IX., 5, 27; XXIX., 12; XXX., 20. In all these cases the preposition אֶל or לְ is repeated with each of three names. This group of words occurs but one other time—in Lev. XXVI., 42, and this passage seems more than almost any other to verify the opinion that the repetition is for the sake of circumstantiality. וְזָכַרְתִּי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקוֹב וְאַף אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יִצְחָק וְאַף אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אַבְרָהָם אֶזְכֹּר וְהָאָרֶץ אֶזְכֹּר *Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; and also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember, and the land will I remember.*

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

On the Semitic Languages In General.—All the Semitic languages constitute a strictly peculiar and individual family, which is most sharply distinguished from all other human tongues by definite laws and peculiarities. Among these peculiarities the following may be mentioned as the most important:

1) So far as inflection is concerned, all inflectional roots are at least triliteral, or are so considered. The triliteral character is the rule. The indicative roots (Deutewurzel), which are capable of inflection only in a very imperfect manner, are an exception to this rule. They constitute a very ancient portion of the language. These and a number of concept roots (Begriffswurzel) which yield to the ordinary inflection only with great difficulty, and very clearly show the marks of having originated from biliteral roots, point to an older period of the language, when the law of triliterality did not yet exist. This is not to be understood to mean that then no triliteral roots existed at all. In the case of many triliteral roots, every attempt to reduce them to a biliteral character ends in a failure. In that period of the language, the triliteral roots probably occupied the same position with reference to the biliteral that the pluriliteral now hold by the side of the triliteral. Gradually their number increased, as by augmentation of sound the biliteral roots were raised to the position of triliterals, until finally the latter constituted the majority, and caused the biliterals that remained to take their inflection. The present system of both nominal and verbal formation can in its fundamental types—but only in these—easily be older than the law of triliterality.

From this law of triliterality, it follows that the union of a consonant with a vowel does not suffice for the formation of a complete and inflectional root, as, e. g., is the case in the Indo-European and the Tartaric languages. For instance, *as* = to be; *do* = to give; Turkest. *ko-mak* = to place, etc.

2) The position of a vowel within the root does not contribute to the meaning of the root.

3) The variations of the vowels within the three-root consonants does not effect a difference in the meaning of the roots. Roots with the difference in meaning which the German language has in *haben, heben; laben, leben, lieben loben; Last, List, Lust*, could not exist side by side in any Semitic language.

4) Since then the meaning of the root clings to the group of consonants, the changes in consonants is accordingly restricted to very narrow limits. The different derivatives from the roots can therefore, in the various Semitic languages, not be so unlike each other, as, e. g., is the case in the Indo-European language; for instance, εἰμί for ἐσμί, Sanskrit *asmi*, Lat. *sum* for *es-um*, Gothic *im* for *is-m*. On the other hand, the Semitic makes a most extensive use of vowel changes, in order to bring out the finer shades of meaning which the word conveys over against its root as also over against other words. In this manner the vowel *a* characterizes, in the perfect, the active transitive meaning; *a* in conjunction with *i* and *u*, the intransitive; *u* with *i*, or *a*, the passive. In the same manner the imperfect is distinguished by a peculiar vowel from the perfect. From this it is also plain that the possibility of the mechanical change of vowels is a very lim-

Digitized by Google

ited one, and is found more in connection with prefixes and suffixes than with roots. In consequence of this, the Semitic languages differ from each other in grammatical features scarcely more than do the Germanic or the Slavonic.

5) The Semitic languages have a number of peculiar sounds that are wanting in other languages. These are the emphatic sounds צ, ט, ק and ע. Beside צ there seems at one time also to have existed a ץ da, beside ע a ע̇ Rain.

6) The Semitic languages have indeed passed beyond the agglutinative stage, and have become inflected languages; however they lack the ability of distinguishing in the verb the time in which the action takes place. In the place of this, the distinction between completed and non-completed action is a substitute of less value, and the distinction between the genders that is carried almost throughout the verb, is, strictly speaking, a luxury. The inflection of nouns, however, especially when compared with the Indo-Germanic, the Tartaric, and the Finnish languages, is very meagre. The richest of the Semitic languages knows only three cases, and cannot everywhere keep even these apart in form.

7) A further want is the inability to form new verbs by the union of a preposition and a verb, or of a noun and a verb. From this is explained the varied and often abrupt transfers of meanings in the Semitic roots. Every outward sign of a transfer of a general meaning upon something special is wanting, or *vice versa*, how one special meaning is applied to another special, or a general to another general. To a small extent this lack is made good by the possibility of deriving new verbs in the form of various verbal stems from nouns (*verba denominata*), whose meanings then contain the special ideas of the noun.

The Semitic languages, on account of their peculiarities as just explained, could most aptly be called the Triliteral languages. The name Semitic, by which they are now known, is a very recent designation. It is first found printed in an article of August Ludwig Schlözer on the Chaldees, printed in the *Repertorium fuer Bibl. und Morgenländ. Literatur* in 1781. The honor of having given the name wide acceptation belongs to Johann Gottfr. Eichhorn, who also claims to have invented the name. Before that these languages were called simply oriental. The name Semitic is based upon the fact that, as far as was known then, those nations that, according to Gen. x., 21 seq., descended from Shem, spoke languages related to the Hebrew. That the Phœnicians, who according to verse 6 were a Hamitic tribe, spoke such a tongue was explained by their having adopted a new language. However, this latter view is in the highest degree improbable. And then Genesis x. gives us only geographical notices in a genealogical garb. Therefore the designation Semitic is inappropriate and misleading. However, since Eichhorn's day it has been generally in vogue, and in scientific discussion it has gradually received a definitely fixed idea. For this reason it is best to retain the name, although not what a correct exegesis of Gen. xi. 10 would suggest as to the linguistic relationship of the children of Shem.

The Semitic languages, by the marks that have been noticed above, are sharply distinguished from all other classes of languages. Especially is it a fixed fact that between the Semitic and the Indo-European groups no genealogical relationship exists. To such a relationship the agreement not only in roots is necessary, but also in the grammatical structure. The latter is in the two families essentially different, and just as little can the former be found. The attempt has often been made to show the connection as far as roots are concerned. But

Digitized by Google

no other roots except the onomata poetica agree. And if the variety of meanings did not exist in the Semitic roots, probably no attempt at an agreement would have been made. All attempts to show such an agreement do not stand the test of criticism. For the present a comparison of Semitic and Indo-European roots is not possible, because in both groups important preliminary questions are still unsolved. Comparisons between Semitic and Indo-European words is a mark of dilettantic misdemeanor (Unfug). Whenever the same words are found in both the one has borrowed from the other.

According to the opinion of other scholars a certain original relationship exists between the Semitic and the neighboring languages in North Africa, or the Berber languages together with the Egyptian. In reality there is found here not only a similarity in the roots, but also likenesses in grammatical points, as, e. g., the formation of the feminine by a *t*, of the causative by sibilant sounds (Zischlaute), the repetition of the root in order to form the intensive, etc. However, we are too little acquainted with these North African languages to pass a sure judgment. Above all, it must not be overlooked in the discussion of the question as to the relationship of the Semitic with the Indo-European or the African languages, that the same causes have the same results, i. e., that similarly disposed people spontaneously produce similar characteristics in their languages.—*Translated from Stade's Hebr. Grammatik, by G. H. Schodde.*

The Relatives ·שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר.—There are three views as to the relation of these to each other; viz., (1) The view of F. Hommel,[1] that the two are of independent origin, אֲשֶׁר being the construct of an original אַשְׁרָ (Assyr. ašru), and ·שֶׁ (deflected to ·שִׁ) being an original sign of relation; (2) What may be called the old view, represented by Ewald and the grammarians generally, which reckons אֲשֶׁר as the original relative, and derives ·שֶׁ or ·שִׁ by aphæresis of א and assimilation of ר; (3) That of Sperling,[2] who makes ·שִׁ the original relative, and derives אֲשֶׁר from it by prefixing an independent pronominal stem *a*, and affixing lă (which appears also in the Arabic relative alladi), ל being then hardened to ר.

The second view has been sufficiently refuted by Sperling. Of the first and third, the third seems to the present writer to contain the essence of the truth, in deriving אֲשֶׁר from ·שִׁ. Hommel's objections may be reduced to three;—1st. There is an ašar in Assyrian, the construct of the noun ašru, and this word is used relatively. In reply, it may be stated that ašar is frequently used relatively where place is referred to (and this may be explained as a loose mode of expression with the relative omitted [cf. Isa. XXIX., 1; perhaps also Job XVIII., 21], or as a natural extension of the idea of place to place *where*); but no well attested instance has been cited to prove an extension of its meaning to other relations.[3] Hommel indeed quotes I R. 59, II., 14 seq.:—(14) Šadi*m* nisûti (15) ištu tamti íliti (16) adi tamti šapliti, (17) urḫu*m* aštûti*m*, (18) padani*m* piḫûti, (19) ašar kibsišu arrusu (20) Šípila

[1] In ZDMG., 1878, pp. 708–715.

[2] *Die Nota Relationis im Hebraeischen*, Jena, 1876.

[3] This point seemed so important, and the writer's knowledge of Assyrian so meagre, that he has consulted his friend Dr. Lyon on the subject, who informs him that he has found no passage where ašar is used relatively save in respect to place.

Digitized by Google

ibášu, (21) ḫarânam namraṣam, (22) urûḫ zumami (23) irtidi—as an example of a wider use; but ašar in this case may be regarded as having its primary meaning, with the relative understood before it, and used just as it is in Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 28, l. 38. The fact that kibsi ends in *i*, though not demonstrative evidence of it, has its bearing in this direction; for the termination *i* is very rarely found in the nominative of nouns.[1] The similarity between ašar and אֲשֶׁר may be explained, then, as a mere coincidence.

The further objections of Hommel, namely, that *l* and *r* in Semitic are never exchanged for each other, and that *r* is never found as a pronominal stem—if true, are not vital to the essence of Sperling's claim. It would seem, however, that אֲשֶׁר might be more naturally derived from the shorter relative than is attempted by him. Hommel is right in maintaining that ·שִׁ is original, and ·שְׁ derived; but having ·שְׁ, the transition to שֶׁר is not difficult, whether we suppose the Dāghēš to have arisen simply to make prominent the previous sound (as Sperling claims), or as compensation for the ל of שֶׁל; for the use of ר to avoid Dāghēš-forte is not unknown in Semitic, but is found, not only in Aramaic and Hebrew Quadriliterals, but also in other words, as, e. g., כַּרְסָא for כִּסֵּא, דַּרְמְשָׁק beside דַּמֶּשֶׂק. After the addition of ר, the word might easily take on the character of a separable, and then prosthetic א would be appropriate. Cf. the Samaritan de, but with suffixes ed. For the change of aṉ inseparable into a separable cf. בְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ, כְּמוֹ.

According to this explanation, then, the original שִׁ was supported by Dāghēš-forte and deflected to ·שְׁ. For the Dāghēš, ר was afterwards substituted, and the word thereby formed received prosthetic א, an increase familiar in the Semitic tongues.

C. R. BROWN,
Newton Centre, Mass.

Genesis xx., 16.—It is shown by Dillmann, in his *Kommentar*, that וְנֹכַחַת is found in the Niph'ăl Perf. 2d sing. f., with wāw consecutive, and his translation may be rendered into English as follows: *And with all* (that are with thee)—*thus thou art proved* one to whom a wrong has been done or.....*thus thou art justified.* וְ is consecutive, and introduces the conclusion from the preceding statement. A Participle is out of place in such a connection, and a feminine noun no less so. We might suppose the word to be Perf. 3d fem. in תָ_, *and concerning the whole matter thus it is settled;* but this idea would be expressed with the masculine, not the feminine. Hence our author feels himself shut up to the second person fem., and he corrects the text to וְנֹכַחַתְּ. So far Dillmann. In the occurrence of such a form, however, is there not a key to the solution of the problem of the helping - of Lāmĕdh Guttural verbs in the 2d person feminine? Some writers regard it as *furtive*, while others regard it as a full vowel; but this reading (if correct) in תָ seems to be nearly decisive for the second hypothesis, for it gives us a form which is just what we should expect the verb to assume under the influence of a helping vowel, and similar to מְלֵךְ, זְרַע, יְרַב. In such cases as these, a final aspirate, if preceded by the helping vowel, loses its hard sound, though it is quite

[1] Cf. C. H. Toy, in *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V., No. 4.

Digitized by Google

usual to retain the hard sound and go without the helping vowel, and we have such forms as וַיִּשְׁתְּ and even a noun נֶרְדְּ. It is a singular fact, however, that, in very rare instances, the hard sound is retained after the helping vowel has been inserted, e. g. in יִחַדְּ, Job III., 6; יִרַדְּתָ, Ps. VII., 6. Now יִחַדְּ being a form precisely analogous to יִרְבְּ and especially to וַתַּעַדְּ, Hos. II., 15, it is idle to say that the vowel in the first instance is *furtive*, and in the second a *full* vowel (see, however, Stade, *Grammatik*, p. 85). The possibility is thrown open, then, of retaining a hard sound after a vowel. If so, the same is true of the vowel in the 2d person f. of Lāmĕdh Guttural verbs. The hard sound of this person might very well be retained, usually, in order to conform to the analogy of the other persons, while a word such as we have considered in this note gives the more accurate form of the same.

IBID.

Note on כְּעַן (Dan. II., 23; Ezra V., 16) כְּעֶנֶת (Ezra IV., 10, 11; VII., 12) כְּעֵת (Ezra IV., 17).—It may not seem out of place to repeat, substantially, that which has already appeared in print, but which may not have been seen by many readers of HEBRAICA. There can be little doubt that these three words have a common origin in עֵת and כְּ, that the root of עֵת is עָנָה (akin to אָנָה), that עֵת, therefore, means "time" as that which is "approaching," "coming to meet one," "happening," and that the word may have a local as well as a temporal signification.[1] According to this, כְּעַן may very well mean "now," as derived from the idea "according to time," while, in another connection, כְּעֶנֶת or כְּעֵת may have a local meaning "according to that which immediately follows this place." No other explanation seems appropriate in Daniel and Ezra, and so the meaning "thus," "as follows" (not, however, "and so forth," as given in Gesenius's Lexicon; for "and so forth" refers rather to what is omitted than to what is expressed, while here there is probably no question of anything in mind which might be said in a formula, or the like, but was not) seems the only one admissible.

IBID.

צַלְמוּת or צַלְמָוֶת?—In *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (ed. 3, vol. II., pp. 142–3) I have ventured to combine both views as to the right pronunciation, suggesting "that the original pronunciation was צַלְמוּת, and the original meaning 'blackness' or 'darkness'; but that, as no other offshoot of the same stem had survived in Hebrew, the word passed into disuse, till Amos (V., 8) and Isaiah (IX., 1) revived it." I suppose these prophets to have needed a fresh word to express "deep gloom," and to have assumed a didactic derivation from צֵל and מָוֶת. I will not repeat my arguments, but quote some remarks of Prof. Nöldeke, who supports Hitzig in his opposition to the now popular theory that צלמות, i. e., darkness, is the true form. "We have no right, for the sake of a root unproved elsewhere, to give up the ancient traditional and very appropriate pronunciation. Observe, too, that the word occurs seventeen times in the Old Testament, but never in the construct state; this is much more easily explicable if the word is a compound than if it is simple. The only passage (Job XII., 22) in which the gender and number of the word can be recognized, speaks (though not with absolute deci-

[1] See the opinion of Fleischer in appendix to Levy's *Woerterbuch ueber die Targumim*, p. 572.

Digitized by Google

siveness) for the masculine singular, i. e., for the old view." (Review of A. v. Kremer's *Altarab. Gedichte* in *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1867, Bd. I., p. 456).

To an inquiry made in my behalf by a friend of mine, Prof. Nöldeke thus replies. "The tradition is unanimous....and this view gives an excellent sense. It is not important that, by the frequent use of the word, the signification became somewhat weakened." He points out that צֶלֶם is always a plastic image, never a painted one, much less a "shade" (as Mühlau and Volck). He does not, however, take account of the fact that צלם *to be dark* occurs in Assyrian, and is, therefore, an old Semitic root. This fact, and the use of צַלְמָוֶת in Job XXXVIII., 17, and probably elsewhere, for Hades (either by direct reference or allusively) compel me to recognize an element of truth in the theory which Prof. Nöldeke rejects. See my note as above. T. K. CHEYNE.

Moriah.—The Chronicles (2 Chron. III., 1) seems to have explained the word "shown by Jehovah" (מֹרִיָּה־יְהוָה), but the writer of Gen. XXII., 14 (whether a glossator or not) seems to me to distinguish *the mountain called* "Jehovah jireh" from the region of "the Moriah" specified in verse 1. In other words, it is not provable that he interpreted "Moriah" like the Chronicles. Is not "Moriah" probably a lengthened form of מוֹרֶה (XII., 6), as Gesenius (*Thesaurus, s. v.*), Ewald (*Gesch.* III., 313), and Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1872, p. 537) have more or less positively held? There were Morehs in several districts of Palestine (see Gen. XII., 6; Judg. VII., 1, where, however, the Peshito reads הרמה).—N. B. The versions take no account of the final יה. Josephus calls the mountain of the sacrifice τὸ Μώριον ὄρος (*Ant.* I., 13, 1). The historical exposition of Gen. XXII., 1-14 must be reserved for another place. IBID.

At page 387 of the OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT, June, 1884, Mr. Hansen refers to the unique sense of "conscience" for מַדָּע in Eccles. X., 20. He may be inclined to accept Klostermann's proposed correction of בְּמַדָּעֲךָ into בְּמַדָּעֲךָ *among thine acquaintance* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, Heft 1). How strange the parallel between the conscience and a sleeping-chamber presupposed by the traditional text! IBID.

Errata in the Baer-Delitzsch Edition of Proverbs.—For the convenience of those who have the Baer-Delitzsch edition of Proverbs, it may be well to note certain needed errata in the dissertation *De primam vocabulorum litterarum dagessatione.*

p. viii, § 1, last line,	for 12	read 13
" § 2, line 7,	" 4	" 14
" foot-note 1, line 1,	" quinque	" sex
" " 2, last line,	" 6	" 18 (*bis*)
p. ix, § 4, line 2, after *Mem* insert the words "vel *Beth* et *Pe.*"		
" " " 9,	for 8	read 18
" " " 9,	" 9, 10	" 10, 9
" " " 11,	" 10	" 11
" " " 12,	" 26	" 25
" " " 15,	" 12	" 2

Digitized by Google

p. ix, § 4,	l. 16,	for 24, 6	read 24, 5
"	" "	" 29, 6	" 29, 36
"	" " 19,	" 11	" 21
"	foot-note 2, line 1,	"	" 20, 26
p. x, § 5,	line 8,	" 5	" 12
"	" " 8,	" 23	" 24
"	" " 8,	" 6	" 7
"	" " 3 from bot.	" 25	" 15
"	foot-n. " 5,	" 28, 16	" 28, 17
"	" " 5,	" 31, 16	" 31, 36
"	" " 7,	" 17	" 27
p. xi, text,	" 3 from top,	" 17, 6	" 17, 7
"	" last line,	" 5, 5	" 4, 13
p. xii,	" line 1,	" 10	" 9
"	" " 15,	" 21, 3	" 21, 31
"	" " 8 from bot.	" 29	" 49
p. xiii,	" lines 4 and 8	" quinque	" sex
"	" line 13,	" 29	" 28
"	" " 19,	" 24	" 25
p. xiv,	" " 6,	" Ez.	" Ex.
"	" " 6,	" 4	" 14
p. xv,	" " 4 from bot.	" 25	" 26
"	ft.-n. 1, " 4	" 22, 2	" 22, 3
"	" " 4	" 3, 15	" 2, 12

O. O. FLETCHER.

Purpose without a Connective.—The simplest imaginable construction of two verbs, one of which is dependent upon the other, is that in which they are placed side by side without a connective. Such a construction is characteristic of infancy. It was doubtless very frequent in the early history of the Hebrew, as of other languages. It is still found, especially in poetry, where it is employed to give to a composition a vivacity not often sought in prose. The dependent verb is oftenest in the Imperfect, the tense suited to expressing the potentiality of an action (Driver, § 24). When this tense appears in its simplest form, there is sometimes difficulty in determining just what is the nature of the dependence expressed. In certain cases either of two or three interpretations may be adopted with little variation of the sense; *e. g.* Deut. XXXII., 39; Isa. L., 2; Prov. XIX., 25. In other cases the context favors a translation by one of the forms by which, in English, a purpose is expressed. When the Imperfect appears in a voluntative (jussive or cohortative) form, there is seldom any doubt with reference to its signification (Driver, § 46). It is then usually best translated by a dependent clause with a particle denoting a purpose.

I need only call attention to the fact that the voluntative is not always distinguishable, when used, and that the sacred writers are not consistent in the use of the moods. The Imperative is a few times employed after an Imperative without a connective.

The following are among the more striking examples under this head, arranged according to the use of the moods and tenses:

Digitized by Google

PERFECT—IMPERFECT.

Isa. XLI., 2. The jussive יִרְדְּ in this passage can hardly be equivalent to the simple Imperfect (Driver, § 64, Obs. Cf. the commentaries of Ewald and Delitzsch).—Job XXX., 28. The usual construction with the Infinitive is abandoned, probably because a repetition of the act is to be indicated.—Neh. XIII., 19. The command to the guard is the apodosis.

IMPERFECT CONSECUTIVE—IMPERFECT.

Isa. XLI., 7. The confident assertion of the workmen, לֹא יִמּוֹט, forms the apodosis.—Job XVI., 8. In this, as in the passage XXX., 28, just cited, the leading verb is קוּם, after which the usual construction is that with the Infinitive.—2 Chron. IV., 6. The Infinitive is followed by an emphatic explanatory clause (Ewald's *Lehrbuch*, § 337 *b*).

IMPERFECT—IMPERFECT.

Ex. XXVIII., 32; repeated, XXXIX., 23, without the verb of the protasis.—Lev. XVI., 30; an emphatic explanatory clause.—Ps. LI., 10: *that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.*—LV., 7: *that I may fly;* after a question implying a wish.—LXXXVIII., 11; really two successive questions (see Delitzsch *i. l.*).—CII., 14; like the last example, instead of the more usual Infinitive.—CXL., 9; similar to the construction with פֶּן, but more striking.—Job XXIV., 14 (cf. XVI., 8).

IMPERATIVE—IMPERFECT.

Exod. VII., 9; with the jussive.—XVIII., 19; a colloquial expression.—Ps. IX., 21: *that the nations may know.*—XXXIV., 12 (cf. Exod. XVIII., 19).—XXXIX., 5; with the cohortative.—LI., 16.—LXI., 8 (cf. Jonah II., 1).—LXXXVI., 11.—CXVIII., 19: *that I may enter them,—may praise Yah.*—CXIX., 17 (cf. verses 77 and 144).—CXIX., 145.

When the purpose is negative the apodosis regularly takes אַל. Exod. X., 28. Ps. XIX., 14 (cf. Job XXXIII., 18). Job XXXVI., 21.

INFINITIVE—IMPERFECT.

Hab. III., 16: *to invade it;* another construction with the Infinitive.

PARTICIPLE—IMPERFECT.

Isa. V., 11 (cf. 1 Sam. XXIX., 11, where a single act is denoted).—XIII., 9; where the construction with the Infinitive is once used, but abandoned for that with the finite verb (cf. Lev. XVI., 30).

IMPERATIVE—IMPERATIVE.

Deut. I., 21. 1 Sam. XX., 36. Jer. XLVIII., 6 There are several idiomatic expressions containing two Imperatives which might, perhaps, be shown originally to have implied a purpose; *e. g.* those in which the first Imperative is, לֵךְ, קוּם, etc.

The foregoing examples may, in comparison with other expressions of purpose, be called indefinite. A particle may be supplied without changing the quality, but not without modifying the intensity of the idea. It is, therefore, plain that this construction cannot be said to denote a peculiar kind of purpose, but only to give to it a lively reality, whatever may be its peculiarity.

[In Syriac the omission of the connective is even more frequent than in

Digitized by Google

Hebrew (see Uhlemann, §§ 85. 4: *d*, *β*, and 62, 2). In this language the latter of two perfects without a connective may denote the purpose of the former (Uhlemann, § 60. 5, *b*; Bernstein's *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 56, ll. 3 and 12, and p. 78, l. 3).]

H. G. MITCHELL,
Boston.

On the Source of the Name יהוה.—Since the theory that the idea in the tetragrammaton as already used by Moses had undergone the change of a development, might find some support in the claim that the name Yahweh has been taken from other religious systems, it will be necessary briefly to explain the opinions of scholars, those of our day especially, on this subject, as also what seems to be the correct view concerning it. Since Israel could have borrowed the name in question only through the presupposed or real, direct or indirect, connection with other nations, it will be best to consider in order the different nations who are claimed to have made use of the name Yahweh.

That the Indo-Europeans have this Old Testament appellation for God in the word Jovis, is considered by v. Bohlen (*Gen.* p. ciii), Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 672), and J. G. Müller (*Die Semiten, etc.*, p. 163) as "a view not easily to be refuted." But so little direct connection between the Indo-European and the Semitic languages can be pointed out, that it is out of question to find a derivative of the Indo-European div (*to shine*) transferred into the Semitic; but rather must the name of Yahweh, used by one of the Semitic nations (Israel), be derived from a Semitic verb. Hitzig endeavored to prove for יהוה, not an etymological and linguistic, but rather an ideal and historico-religious connection with the Indo-European, by saying: "From all appearances, the word Yahweh has come from Astuads, i. e., astuat = the Existing-one, as in the Armenian language God is called. Moses modeled his name of God after this, but only because his mind was prepared to grasp the idea, and by reflection he was able to understand the truth and depth of the thought in astuads." But how is it possible, even if the story concerning the flood shows acquaintance with the Ararat of Armenia (Gen. VIII., 4), and even if the oldest traditions of the Hebrews point rather to a direct north-easterly than a south-easterly source, to believe that Moses, while in Egypt, took an Armenian name of God as his model?

If then an Aryan or Japhetic origin of the tetragrammaton is apparently an impossibility, it seems, on the other hand, quite natural, on account of the actual connection between the Hebrews and the Hamitic (Gen. X., 8–12) original inhabitants of Babylon, to look for a proto-Chaldaic origin for the (commonly so considered) original form of Yahweh, namely Yau. This has been done last by Frederick Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 158 sq.). But I must on this point express my agreement with the criticism of Friedrich Philippi (*Ztschrift fuer Völkerpsychologie*, 1883, pp. 175–190). The latter has shown, on the one hand, that Delitzsch is unsuccessful in his attack on the generally accepted view, which takes יהוה to be a Qal form of הוה, and Yahu, Yah, Yeho, Yo to be abbreviations of this form, and, on the other hand, that there is no proof for Delitzsch's assertions, that an original Yau had been transformed into a Yahu; that there had been an Assyrio-Babylonian god named Yau; and that there had ever been a Sumerico-Akkadian name *i* for the divinity. According to Schrader (*Keilinschriften u. d. V. T.*, 1883, p. 25) a Hebrew or Assyrian origin of the name יהוה seems not even a possibility. But did not the Hamitic Canaanites, who had em-

Digitized by Google

igrated from the neighborhood of Babylon and the Erythrian Sea into the Semitic districts, possess the name Yahweh in some form? Even if we do find scattered reminiscences of the name, if not in Κολπία, yet, e. g., in the name of a Hamitic king (2 Sam. VIII., 10, and in cuneiform inscriptions), historically, it is more probable that these latter added the name Yahweh to their mythological list. This is also the view of Baudissin (*Studien*, I., p. 223).—Again, another party of the Hamitic nation, namely the Egyptians, are considered as furnishing the model for the word Yahweh, both for the word and the idea. The former view is that of Röth, who considers the name Yahweh an imitation of Yoh, the god of the moon. But as there is no reason why the Hebrews should select from the Egyptian gods just this Yoh, and as Yahweh stands in no special relation to the moon, this identification must be considered as forced and without ground. The latter view, i. e., a connection between the idea of Yahweh and an Egyptian idea, has in a two-fold manner been made the actual source of the tetragrammaton. In the first place, the Old Testament definition of the tetragrammaton, the sentence "I am that I am" (Ex. III., 14) is considered a translation of an inscription on the Isis temple at Sais reported by Plutarch. It is this (*De Iside*, ch. 9). Τὸ ἐν Σάει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην: Ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. But this inscription "describes the goddess Neith as the one that eternally reproduces herself, over against which the idea lying in Yahweh is most radically contradictory" (Tholuck). In the second place, the idea expressed in the name Yahweh is regarded as a reproduction of the Egyptian nuk pu nuk. However, Le Page Renouf (*Vorlesungen*, p. 227) says: "The words nuk pu nuk are indeed found in several passages in the Book of the Dead, and it is also true that the word nuk is the personal pronoun *I*, and that the demonstrative word pu is frequently employed to connect the subject and the predicate of a sentence. But the connection in which the word stands must be looked at, before we can be sure of having a complete sentence before us, especially as pu generally stands at the end of a sentence. A careful study of the passages in the Book of the Dead where these words occur, shows us immediately that they contain no mysterious teachings concerning the being of God. In one of these passages (78: 21) the dead person says: 'I am he that knows the way of Nu;' at another (31 : 4), 'I am the ancient in the land.' 'I am he who is Osiris, the ancient, who looked on his father Seb and his mother Nut on the day of the great slaughter.' In another account in this book (contained in ch. 96) the words nuk pu nuk, disappear, because the report is in the third person. There we read: 'He is the bull of the field, he is Osiris, who,'" etc.

Or is the name Yahweh an original possession of the Semitic family, but belonging to another member than the Israelites? However the opinion of v. d. Alm, Tiele and Stade, that Yahwe was originally the name of the god of the Kenites, a member of the Midianites, has no proof whatever for itself. For even though we learn in 1 Chron. II., 55, that the Kenites are joined with the Rechabites, it is expressly stated in 1 Chron. IV., 10, that the Kenite Jabez, who had settled in Judea, had called upon the name of Yahweh. And it must also be accepted in the case of the Rechabite Jonadab (2 Kgs. X., 15 sq.) who had settled in the Northern Kingdom, that he, since a separate motive for his action is nowhere mentioned, maintained his fidelity to the worship of Yahweh, which had been adopted by his forefathers, for the same reason that the 7000 Israelites

Digitized by Google

(1 Kgs. XIX., 18) did. The descendants of Jonadab also thus maintain their fidelity only to the God who had been accepted by them (Jer. XXXV.). But in itself it is improbable that the Kenites, who in a political and social view were strangers and metics, and only an element whose presence was permitted, should, from a religious point of view, have been the ruling element from whom the Israelites should have adopted their most precious possession. Is it not, even from the outstart, probable that they were the g e r i m who had adopted the Y a h w e h cultus, and not proselytes, because, by their own voluntary act, they have accepted what others have received from their fathers, and "must first secure in order to possess"—generally the most zealous advocates of the possession?

Over against the favor with which an extra-Israelitish source for the Y a h w e h idea is received by a number of modern scholars, and over against the view that in doing so the true spirit of critical prudence and historical impartiality is evinced, I believe the historical consciousness of the Israelites ought to be thrown into the scales, according to which they regarded the divine appellation in question as their own peculiar property, while they have handed down other religious phenomena as foreign in character. The manner in which this historical consciousness finds its expression is well expounded by Tuch (*Genesis*, 1838, p. xl sq.) in these words: "The non-Israelite cannot know of Y a h w e h, but can have only a corruption of the deity in general. In his mouth the word יהוה would not signify the true God, the Creator of the world and Lord of the nations, but in a one-sided manner, only the God of the Hebrews. Y a h w e h would thus become one of the gods (cf. 1 Kgs. XX., 23, with verse 28). With a clear conception of the difference, the Hebrew avoids the use of the word יהוה both when he speaks to non-Israelites and also when he introduces non-Israelites as speakers, and employs principally the word אלהים. This we find in Judg. I., 7; VII., 14; 1 Sam. IV., 7, 8; Jonah III., 3; cf. with 5, 8, 9, 10; 1 Sam. XXX., 15; XXII., 3. It is characteristic that just in these cases the construction of אלהים with the plural (cf. 1 Sam. IV., 8) is generally used, whereby the Israelite narrator entirely places himself on the standpoint of the heathen conception of the divinity. From this standpoint also must be explained the fact that the word יהוה is not used by those animals that are introduced as speaking (cf. Judg IX., 9, with Gen. III., 1, sq.)." — *Translated from König's "Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1884, pp. 29–33."

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

SOME RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

By Professor H. P. Smith, D. D.

Cincinnati, O.

We shall first mention a work* which is not very recent, and which does not belong distinctively in the field of Old Testament science, it bears so directly, however, on all ancient literature, that it ought to interest every one who studies the intellectual development of the race. The author undertakes to give us as complete an account as possible of ancient book-making. He notes first the various classical words for the book and its parts. The second chapter discusses pergament as a book material and fixes the differences between the book and the codex. In the next division we are informed as to the usual size of ancient books. Stichometry is the subject of a separate chapter, while another describes the papyrus manufacture, and this is closely followed by another on the difference in form between books of poetry and prose books. A clear picture of the work of the ancient publisher is given in the seventh chapter. The eighth traces for us the change which took place as the *codex* took the place of the *volumen*, a change with which Christianity had (strange to say) considerable to do. The present writer is not competent to criticize the data of the work, still less to pronounce upon its proposed emendations in various classic texts. He can say, however, without reserve, that it is a very interesting book, and one from which much may be learned.

A reminder of the recent Luther-anniversary is the union in one volume of the reformers prefaces to the different editions of the Bible,† in his translation published during his lifetime. From the preface by Prof. Kleinert we learn that, besides separate issues of the New Testament and parts of the Old, the whole Bible was printed in eleven editions under Luther's own eye. In each of these he made changes and improvements. The prefaces now before us are characteristic of Luther, and many a sentence will stick in the memory of the reader, as this: "Here [in the Old Testament] thou wilt find the swaddling-clothes and the manger in which Christ lies, whither also the angel directed the shepherds. Poor and meager clothing, but precious the treasure, Christ, that lies therein." Of his occasional difficulty in translation we hear in the preface to Job: "I have taken pains to give clear and good German. It often happened that we were a fortnight or three or four weeks seeking for a single word, and even then we did not always find it. In Job Master Phillip, Aurogallus and I wrought so that sometimes in four days we could scarcely accomplish three lines. Friend, now that it is in German and finished, one can run his eye over three or four pages without

* Das Antike Buecherwesen in seinem Verhaeltniss zur Literatur; von *Theodor Birt*. Berlin, 1882. 8vo, viii and 517 pp.

† Dr. Martin Luther's Vorreden zur Heiligen Schrift.....neu herausgegeben auf Veranstaltung der Preussischen *Hauptbibelgesellschaft*. Berlin, 1883. 8vo, xviii and 185 pp., with portrait of Luther.

Digitized by Google

stumbling; but he will not discover what stones and stumps once lay where he now glides along as over a planed board. We had to sweat and fret before we could get the stones and stumps out of the way and make so fine a walk," The preface to the Psalter contains the well-known passage in which that book is called a *little Bible* " in which all that is in the whole Bible is contained in miniature, so that it becomes a beautiful encheiridion or handbook." A little further on we read " In fine, wilt thou see the holy Christian church painted in miniature with vivid color and form, take up the Psalter—there thou hast a fine, clear, clean glass that shall show thee what Christianity is." We are tempted to further quotation, but we forbear.

Dr. Mandelkern has ready for the press a Hebrew concordance more extensive than any at present in use, and more correct, as he hopes. It is difficult to find a publisher for such a work, and he has therefore published a brief prospectus,* accompanied by recommendations from those who have examined the manuscript. These recommendations come from Professors Delitzsch, Fleischer, Schlottmann, and others almost equally well known. The prospectus itself exhibits the shortcomings of Buxtorf and Fürst, and explains the advantages of Dr. Mandelkern's own work. The latter includes proper names and the most important particles, corrects the errors and omissions of earlier efforts, and makes its citations in such a way as to give the sense, instead of taking three or four words as they come." We cannot doubt that such a work is greatly needed, and in the present state of Hebrew study in this country, we do not see why the author might not count on the sale of a hundred copies here.

The Jewish question is represented by three recent pamphlets. The first is by Dr. Joel, well known as an author. It is " against Gildemeister."† But we have not been able to procure the article to which this is a response. We learn, however, from Dr. Joel' statements, that Prof. Gildemeister was called as witness in a criminal suit, which involved the character of the compendium of Jewish usage known as the *Shulchan Aruch*. Gildemeister declared this work still to be binding on the Jews, and gave what he supposed to be fair examples of the legislation found in it and in the Talmud. Dr. Joel replies to both counts; and it is evident that, for the more advanced Jews, it cannot be said that any of the ancient codes are binding in their entirety. We might blame them (though on the whole we shall probably find them excusable) for not breaking more decidedly with the traditions of the past.

Dr. Blumenstein makes a contribution to Jewish science in his discussion of the various kinds of oath, with especial reference to the Talmud.‡ The work consists of three parts, which take up in succession the Biblical oath, the Mishnic oath and the Rabbinical oath. It has been commended by Prof. Strack as on the whole a reliable statement. In reading it we have not discovered anything remarkable, except the Rabbinical thoroughness of classification, which provides for every possible emergency. No reference is made to *Kol Nidre*, which indeed does not come under the legal aspect of the subject.

---

* DIE NEUBEARBEITETE HEBRAEISCH-CHALDAEISCHE BIBEL-CONCORDANZ von Dr. S. Mandelkern in Leipzig. Leipzig, 1884.

† GEGEN GILDEMEISTER. Breslau, 1884. Small 8vo, 34 pp.

‡ DIE VERSCHIEDENEN EIDESARTEN NACH MOSAISCH-TALMUDISCHEM RECHTE UND DIE FAELLE IHRER ANWENDUNG; von Dr. J. Blumenstein. Frankfurt a. M., 1883. 8vo, 32 pp.

Digitized by Google

In the next number* we find more that stirs our blood, though we desire to be cautious in regard to every new movement. It comes, however, with the introduction of Prof. Franz Delitzsch, known as a warm friend of the Jews and a clear-headed man, as well as a profound scholar. The documents are in fact the confession of a new Judeo-Christian sect which has started in Russia. They declare a firm belief in "Jesus our brother," with a desire to maintain Jewish customs and usages so far as not inconsistent with such a belief. For an extended statement we must refer to the work itself. A supplement has appeared which we have not seen. The leader of the new movement has recently been assassinated, as we are informed by the daily papers; and between the intolerant government of Russia and the intolerance of Russian Jews, there is reason to fear that the little community may be crushed at its birth. Jewish papers in this country are rather inclined to sneer at it; but it can hardly be further from Talmudic Judaism than are some of the reform Jews, and one would think any movement that looks like progress would be welcome to the latter.

The Jewish Bible Dictionary of Dr. Hamburger appears in a second edition —partly at least; we gather that the revision is to extend over only the first two parts.† The work differs from others of its class, in that it is all written by one man. This fact being taken into consideration, it is certainly a very creditable performance; but it is almost unnecessary to add that it can show little originality. In the majority of articles that we have examined, nothing especially remarkable is found. In some cases, however, we have information on Talmudic practice or interpretation which is very welcome. So in the articles *Arbeit*, *Armuth*, *Babel*, *Ehre*, not to mention others. The account of Babylonia is extended so as to include post-biblical Judaism there. We have noticed some instances in which improbable assertions of the Talmud are given as historical facts.

The *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*‡ reaches its conclusion with the thirty-third and thirty-fourth part (*lieferung*). The present volume contains the Midrash to Proverbs. This is said to be of comparatively late origin; but it shows the likeness of the whole family. The completed work, containing over three thousand pages, is a monument to the industry of the author, and would seem to be sufficiently extensive to give a good idea of what is meant by Haggada. A single example may be introduced here. On Prov. XIII., 20 ("He who associates with the wise becomes wise, but the companion of fools is himself foolish,") we have the comment—"Like one who goes into the perfumer's, even though he buys or sells nothing, his clothes will carry a fragrance the whole day. This is the companion of the wise. Or, on the other hand, if one goes into the tanner's, even though he buys or sells nothing, his clothes will carry the smell the whole day. Like him is the one who consorts with fools."

---

* DOCUMENTE DER NATIONAL-JUEDISCHEN CHRISTGLAEUBIGEN BEWEGUNG IM SUEDRUSSLAND. In Original und deutscher Uebersetzung mitgetheilt von Franz Delitzsch. Erlangen, 1884. vi and 44 pp. in German with xxiv pp. Hebrew text.

† REAL-ENCYCLOPÆDIE FUER BIBEL UND TALMUD. Woerterbuch zum Handgebrauch fuer Bibelfreunde, etc. Ausgearbeitet von Dr. J. Hamburger. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Abtheilung I., Heft 1, 2. Leipzig, 1884. 178 pp. 8vo. The whole of this first or Biblical division fills 1102 pp.

‡ BIBLIOTHECA BABBINICA. Eine Sammlung alter Midrashim zum ersten male ins Deutsche uebertragen von Lic. Dr. Aug. Wuensche. Leipzig, 1885.

Digitized by Google

Prof. Schrader's essay* deals with the vexed question of the Akkadian or Sumerian or Akkado-Sumerian origin of Babylonian civilization. As is well known, the debate has now lasted a considerable time. The minority, headed by Halevy, decline still to be convinced of the Akkado-Sumerian existence at all, and of the existence of the "Turanian" dialects in some of the inscriptions. Prof. Schrader presents the arguments for both these points with his usual learning and perspicuity; and, to the layman at least, there would seem to be little left to say in reply.

The problems of Old Testament study† are the subject of a small book, by Dr. Koenig, already well known as a scholar in this department. His aim is to discover the exact point of inquiry in each case where difference of opinion exists in the different schools. In his study he found certain things asserted by the "development theorists," under the influence (as he supposes) of a development bias. The chief of these theorists is Kuenen, whose standpoint is notoriously the parity of all religions. "The religion of Israel is to us *one* of the religions, nothing less, but also nothing more." In contrast with this, Dr. Koenig formulates his own view, when starting on the inquiry, thus: "My judgment as to the parity of all religions is not decided at the start. Rather will I draw my assertions concerning the relative worth of all religions from the contemplation of the facts of history." In consequence of this determination he puts an interrogation point at each of several assertions of the modern school. These assertions generally concern "Yahweh" as the tribal god of Israel; his identity with Moloch; the position of Moses as a religious teacher; the worship of Yahweh under an image; the originality of the prophets; the age of the idea of the covenant; and the relations of the priests to the Torah. Each of these is discussed at some length, and the conclusion of the whole argument is stated as follows: "According to what precedes, I hold that there is reason for the assertion that the main elements of the Old Testament religion are not changed by the written prophets, and that the historical phases of the Mosaic religion were not alterations of its substance." As Dr. Koenig avowed himself some time since to be a Wellhausenian in critical questions, this study is especially interesting; because it shows that Wellhausen's theories may be held along with distinct supernaturalism.

The new edition of Herzog‡ has reached the middle of the fifteenth volume—more exactly, three-fifths of this volume are now in our hands. In this part there is much that is of especial interest to the Old Testament student. Prof. Strack contributes an article on the "Great Synagogue," and one on "Synagogues," both characterized by his accustomed learning. Considerably longer is the description of "Syria," by Dr. Ryssel. It discusses the name, the geography, the history and the literature of the country. Immediately following it is an article on the "Syriac Versions of the Bible" by Nestle. Dr. Nestle confines himself to the Peshito, as the other Syriac versions are treated in an earlier volume. He apparently finds no reason to depart from the common view that the transla-

* ZUR FRAGE NACH DEM URSPRUNGE DER ALTBABYLONISCHEN CULTUR, von Eb. Schrader. Berlin, 1884. 4to., 49 pp.

† DIE HAUPTPROBLEME DER ALT-ISRAELITISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE GEGENUEBER DEN ENTWICKELUNGSTHEORETIKERN. Beleuchtet von Lic. Dr. Eduard Koenig. Leipzig, 1884. 8vo., iv and 108 pp.

‡ REAL-ENCYCLOPÆDIE FUER PROTESTANTISCHE TREOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. Heft 142-146. Leipzig, 1884, 1885.

Digitized by Google

tion was made as early as the second century. Prof. Volck has a good article on the Targums; but it is rather disappointing, on looking for "Talmud," to be referred to the supplement.

Lagarde has collected a number of his shorter writings in a single volume.* The most of them have appeared in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. First in order is an essay on Lord Ashburnham's library, celebrated for the number of rare manuscripts it contains. Secondly, the preface to the author's "Anmerkungen zur Griechische Uebersetzung der Proverbien" (now out of print) is repeated, with additional notes. Of the rest, a number announce other publications. Some discuss Semitic words. Of these the longest is concerning צרה in the essay entitled, (as separately published) "Is marriage with a deceased wife's sister prohibited in the Pentateuch?" and written in English. The discussion turns upon the meaning of the word צרה in Lev. XVIII., 18. By elaborate comparison of the dialects, Lagarde establishes the meaning to be *a fellow-wife—co-wife* we might say.

The latter part of the volume (pp. 242–379), contains Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus according to the Codex Amiatinus. It is generally known that Tischendorf held this to be one of the most ancient MSS. of the Latin Bible (Old Latin, of course, in these two books) that have come down to us—probably the most ancient of all. Lagarde does not date it so early, placing it in the ninth instead of the sixth century. In any case, an accurate collation of it is desirable, as that which goes under Tischendorf's name is now generally recognized to be sufficient.

---

* MITTHEILUNGEN von Paul de Lagarde. Goettingen, 1884. Large 8vo, 384 pp.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BACHER, W. Hebräisches ב und arabisches ب. *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, No. 3, 1883.

BACHER, W. Die hebräisch-arabische Sprachvergleichung des Abulwalîd Merwân ibn Ganâh. (By C. F. Seybold.) *Literatur-Blatt f. Orientalische Philologie*, Nov., '84.

BALLHORN, F. Alphabete orientalischer und occidentalischer Sprachen. Nürnberg: *H. Ballhorn*, 1880.

BERLINER, A. Targum Onkelos. (By H. L. Strack.) *Theol. Litblt.*, No. 43, 1884.

BERTIN, G. On the character and influence of the accent in the Akkadian and Assyrian words. *Proc. Soc. of Bib. Archæol.*, Nov., '82.

BOEHTLINGK, O. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerter Fassung. 5. Thl. 2. Lfg. Leipzig: *Voss' Sort.*

CASSEL, DAV. Hebräisch-deutsches Wörterbuch nebst Paradigmen der Substantiva und Verba. 2. Aufl. Ober-Glogau: *Kukutsch.* Pp. IV, 377.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Die Sprache der Kossäer. (By E. Mayer.) *Literatur-Blatt f. Oriental. Philologie*, Nov., '84. (By J. Halevy.) *Revue crit.*, June 16, '84.

HARKAVY, A. Neuaufgefundene hebräische Bibelhandschriften. Bericht an die kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg. Leipzig: *Voss' Sort.* Pp. 48.....M.3.70

HEIDENHEIM, M. Die samaritanische Pentateuch-Version. (By H. L. Strack.) *Lit. Centralblt.*, No. 50, 1884.

HILPRECHT, HERM. Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I., Königs von Babylon. (By C. Bezold.) *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschung.*

HOMMEL, FR. Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen. (By E. König.) *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, No. 23, 1884.

HOWELL, M. S. Grammar of the classical Arabic Language. (By G. P. Badger.) *Academy*, Dec. 27, '84.

KAULEN, FR. Assyrien und Babylonien. (By Himpel.) *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1884.

KAUTZSCH, E. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. (By J. J. P. Valeton. *Theol. Studien*, II., No. 5; (By K. Budde.) *Theol. Literaturztg.*, No. 26, 1884; (By C. Siegfried.) *Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, No. 28, 1885.

KEANE, A. H. Semitico-oceanic linguistic affinitres. *Nature*, Dec., '83.

KOENIG, FR. Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte. (By E. Kautzsch.) *Theol. Literaturztg.*, No. 22, 1884.

KONIG, J. Das Alter und die Entstehungsweise des Pentateuchs. Freiburg: *Mohr*.....M.1.50

LANMAN, C. R. A Sanskrit Reader. (By L. v. Schroeder.) *Literatur-Blatt f. Orientalische Philologie*, Nov. '84.

LEFORT, F. Sur la période chaldaïque. *Journ. des Sav.*, Nov., '83.

LIEBLEIN, J. Egyptian religion. Leipzig: *Hinrich.* Pp. 46.....M.1.50

MITCHELL, E. C. An Elementary Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book. (By G. F. Moore.) *Andover Review*, Jan., '85.

MITCHELL, H. G. Hebrew Lessons. (By G. F. Moore.) *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

MITRA, R. The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepāl. (By T. W. Rhys-Davids.) *The Academy*, Aug. 30, '84.

NOELDEKE, TH. Untersuchungen zur Semitischen Grammatik. *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, No. 4, 1883.

PETERS, J. P. On the Egyptian and Old Babylonian Theories of the origin of the Phœnician Alphabet compared. *Proc. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, Oct. '83.

PINCHES, F. G. Papers upon Assyrian Grammar.—Introductory. *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*, Nov., '82.

RIEHM, ED. C. AUG. Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums f. gebildete Bibelleser. Bielefeld: *Velhagen & Klasing*.....M.2.20

SARZEK, E. DE. Découvertes en Chaldée. Première Livre. Paris: *E. Leroux*. 30fr.

SAYCE, A. H. Origin of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschung*, Jan., '84.

SCHAEFER, B. Das Diluvium in der Tradition der Völker. Frankfurt a. M.: *Foesser*. Pp. 22.....M.0.50

SCHRADER, EBERH. Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge der alt-babylonischen Cultur. (By J. Halevy.) *Revue crit.*, July 14, 21, '84.

STEINGASS, F. The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary. *Athenæum*, Mar. 28, '85.

STRAOCHUN, D. O. Der Tractat Taanit des babyl. Talmud. (By H. L. Strack.) *Theol. Lit.*, No. 40, '84; *Lit. Centralbl.*, No. 37, '84.

TOY, H. Semitic Notes. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V., 4.

Vocabulaire arabe-français à l'usage des étudiants. Beyrouth, 1883. Pp. x, 1007.....M.12

WIEDEMANN, A. Aegyptische Geschichte. (By R. Pietschmann.) *Literatur-Blatt f. Oriental. Philologie*, Nov., '84.

WUENSCHE, A. Bibliotheca rabbinica. Die Pesikta des Rab Kahana. (By Kroner.) *Jued. Liter.-Blatt*, No. 45, 1884.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE COLLEGE; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOLUME II.

OCTOBER, 1885—JULY, 1886.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

NO. 1.—OCTOBER, 1885.

I. A SOUTH-BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC-GREEK BILINGUAL. *By Prof. Dr. Eberhard Schrader*..... 1- 3
II. ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF MUTNINU. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D*..... 4- 6
III. SOME PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK. *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D*..... 7, 8
IV. THE USE OF עִבֶר AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN THE HEXATEUCH. *By Prof. E. C. Bissell, D. D*..... 9-12
V. THE MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS. *By Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D*..... 13-23
VI. OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D*..... 24-32
VII. GRAMMATICAL NOTES:—On Genesis II., 9 b.—On מַאֵין כָּמוֹךָ (Jer. X., 6, 8).—On 1 Samuel I., 5 (אַפַּיִם). *By Canon S. R. Driver, D. D*..... 33-38
VIII. EMENDATIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF ISAIAH. *By Rev. Dr. K. Kohler*..... 39-48
IX. NOTES ON GENESIS I., 1, AND XXIV., 14. (1) On the Rendering of Genesis I., 1. (2) On Genesis XXIV., 14 (נָעַר). *By Rev. T. K. Cheyne, A. M*..... 49, 50
X. A NOTE ON THE RELATIVE (אֲשֶׁר). *By Prof. A. H. Sayce, D. D*..... 51
XI. MODERN IDEAS IN HEBREW. *By Mr. W. Willner*..... 52
XII. SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A MORE EXACT NOMENCLATURE AND DEFINITION OF THE HEBREW TENSES. *By Prof. Wm. G. Ballantine, D. D*..... 53-55
XIII. EDITORIAL NOTES:—The Second Volume.—Proof-reading.—An Important Help for the Study of Assyrian.—Other Semitic Helps..... 56-58
XIV. BOOK NOTICES:—Dr. Socin's Arabic Grammar, *Prof. J. G. Lansing, D. D.*—Third Edition of Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestuecke, *Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D*..... 59-62
XV. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 63, 64
XVI. A LIST OF SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT INSTRUCTORS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

NO. 2.—JANUARY, 1886.

I. THE ATTITUDE OF THE REVISED VERSION TOWARD THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. *By Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D*..... 65- 78
II. SIPPARA. *By Rev. William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D*..... 79- 86
III. INSCRIPTION OF ASURBANIPAL, FROM A BARREL-CYLINDER FOUND AT ABOO-HABBA. V. Rawl. 62, No. 1. *By James A. Craig and Robert F. Harper*..... 87- 89
IV. ADVANTAGES OF A SLIGHT KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW. *By Prof. Frederic Gardiner, D. D*..... 90- 92
V. MORIAH. *By Rev. Edward G. King, D. D*..... 93- 94
VI. A NOTE IN REFERENCE TO THE "MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS." *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D*..... 95- 97
VII. ON THE PENITENTIAL PSALM "DE PROFUNDIS." *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D*..... 98-106
VIII. DRIVER ON THE HEBREW TENSES. *By Prof. James Strong, S. T. D., LL. D*..... 107, 108
IX. THE DIVINE NAMES AS THEY OCCUR IN THE PROPHETS. *By Prof. Barnard C. Taylor*..... 109-110
X. UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD. *By Ira M. Price, M. A*..... 111-115
XI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—Qamhi, *Cyrus Adler*.—On Genesis I., 1-3, *Prof. T. K. Cheyne*.—A Prayer in Hebrew, *Benjamin Douglas*.—A Note on the Relative (אֲשֶׁר), *Prof. Charles Rufus Brown*..... 116-118
XII. EDITORIAL NOTES:—The Study of the Hebrew Vowel-System.—To Hebrew Students..... 119, 120
XIII. BOOK NOTICES:—A Criticism of Driver's Hebrew Tenses, *F. J. Gurney*.—An Unpointed Text of Genesis, *William R. Harper*.—The Early Chapters of Genesis, *Prof. H. P. Smith*.—Professor Strack's Hebrew Grammar, *William R. Harper*.. 121-126
XIV. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 127, 128

Digitized by Google

NO. 3.—APRIL, 1886.

I. OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED. II. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 129-139
II. THRONE-INSCRIPTION OF SALMANASSAR II. *By J. A. Craig*..... 140-146
III. "THE SEMITES." *By Prof. W. Volck. Translated by Prof. D. M. Welton, D. D*..... 147-161
IV. THE HEBREW SYNONYMS בָּקַשׁ AND דָּרַשׁ. *By Rev. Philip A. Nordell*..... 162-163
V. HEBREW POETRY. I. *By Prof. Chas. A. Briggs, D. D*..... 164-170
VI. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.—Nebuchadrezzar I. — Eine unedirte Nebukadnezar-Inschrift.—The Date of Sargon of Akkad.—Hebrew Use of Numbers—Amos VI., 2.—Amos V., 6.—Isaiah VII., 14. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D*..... 171-175
VII. THE WORD "KIDRON." *By Rev. Thos. Laurie, D. D*..... 176-177
VIII. NOTES FOR BEGINNERS. In General.—Origin of Various Vowel-Sounds.—Relative Occurrence of Vowel-Sounds.—The Nominative Absolute.—The Word לְ or לְבַב.—Circumstantial Clauses. *By Prof. Wm. R. Harper, Ph. D*..... 178-182
IX. UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD. *By Ira M. Price, M. A*..... 183-185
X. EDITORIAL NOTES..... 186-188
XI. BOOK NOTICES:—Some Newly Discovered Temanite and Nabatean Inscriptions, *Cyrus Adler*.—Brown's Aramaic Method, *Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D*..... 189, 190
XII. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 191, 192
XIII. A LIST OF SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT INSTRUCTORS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NO. 4.—JULY, 1886.

I. NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES. *By Wm. Henry Bennett*..... 193-208
II. WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS. *By Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D*..... 209-217
III. SUZUB THE BABYLONIAN, AND SUZUB THE CHALDEAN, KINGS OF BABYLON. *By Prof. C. P. Tiele*..... 218-220
IV. AN ASSYRIAN RECORD OF RECEIPTS OF TAXES. *By Theo. G. Pinches*..... 221, 222
V. THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE DIALECTS. *By Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D*.... 223-227
VI. HEBREW SYNTAX. *By Prof. Jas. Strong, D. D*..... 228-233
VII. MICAH I., 5. *By Prof. A. Kuenen*..... 234-236
VIII. ON THE TEXT OF PSALMS XIV. AND LIII. *By Rev. Edward G. King*..... 237-239
IX. MORE PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK. *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall*..... 240-243
X. NOTES FOR BEGINNERS. II.: The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew.—Repetition of Words.—A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause. *By Prof. Wm. R. Harper*..... 244-247
XI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans, *Abel H. Hinzinga*.—The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20, *Henry S. Morais*.—Some Hebrew Lines, *B. Berenson*.—An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20, *Thos. Laurie*..... 248, 249
XII. EDITORIAL NOTES..... 250, 251
Hebrew in College.—The Summer Schools of Hebrew.—Professors of Hebrew. Assyrian Manual.
XIII. BOOK NOTICES:—A Review of the Hebrew Text of Ezechiel, *Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D.*—A New Commentary upon the Book of Job, *Dr. B. Felsenthal*..... 252-254
XIV. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 255, 256
XV. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. II..... 257-259
XVI. A LIST OF SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT INSTRUCTORS IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF BERLIN.

VOL. II. OCTOBER, 1885. NO. 1.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

H. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. A South-Babylonian Aramaic-Greek Bilingual. *By Prof. Dr. Eberhard Schrader* 1–3

II. On the Etymology of Mutninu. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 4–6

III. Some Phœnician Inscriptions in New York. *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D* 7–8

IV. The Use of עבר and its Compounds in the Hexateuch. *By Prof. E. C. Bissell, D. D* 9–12

V. The Massora among the Syrians. *By Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D* 13–23

VI. Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D* 24–32

VII. Grammatical Notes. *By Canon S. R. Driver, D. D* 33–38

1. On Genesis II., 9 b.
2. On מֵאִין כָּמוֹךָ (Jer. x., 6, 8).
3. On 1 Samuel I., 5 (אַפַּיִם).

VIII. Emendations of the Hebrew Text of Isaiah. *By Rev. Dr. K. Kohler* 39–48

IX. Notes on Genesis I., 1, and XXIV., 14. *By Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A* 49–50

1. On the Rendering of Genesis I., 1.
2. On Genesis XXIV., 14 (נַעֲרָ).

X. A Note on the Relative (אֲשֶׁר). *By Prof. A. H. Sayce, D. D.* 51

XI. Modern Ideas in Hebrew. *By Mr. W. Willner* 52

XII. Suggestions toward a More Exact Nomenclature and Definition of the Hebrew Tenses. *By Prof. Wm. G. Ballantine, D. D* 53–55

XIII. Editorial Notes 56–58

The Second Volume.
Proof-reading.
An Important Help for the Study of Assyrian.
Other Semitic Helps.

XIV. Book Notices 59–62

Dr. Socin's Arabic Grammar, *Prof. J. G. Lansing, D. D.*
Third Edition of Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke, *Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D.*

XV. Semitic Bibliography 63–64

XVI. A List of Semitic and Old Testament Professors and Instructors in the United States and Canada.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AND PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS, INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. II. JANUARY, 1886. NO. 2.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Attitude of the Revised Version toward the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament. *By Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D.* 65– 78

II. Sippara. *By Rev. William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D.* 79– 86

III. Inscription of Asurbanipal, from a Barrel-Cylinder found at Aboo-Habba. V. Rawl. 62, No. 1. *By James A. Craig and Robert F. Harper.* 87 89

IV. Advantages of a Slight Knowledge of Hebrew. *By Prof. Frederic Gardiner, D. D.* 90– 92

V. Moriah. *By Rev. Edward G. King, D. D.* 93– 94

VI. A Note in Reference to the "Massora among the Syrians." *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.* 95– 97

VII. On the Penitential Psalm "De Profundis." *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 98–106

VIII. Driver on the Hebrew Tenses. *By Prof. James Strong, S. T. D., LL. D.* 107–108

IX. The Divine Names as they occur in the Prophets. *By Prof. Barnard C. Taylor* 109–110

X. University Notes from Abroad. *By Ira M. Price, M. A.* ... 111–115

XI. Contributed Notes 116–118

Qamḥi, *Cyrus Adler.*
On Genesis I., 1–3, *Prof. T. K. Cheyne.*
A Prayer in Hebrew, *Benjamin Douglass.*
A Note on the Relative (אֲשֶׁר), *Prof. Charles Rufus Brown.*

XII. Editorial Notes 119–120

The Study of the Hebrew Vowel-System.
To Hebrew Students.

XIII. Book Notices 121–126

A Criticism of Driver's Hebrew Tenses, *F. J. Gurney.*
An Unpointed Text of Genesis, *William R. Harper.*
The Early Chapters of Genesis, *Prof. H. P. Smith.*
Professor Strack's Hebrew Grammar, *William R. Harper.*

XIV. Semitic Bibliography 127–128

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND THE COGNATE LANGUAGES IN THE CHICAGO BAPTIST UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AND PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS, INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. II. APRIL, 1886. NO. 3.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Entered at the Post-office, Chicago, for mailing at second-class rates.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied. II. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 129–139

II. Throne-Inscription of Salmanassar II. *By J. A. Craig.* .. 140–146

III. "The Semites." *By Prof. W. Volck. Translated by Prof. D. M. Welton, D. D.* 147–161

IV. The Hebrew Synonyms בָּקַשׁ and דָּרַשׁ. *By Rev. Philip A. Nordell.* 162–163

V. Hebrew Poetry. I. *By Prof. Chas. A. Briggs, D. D.* 164–170

VI. Miscellaneous Notes. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D.* 171–175
Nebuchadrezzar I.—Eine unedirte Nebukadnezar-Inschrift.—The Date of Sargon of Akkad.—Hebrew Use of Numbers.—Amos vi., 2.—Amos v., 6.—Isaiah vii., 14.

VII. The Word "Kidron." *By Rev. Thos. Laurie, D. D.* 176–177

VIII. Notes for Beginners. *By Prof. Wm. R. Harper, Ph. D.* 178–182
In General.—Origin of Various Vowel-Sounds.—Relative Occurrence of Vowel-Sounds.—The Nominative Absolute.—The Word לֵב or לֵבָב.—Circumstantial Clauses.

IX. University Notes from Abroad. *By Ira M. Price, M. A.* .. 183–185

X. Editorial Notes 186–188

XI. Book Notices 189–190
Some Newly Discovered Temanite and Nabatean Inscriptions, *Cyrus Adler.*
Brown's Aramaic Method, *Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D.*

XII. Semitic Bibliography 191–192

XIII. A List of Semitic and Old Testament Instructors in Great Britain and Ireland.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE COLLEGE; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. II. JULY, 1886. NO. 4.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew,

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES. *By Wm. Henry Bennett*..... 193–208

II. WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS. *By Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D*..... 209–217

III. ŠUZUB THE BABYLONIAN, AND ŠUZUB THE CHALDEAN, KINGS OF BABYLON. *By Prof. C. P. Tiele*..... 218–220

IV. AN ASSYRIAN RECORD OF RECEIPTS OF TAXES. *By Theo. G. Pinches*..... 221, 222

V. THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE DIALECTS. *By Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D*..... 223–227

VI. HEBREW SYNTAX. *By Prof. Jas. Strong, S. T. D*..... 228–233

VII. MICAH I., 5. *By Prof. A. Kuenen*..... 234–236

VIII. ON THE TEXT OF PSALMS XIV. AND LIII. *By Edward G. King, D. D*..... 237–239

IX. MORE PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK. *By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D*..... 240–243

X. NOTES FOR BEGINNERS. II. *By Prof. William R. Harper, Ph. D.* 244–247
The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew.—Repetition of Words.—A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause.

XI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES..... 248, 249
Some Hebrew Lines, *B. Berenson*.—The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans, *Abel H. Hinzinga*.—The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20, *Henry S. Morais*.—An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20, *Thos. Laurie*.

XII. EDITORIAL NOTES..... 250, 251
Hebrew in College.—Summer Schools of Hebrew.—Professors of Hebrew.—Assyrian Manual.

XIII. BOOK NOTICES..... 252–254
A Review of the Hebrew Text of Ezechiel, *Prof. Geo. H. Schodde, Ph. D.*—A New Commentary upon the Book of Job, *Dr. B. Felsenthal*.

XIV. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 255, 256

XV. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. II..... 257–260

XVI. A LIST OF SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT INSTRUCTORS IN EUROPE.

☞ *Editorial Correspondence* should be addressed to Prof. Wm. R. Harper, Ph. D., Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Business Correspondence should be addressed to HEBRAICA, Morgan Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOLUME III. OCTOBER, 1885. NUMBER 1.

A SOUTH-BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC-GREEK BILINGUAL.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EBERHARD SCHRADER,

Berlin, Germany.

On page 256 of his work—*Les vrais Arabes et leur pays* (*Bagdad et les villes ignorées de l'Euphrate*), Paris: 1884—Monsieur *Denis de Rivoyre* gives, in connection with a non-Semitic (line 5: mu-na-rû indicates without doubt its character) cuneiform inscription engraved in the old Babylonian characters, but very indistinct, also an inscription in Aramaic and Greek characters, to which I beg leave to invite attention.

This inscription, consisting of four lines, was found by him in one of the temple-walls of Tello, the site of Old-Babylonian ruins well known through the excavations of Monsieur de Sarzec. It is engraved on a brick (burnt-brick), which was found built into the wall and is not the only one of this kind.

The Greek inscription is clear at first glance, and is to be read ΑΔΑΔΝΑΔΙΝΑΧΗΣ, i. e., Ἀδαδναδινάχης, and finally, by the addition of the ending ης, the Grecian

Digitized by Google

gnesio-Babylonian name: A d a d-n â d i n-a ḫ, i. e., "(God) Hadad gives a brother." The ends of both sides of the A in the third line, in the group NAΔIN, which are not clearly indicated in the original, I have myself completed. The name in question is formed according to the analogy of others, as e. g. N a b û-n â d i n-a ḫ, etc.

That the other is an *Aramaic* inscription can also be seen at once. With the exception that the first letter to the right in the second line, apparently *Nun*, is to be completed as an Aramaic *Daleth*, this name is also very clear, and is to be read: הדדנדנאח, i. e. H d d n d n ' ḫ = H a d a d n â d i n a ḫ.

The two inscriptions correspond exactly, and contain *one* and the *same* proper name. It is customarily the rule in the rendering of Aramaic, e. g., Palmyrenean, names into Greek, that the Greek ending ης corresponds to the emphatic א, e. g., שלמא = Σαλμης (and again βουλευτης = בילוטא); in this case an א is not expressed. We meet, however, with ורוד = Οὐορώδης, so that no real objection can be offered in this case.

The foregoing Aramaic characters, in many respects, resemble the Egyptian-Aramaic characters of the third to first century B. C. This corresponds satisfactorily to the age which one would naturally conjecture. As the brick was built into the wall—and a temple-wall at that—one would expect to find, in the bearer of this name, a public person, a monarch perhaps, who (under the supremacy of a mightier ruler (?)) had command of a particular regiment, drafted in some way or other.

The name itself is of especial interest as, on the one hand, it is purely Babylonian in its structure, and, on the other hand, it contains the name of a god, which is certainly not a gnesio-Babylonian, but rather a purely Aramaic name. It, as well as its character, was long known to the Assyrians. Already Ašurbanipal knew of a Syrian prince, Bir-dadda, i. e. בר־הדד *Bar-hadad*, and, in a variant, represents the god as AN.IM. i. e, as "god of the atmosphere," especially of the heaven. (Cf. the author's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, (1878) pp. 538, 539). In the time of the *Assyrians*, however, we do not know (at least at present) of any purely Assyrian proper name into which the name of this foreign god enters. Not till later does the cultus of this Syrian god appear to have become so thoroughly settled among the *Babylonians*, that they did not hesitate to compound new formed Babylonian names with the same.

Berlin, May 4th, 1885.

P. S.—Professor *Euting*, of Strassburg, writes me that he judges the Aramaic characters of the inscription "to correspond to those of the beginning of the third, perhaps even of the end of the fourth century B. C. (310–250 B. C.)."

Berlin, May 8th, 1885.

Digitized by Google

POSTSCRIPT.

On the 30th of May, Professor *Euting* wrote me from Strassburg that in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, Paris, 1884, p. 201 (Proceedings of June 13, '84)—I myself have not as yet seen these proceedings—he read the following report:

"M. de Vogüé fait une communication sur des briques qui ont été trouvées à Tello, en Chaldée, par M. de Sarzec. Ces briques sont marquées d'une estampille uniforme qui donne, en caractères araméens, puis en caractères grecs du second ou du premier siècle avant notre ère, un même nom propre sémitique: *Hadadnadinakhi*. C'est problement le nom d'un roi de la basse Chaldée."

According to this, the priority of reading this Aramaic name belongs to M. de Vogüé. I have only the following remarks: (1) in the copy of the estampille which I have there is no trace of an Aramaic Jod, to which de Vogüé's *—khi* refers, and (2) the name is not "d'origine sémitique," but rather specifically Assyrian-Babylonish in its structure.

Berlin, June 1st, 1885.

Digitized by Google

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF MÛTNÎNÛ.

By Paul Haupt, Ph. D.,

Baltimore, Md.

A very common epithet of the Assyrian kings is mut(d,ṭ)-nin-nu-u or mu-ut(d,ṭ)-ni-en-nu-u. Cf., e. g., V R. 7, 94 and 95: âti (Hebr. אֹתִי) Ašûr-bân-abla šangû[1] ellu, re'u mu-ut-nin-nu-u *me, Sardanapalus, the pure priest king, the* mutninnû *chief.* George Smith generally translated this adjective by "powerful," connecting it perhaps with dannu *mighty.* A derivation from danânu, however, is impossible.

Henri Pognon, in the glossary of his valuable book *L'inscription de Bavian*, Paris, 1879, explains mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u[2] as the participle of ut-nin "adresser une prière, être dévot." Utnin, he thinks, is the Aphel of a stem דנן, תנן or טנן; he says, "j'ignore si la première radicale est un ד, un ט, ou un ת." This opinion is also untenable. As I have established in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 58, n. 8, there is no Aphel in Assyrian at all. The Pael and Shaphel serve as causative conjugations.

In the inaugural dissertation of my pupil, Dr. Johannes Flemming, *Die grosse Steinplatten-Inschrift Nebukadnezar's II.* (Göttingen, 1883), utnen is rightly combined with the Hebrew הִתְחַנֵּן *to seek favor, to supplicate.* Dr. Flemming considers utnen the Imperfect Ifta"al of חנן: "uḫtannin," he says, "became uttannin, uttânin, ûtânin, ûtênin, and then with (an irregular) syncope of the ê in the second syllable, and change of the *i* in the third to ê (as a sort of compensation), ûtnên. The same syncope of ê occurs in the well known ušziz (for ušeziz) *I placed.*"[3]

The weak point in this analysis is the assumption of the syncope of an accented long vowel. Syncope takes place in Assyrian only in the case of an unaccented short vowel after a double consonant or a long or accented vowel; e. g., martu *gall* (const. *marrat) = marratu (Hebr. מְרֹרַת, Job xvi., 13;

---

[1] Lugal before sangu azag is determinative.

[2] Mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u can be read in Assyrian מְתְנֵנוּ, מְטְנֵנוּ, מְתְנִינוּ, מְדְנִינוּ or מְטְנִינוּ, מְתְנִינוּ, מְדְנִינוּ or מְדְנֵנוּ, etc. For the confusion of *e* and *i* see my SFG. 68. The graphic doubling of a consonant in Assyrian very often indicates only the length of the preceding vowel. Cf. SFG. 68, n. 1, and Prætorius, *Literaturblatt fuer orientalische Philologie*, vol. I., p. 200.

[3] Flemming, *l. c.*, p. 31. [Cf. now also Heinrich Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 77. Dr. Zimmern considers utnen an apocopated Iftana"al form of ענה. Utnen, he says, is = utnenâ, ûtênênâ = ûtanênâ = ûtanânâ = u'tananna!—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

Digitized by Google

מְמֻרָּרְתּוֹ, Job xx., 25; Arab. مرّ mirre, Aram. מְרָרָא and מְרִירְתָא) fem. of marru *bitter;* dimtu *tear* = dimmatu, dim'atu[1] (Hebr. דִּמְעָה, Aram. דִּמְעָתָא, Arab. دمعة dam'e); šartu[2] *evil*, fem. of šarru (Arab. شرّ); tâmtu or tâmdu *see;* nûbtu *bee* (Arab. نوب nûb, Ethiopic nehb)[3]; rûqu (= raḫûqu, Hebr. רָחוֹק), fem. rûqtu *remote;* mâru *child*, fem. mârtu (constr. mârat) *daughter;* ṣîru (= ṣahîru, Arab. ظهور) *prominent*, fem. ṣîrtu (constr. ṣîrat); nîḫu (= nawîḫu) *quiet*, fem. nîḫtu; dîku (= dawîku) *killed*, fem. dîktu; šîmu *price*, fem. šîmtu (constr. šîmat) *fate;* belu *lord*, fem. beltu (construct state belit[4] for belat) *lady;* rešu *chief*, *prince*, fem. reštu *princess;* nešu *lion*, fem. neštu[5] *lioness;* ûblûni *they brought* = ûbilûni, yaubilûni; ûrdûni *they descended* = ûridûni; iptálḫû *they feared* = yaptáliḫû; iptaḫrû *they gathered* = yaptáḫirû; ittaklu[6] *he trusted* = yantakilu; mugdášru *strong* = mugdáširu, mugtáširu[7] (נִגְשַׁר), etc., etc.

But the syncope of a long accented vowel is impossible. Not even in the case of ušeziz has this happened. Ušziz is based on the analogy of the ע"ן stems, and would, therefore, be more accurately written ušzîz or (with the change of the שׁ before ז to ל) ulzîz, a form like uštîb, the Shaphel of the Piel from ṭâbu (Impf. iṭîbu) *to be good.*[8] Cf. ušmallî *I filled* (מלא); ušrabbî *I enlarged* (רבי); ušraddî (רדא) *I added*, etc. Ušeziz, on the other hand, is a

---

[1] For the retrogressive assimilation of the *y* cf. the name of David's brother, שִׁמְעָה, 1 Sam. xvi., 9; xvii., 13, which, as appears from 2 Sam. xiii., 3 and 32, is = שִׁמְעָה. Cf. also SFG. 10, 1. Dimtu *tear* could be derived also from the well-known Assyrian stem דמם *to weep* Imperfect idmum. [Cf. for this verb Zimmern, BP. 30.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

[2] Cf. šurrâti in dabâb šurrâti.

[3] Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. I., p. 178, n. 4.

[4] The *i* in belit is due to the influence of the *e;* cf. rebitu *broad way* = rebatu, رحبة, eklitu *darkness* = eklatu حكلة; shelibu *fox* = shelabu, ثعلب (SFG. 16, 6); erritu *curse* = erratu, arratu; ezzitu (= ezzatu) fem. of ezzu *mighty;* ellitu = ellatu, fem. ellu *light, pure;* erṣitu (with ע) *earth* = erṣatu, arṣatu; eqil = eqal חֲקַל, constr. state of eqlu *field*, Aram. חַקְלָא, Arabic حقل, Hebr., with transposition, חֶלְקַ, 2 Kgs. ix., 10, 36, 37; epir *dust* = epar, 'apar, constr. of epru = 'apru *dust*, Hebr. עָפָר.

[5] Cf. Ethiopic forms, like her, fem. hert *good*, etc.

[6] Ittakil *he trusted* is not the form افتعل of وكل (Schrader, KAT. 539), but, as appears from I R. 35, No. 2, l. 12, the form انفعل of تكل, which seems to be = Ethiopic takála *fixit, stabilivit.* Natkil, *l. c.*, can only be Imperative Niphal, like naplis *look*, etc. Cf. also Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 144.

[7] Cf. Arabic اجدمع for اجتمع, Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 169. See also Haupt, *Nimrod-epos*, 12, 39: kî rîmi ugdaššaru elî niše *like a wild bull, he is stronger than (all) men.*

[8] [Cf. my article in Dr. Bezold's ZK. II., 3, p. 272.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

Digitized by Google

formation analogous to that of the verbs פ"א. The regular Shaphel of נזן[1] would be ušanziz or ušazziz.

The stem of ûtnîn and mûtnînû is not חנן, but חון.[2] Ûtnîn is an Iftana"al form (II.[3] according to Lotz's notation), the reflexive stem with infixed תן from the Pael of חון. The ground-form is not uḫtannin, but uḫtanáwwin. This, according to Assyrian phonetic laws, becomes u'tanawwin,[3] u'tana''in, ûtanâ'in, ûtanîn, and then, with syncope of the short *a*-vowel, ûtnîn. Mûtnînû, as appears from the long û at the end, is not the simple participle of ûtnîn, but a further development of this with the aid of an affixed י. It stands, therefore, not for muḫtanawwinu, but for muḫtanawwinayu, and means not "one who prays," but "one who has to do with praying, one who is accustomed to pray," therefore "pious, God-fearing." Accordingly, šangû ellu rešu mûtnînû is to be translated "the pure priest-king, the pious prince."

(April, 1885.)

---

[1] That the Impf. Qal of nazâzu, izzaz, is based on the analogy of the verbs פ"א I have already pointed out, SFG. 52, 10. In the domain of Semitic philology entirely too little attention is paid to analogical formations. By their aid most of the irregularities in formation may be satisfactorily explained, just as most of the instances of apparently sporadic sound-change are due to a partial assimilation of the stem-consonants, e. g. כחר *to deny*, in Arabic with partial assimilation to the final ر: جحد jahada; Arabic دسم dasima *to be fat*, in Hebrew with partial assimilation of the final מ to the preceding sibilant, דשן; Syriac קוּשְׁטָא *truth*, in Chaldee with partial assimilation of the final ת to the initial ק, קוּשְׁטָא (cf. קשט, Prov. xxii., 21 and Ps. lx., 6); Syriac קַשֵּׁט *τοξεύειν*, denominal Pael from קֻשְׁטָא *τόξον*, Hebr. קֶשֶׁת; Ethiopic zabáṭa, זבט *to beat*, for sabáṭa (Prætorius, LOP. I., 197), Hebr. שבט; Hebr. נשה *to forget* = Assyrian מְשָׁא (Impf. יִמְשֶׁה), etc., etc. Cf. my SFG. 43, 2, and p. 74; my glossary in Schrader's KAT. 509, s. v. מקת, and 515, s. v. צבת; my article in the *Andover Review* of July, 1884, p. 98, n. 1, and HEBRAICA, 177, n. 2. A clear instance of an analogical formation is, for example, the Ethiopic ibâ, from bô'a *to enter*, which is formed after iṣâ (with ض), the regular Subjunctive of waṣ'a *to go out*. Imâ from mô'a (Assyrian mâ'u, Lyon, *Sargonstexte*, 64, 30; Delitzsch, *Hebr. and Assyr.* 18, 1; Prætorius, *Literaturblatt fuer orientalische Philologie*, vol. I., Leipzig, 1884, p. 197) *to be victorious* seems also to rest on an analogy to ibâ. Cf., however, Dillmann, *Æthiopische Grammatik*, p. 147. Cf. also Ethiopic מוּבָא (alongside of מֶבְוָא) *entrance* (Dillmann, *l. c.*, p. 104) formed like מוּצָא *exit*, and Hebr. מוֹצָאָיו וּמוֹבָאָיו, Ez. xliii., 11; את־מוצאך את־מובאך, 2 Sam. iii., 25 (קרי).

[2] The stem חון, of course, is only a by-form of חנן. Cf. also חין (= hinn), Job xli., 4.

[3] ח appears in Assyrian as א, when it corresponds to an Arabic ح, while the ח corresponding to Arabic خ remains in Assyrian unaltered. Cf. annu *mercy*, alîbu *milk*, uddušu *to renew*, imeru *ass*, eqlu *field*, emu *father-in-law* (fem. emetu = emâtu; the *e* for â is due to the influence of the *e* in the first syllable, as in beleti *ladies* for belâti, epešu *to make* for epâšu, Tig. VII., 74, etc.), ebru *companion*, eklitu (for eklatu) *darkness*, ilqi'û *they took*, ipti'û *they opened*, râ'imu *loving*, ri'ašu *calandre, weevil*, etc., = Hebr. חָמוֹר, חֲמַשׁ, חֶלֶב, חֵן, חַלָּק (Aram. חַקְלָא), חָם, חֲמוֹת (Ethiopic ham, hamât), חָכְלִילִי, חָכַר Gen. xlix., 12, יִלְקְחוּ, יִפְתְּחוּ, רֶחֶם, Aram. רְחֵשָׁא.

Digitized by Google

SOME PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

By Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.

Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

The intention of this paper is merely to publish the text, with as little comment as possible, of those Phœnician Inscriptions of the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which occur on vases, alabastra and jars. They do not appear in the first two fascicles of Renan's *Corpus*, where are figured most of the Cesnola Phœnician Inscriptions. Not all the figures and renderings in the *Corpus*, however, are correct; and I may present the others in a future article. I give the numbers which the objects now bear in the Museum, together with references to former publications. "*Ward*" refers to the article or note of Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward in *Proceedings of American Oriental Society* at Boston, May, 1874, where six inscriptions are figured, including three of those here given. "*Cesnola*" refers to di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, London and New York, 1878; the numbers here given being those of the representations on his plates.

I may state here that, in my former rendering of the longest Phœnician inscription, published in Hebraica, vol. I., p. 25, I desire to correct the rendering "my (or his) Lord's servant" to the proper name "'Abdelim," with the bracketed addition "[son of]." The other differences from Renan must stand.

The following are the inscriptions:

XXI. (*Ward*, 6; *Cesnola*, 9.) On terra-cotta vase from tomb at Idalium. Letters painted before baking, clear, but baffling all former efforts to read. I read

רגמן

and render it either as a proper name, "Regman," or "Regmon," or as the inscription "My Friend" or "Our Friend."

XXII. (*Cesnola*, 25.) Incised on an alabastron about a foot high, and from four to five inches in diameter, with a cover like a small modern butter-plate. Found in a tomb at Citium.

כלשי ו׳׳׳

The numeral is 100. The word is not extant in Phœnician, so far as I know, except upon another Cesnola object (see No. XXVIII. below), and its meaning I conjecture, from Syriac and Arabic analogy, as "My (or, his) ashes," or "My (or, his) urn."

XXIII. (*Cesnola*, 26.) Incised on a red terra-cotta vase, from a tomb at Citium.

לאנתש

Digitized by Google

"To Anthos," or "[The property] of Anthos." This Greek word was naturalized in Syriac, in different forms. This inscription was published in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology* as "*To* (or, *of*) Antosh."

XXIV. (*Cesnola*, 27.) On the foot of an antique vase of serpentine, purchased in the bazar at Nicosia. The last character may be ך instead of י, but I think not.

ח ח י

If not a proper name, it is probably an epithet, or term of endearment. I conjecture "My thorn-bush," or perhaps "My chain."

XXV. (*Ward*, 5; *Cesnola*, 8.) A jar (πίθος) of red earthenware, from a tomb at Palæo-Paphos. Letters painted before baking. The fourth character in the first line is uncertain.

ב ע ל פ ל ס
י ת ן
ש מ ע י

"Ba'al-Peles (Lord of weight (?)) gave. He heard me (or, him)."

XXVI. (*Ward*, 4; *Cesnola*, 7.) On a jar of red pottery, like the last, from a tomb at Citium. Letters painted before baking.

ב ע ל י

"Ba'ali." Perhaps a form of the deity's name, or else the name with the pronominal suffix of the first or third person.

XXVII. (*Cesnola*, 29.) In all respects like the last two. From a tomb at Citium.

ב ע ל י ז ת

Very doubtful, as the fourth character may be נ instead of י, which would change the whole meaning. As it is here given, it may mean "My (or, his) Lord of the olive."

With regard to the last three inscriptions, I am not blind to the other meanings that suggest themselves; but I find nothing to decide the question. One fragment of a similar πίθος had a long inscription of about thirty letters, painted around the sloping top, of which nothing is now decipherable but the word בעל. If that inscription were legible, it might furnish a clue to these legible shorter ones. They may only refer to a merchant, or superintendent, instead of a divinity; a supposition which has its base in the fact that they are on common πίθοι, which were doubtless put into the tomb with provisions for the departed. It is reasonable to expect that more of these jars will be found by excavators in Cyprus.

XXVIII. (*Schröder*, 22 (?), in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264–272.) On a πίθος like the last four, except that it has ears, or handles. From a tomb at Citium.

כ ל ש See p 240.

See No. XXII., above.

Digitized by Google

THE USE OF עבר AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN THE HEXATEUCH.

By Professor E. C. Bissell, D. D.,

Hartford, Conn.

More than two centuries ago a French critic of the Old Testament alleged that, among other things, the peculiar use of עבר in the Pentateuch (Deut. I., 1) showed that Moses could not have been its author. It indicated rather as author some one already settled in Canaan. This statement of Peyrère[1] was taken up by others and has come to have the force of a stock argument on that side of the question.[2] We are fully justified, therefore, in making a brief inquiry into the actual use of עבר, with its compounds (ב, מ, ל), as found in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, usually associated with it by critics.

As its verbal root would suggest, the noun עֵבֶר may mean (1) *what is beyond, the other side of* something; or (2) *what is over against, opposite.* In the former case a limit of some sort is not only implied, but made prominent; in the latter, the relative position of two things as being simply opposite to one another is the thing emphasized. Moreover, in the former instance, the limit, be it a river or whatever it may, may be in the mind to such an extent that it will itself serve as the point of view of the writer or speaker rather than the one or the other side of it, and so, in perfect harmony with the etymology of the word, עבר be employed to mark *the transit* itself across the limit, whether in one direction or the other. A third and more derived meaning of the noun עבר is *shore, border*, that is, of a river, like the Latin *ora, ripa.* It is found not infrequently in this sense in the Bible.

We see, accordingly, that עֵבֶר is a very flexible word and, by itself, an exceedingly vague one. It is simply an auxiliary in conveying thought, and needs to have something added to it in order to carry a clear sense to the mind. And we shall be struck by nothing more forcibly, I think, in our examination of its use in the Hexateuch, than by the fact that the writer, as if conscious of the peculiar vagueness of the word, takes especial pains to show how to use it.

In Genesis the expression is twice found (בעבר, L., 10, 11) and both times in the same sense. Of the funeral train that Joseph led up from Egypt to Canaan for the burial of his father it is said, that it halted at the "threshing-floor of Atad which is בעבר הירדן." Undoubtedly the writer meant to fix the exact spot beyond a peradventure, and for his contemporaries he did so. But we are less fortunate, as we do not know anything about this "threshing-

[1] *Systema Theologicum ex Praeadamitarum Hypothesi* (1655), p. 185 f.

[2] Cf. Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (N. Y. 1883). I. p. 510.

Digitized by Google

floor of Atad." Still, the context, which speaks of the "Canaanites" as seeing and remarking upon what took place there, makes it tolerably certain that it was on the west side of the Jordan (cf. Num. xxxv., 14, Josh. xxii., 11).[1] In this case there would be nothing against, but much in favor of, the supposition that the writer was on the east side. To assume, as some do, that the writer's point of view is and must be the west side, is not only to assume what there is no justification for in the text, but involves one in very serious difficulties with it, besides being an assumption of the very point in debate. If בעבר does not mean *across, on the opposite side*, in this instance, it must have the third of the meanings given above, *on the shore* (of the Jordan), and so could not be used by itself for determining the point of view of the writer.

In Exodus עֵבֶר is used three times (xxv., 37; xxviii., 26; xxxix., 19) and the plural construct of it once (xxxii., 15), but everywhere exclusively in the sense *what is over against, opposite*, as of the lights on the two arms of the the golden candlestick, the rings on the corresponding borders of the highpriest's breastplate and the laws on the two tables of stone. These passages, therefore, are of no special use to us in our present inquiry. In Leviticus the expression does not occur.

In Numbers it is found only in the form מֵעֵבֶר (xxi., 13; xxii., 1; xxxii., 19 (twice), 32; xxxiv., 15; xxxv., 14) the prefix having the force of marking more definitely the boundary concerning which עֵבֶר is predicated. In the first instance the Arnon is that boundary; in all the others it is the Jordan. In *every* instance the context makes clear which side of the respective rivers is meant, but in such a way as not to fix with certainty the point of view of the writer. That מעבר is *not* used by him in the technical sense the word subsequently acquired in its Greek form (τὸ πέραν) and had in the time of our Lord (τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), as meaning the district east of the Jordan, is clear, from the fact that he employs it as well of the west as of the east side in the very same verse (xxxii., 19) and *never* uses it of the east side without making it plain from the context, just as in other instances, that he does so. He never assumes, in other words, an acquaintance on the part of his readers with any such supposed settled or technical sense. As it concerns the writer's own point of view, as far as he gives us any hint of it, it is neither the east nor the west side of the Jordan (excepting xxi., 13, where the Arnon is mentioned), but the river itself. And in the use of the very same term (מעבר) he finds himself free to turn one way or the other, to say, "across the Jordan eastward," or, "across the Jordan westward," as circumstances may require.

And the same thing is conspicuously true of the Book of Deuteronomy. We find here עבר (iv., 49), בעבר (i., 1; iii., 8, 20, 25; iv., 41, 46, 47; xi., 30)

[1] Dillmann, *Com., in loco*, declares that הכנעני cannot be used of the people east of the Jordan.

Digitized by Google

and מעבר (xxx., 13), all employed in the same general sense of what is beyond or near a border, and, as in the Book of Numbers, in every case but one that border is the Jordan (xxx., 13). As in Numbers, the expression (בעבר here, מעבר there) emphasizes the border itself rather than one or the other side of it, and in the same context is used indifferently for the east or the west side (iii., 20, 25). And when it is used for the east side, it is accompanied, in each instance, by some description that determines the fact, just as when it means the west side. If the writer were really on the east side of the Jordan, as the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy would naturally lead us to suppose, then it is clear that בעבר (like מעבר) meant for him no more than the Jordan limit, with its shores stretching away on either side. If he was actually on the west side of it, and was trying to create an impression that he was not, but on the opposite side, he has certainly taken a very clumsy way of doing it. As far as the expression he employs is concerned, he effectually effaces not only every sign that he is there, but that he is on either side. He leaves himself floating in the air over the fording-place of the Jordan.

But it might be asked, if the writer was not in fact already in Canaan, would he *so uniformly* in Numbers and Deuteronomy have used מעבר and בעבר of the east side? For an answer to this question let us turn to the Book of Joshua. Here the point of view is changed, at least is assumed to be changed. The people have crossed the Jordan, and occupied the promised land. Two and a half tribes have returned, or will eventually return, to the east side of the river to take possession of the land assigned them there. If the expression we are considering had for Israel during this period any such sense as has been claimed for it, it would certainly have it in this book, and be seen to have it. The words מעבר and בעבר, that is, like the tribes inheriting east of the Jordan, would now come into their rightful possessions also, and be no longer used for mere purposes of mystification.

What is the fact? In the Book of Joshua, too, we find all three forms of the word employed: עבר (xiii., 27),[1] בעבר (i., 14, 15; ii., 10; v., 1; vii., 7; ix., 1, 10; xii., 1, 7; xiii., 8; xxii., 4; xxiv., 8), מעבר (xiii., 32; xiv., 3; xvii., 5; xviii., 7; xx., 8; xxii., 7). It is still understood to have the same kind of vagueness attaching to it as in the other books, and is never left undefined. It is still used likewise of *both sides of the river*, and, what is still more remarkable, it is used here a great deal oftener than in any other book of the *west side*, where people and writer are now assumed to be, and notwithstanding the fact that they are assumed to be there (v., 1; ix., 1; xii., 7; xxii., 7).

To the question, then, Does the comparatively uniform—though not exclusive—use of בעבר and מעבר in Numbers and Deuteronomy for the region

[1] In xxii., 11, it seems to mean "ford" and xxiv., 2, 3, 14, 15 it does not refer to the Jordan.

Digitized by Google

east of the Jordan tend to show that the assumed point of view of the history and historian, as themselves on the same side, is false?—there can be but one answer. Most assuredly it does not. We find the same usage, indeed, when history and historian are actually transferred to Canaan, but we find it with considerably less uniformity. In other words, where we might expect, were this theory true, an exclusive appropriation and application of the word in one sense, we find it used in that sense even less commonly than before. Whether Moses, therefore, was the responsible author of the Pentateuch or not, no reason to the contrary can fairly be derived from the use of עִבְרִי in it. It is everywhere employed most intelligently and with perfect frankness and consistency.

Digitized by Google

THE MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS.*

Freely translated and adapted from the French of the Abbé J. P. P. MARTIN

BY PROFESSOR BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D. D.,

Western Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Allegheny City, Pa.

I. When the immortal J. S. Assémani was writing, in the last century, his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, (three parts in four volumes, folio, Rome, 1719–1728), on reaching the chapter which he devoted to Bar-Hebraeus, and coming to describe the great commentary which that author composed on the Holy Scriptures under the title of "*Treasury of Mysteries*,"—the learned Maronite let the following lines fall from his pen: "Versiones denique et auctores quibus in hoc libro utitur, hi sunt. In primis Hebraïcus textus, et graeca versio Septuaginta interpretum, passim.....Praeterea duae aliae Syriacae, praeter simplicem cui poene inhoeret, versiones identidem cituntur, nimirum Heraclensis et صرْصفْا Karkaphensis, hoc est montana, qua videlicet incolae montium utuntur."[1]

These words of Assemani gave the hint to the scholars of Europe, who set themselves to searching for the new version that Assemani had pointed out on the authority of Bar-Hebraeus. Though they turned out in force, and ransacked all the mountains of Europe and Asia, and searched every crack and cranny, this "mountain version" remained undiscoverable. It was to reappear at the moment when it was least expected.

The scholars were not willing, nevertheless, to refuse themselves the pleasure of putting forth conjectures. J. David Michaelis took it for the version which the Nestorians used. G. Christian Adler, who undertook his journey to Rome largely in the hope of discovering it, did not meet with it. And yet, he had it under his eyes, perhaps even in his hands, in two libraries,—the Vatican and the Barberini.

* [The Abbé Martin printed an essay on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, 6th Series, vol. XIV. Afterwards he issued his book: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, etc., Paris, 1870. The essay which we here translate, presents the matter more succinctly; it is chapter III., Art. II., § VI., pp. 276–296 of the Abbé's recent work: *Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1882. Although the doctrines set forth in it are now somewhat generally accepted by Syriac scholars, they are little known outside of a comparatively narrow circle. And, as the book from which this section is taken is necessarily a rare one, it is thought that a service will be rendered to American students of Semitic subjects by presenting it to them in an English dress. The translation itself is very free in form and the adaptation includes some considerable omissions. The translator hopes, however, that he has in no case either misrepresented the learned author, or failed to convey his meaning with clearness. He is not, of course, responsible for the correctness of the facts or the validity of the logic; but only for the just transference of the Abbé's meaning.]

1 J. S. Assemani, op. cit. vol. II., p. 283.

Digitized by Google

At the end of his efforts and researches, he thought he could affirm provisionally that the Karkaphensian version was only a manuscript of the Peshito: "Imo haec Carcafensis," he says, "nobis non versio diversa sed codex quidam insignis Vulgata Syriaca versionis fuisse videtur. Quod vel ex iis varietatibus patet quae a Gregorio laudantur."[1]

II. The failure of G. Ch. Adler did not discourage scholars. They still continued to seek the Karkaphensian version, and some are perhaps at this hour still seeking it. They have not found it, for the very simple reason that it does not exist. We can give assurance of this. The Karkaphensian version positively has been discovered. Cardinal Wiseman had the good fortune to put his hand on two MSS. that belong to what has been called the Karkaphensian version. J. S. Assemani had had one of them in his hands; he had even described it in two places in his writings: (1) in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, pp. 499, 500; (2) in his *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codiicum MSS. Catalogus*, vol. III., p. 287; and although the title ought to have attracted his attention, he did not notice that he had in his hands that "Karkaphensian Tradition" of the existence of which Bar-Hebraeus had apprised him.

Nicholas Wiseman, in his *Horae Syriacae*, pp. 149 sq., described the two Roman MSS.; but he did not perhaps throw into sufficient relief the singular and characteristic features of the work which they contained. All the manuscripts of this class bear a title like the following: "Volume of the words and readings of the Old and New Testaments [according to the Karkaphensian tradition]." The words in brackets are wanting in some of the manuscripts.[2]

III. Now what is this work, thus brought to our knowledge under the name of "Karkaphensian tradition," or some similar name?

It is easy to answer. It is a Massoretic work. The word which we have translated "tradition" is the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew word *Massora*. The Syrians had a Massora analogous to that of the Jews, contemporary with that of the Jews, and, moreover, like that of the Jews, divided into two currents, the cradle of one of which was the East, in Babylonia, while the other was born and grew up in the West, in Palestine and Syria. We have, in a word, documents which represent two literary traditions or currents. And as the Aramaic is closely like the Hebrew, it goes without saying that the Syriac Massora is, on the whole, much like the Massora of the Jews. It is astonishing that so patent a fact should have so long escaped those who had the Karkaphensian manuscripts in their hands. A simple statement of the contents of these volumes ought, by itself, to have shown them that they had before them, not a new version of the Bible, but (1) a lexicographical and grammatical work; (2) an exegetical work. In drawing up these volumes, which contain sometimes more than 300 leaves, the

[1] *Versiones Syriacae*, p. 83.

[2] See below. Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*. Paris, 1870.

Digitized by Google

intention was, not to give a new text, but to furnish the means of conserving and using the old texts. The impulse that led the Latin critics of the thirteenth century to draw up *correctoria*, led the Syrian critics of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries to make this compilation, which ought to take its place in history hereafter under the name of ܣܘܟܡܐ ܕܦܬܘܪܐ,—words hard to translate, but the sense of which is easy to recognize in the phrase, "Collection of Biblical words, punctuated and provided with their accents."

IV. The form of this text may be understood from a view of any page of one of the MSS. which embody it. Take, for instance, manuscript 62 of the Paris National Library, and open at the page that contains the last portion of Mark's Gospel. From Mark XIV., 72, with which the page begins, to the end of the Gospel, no single verse is given entire. Of the 68 verses contained within these limits, there are given fragments of only 20; and these fragments most frequently consist of only a few words.

No doubt there are places where the verses are less mutilated than in this passage. This is true, for example, of the beginning of these Syrian *correctoria*. One or even two consecutive verses may be found cited entire in Genesis or Exodus; we are not absolutely sure that they are, for we have never verified the fact. In proportion as we advance, however, into the Old and into the New Testaments, the extracts become shorter and more disconnected. The reason for this fact is easy to discover: the object which the Syrian Massorites set before themselves being to guide in the syllabication and rhythmical reading of the text, they did not repeat the words every time they occurred, but, after giving them a few times, assumed that they would be well known to their readers. This is why, in the analyses they make of this same passage of Mark, according to the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version, they do not give more than some fifteen words.

"Brother," says the copyist of one of these collections of which we are speaking, to his readers, "do not trouble yourself too quickly, if in glancing through the 'ch'mohe and q'roïotho' (punctuated and accented words), collected here with the greatest care, you do not find in certain parts of the later books the 'ch'mohe and q'roïotho' that you are seeking. They have been already written before, in the first or last portion of each book. The more difficult ones have been given once, or twice, or even oftener. Take, therefore, the book, read it through, commencing each book at its beginning; continue your reading without fear, and you will discover that I tell the truth. If there are two similar expressions, and you find one of them and not the other, know that they are pronounced alike. I have done as I have said."[1]

To read such a note as this is enough to inform us what kind of a work we have in hand. The Massoretic text is not continuous and it is not the same in all

[1] Additional Manuscript 7183, f. 122.

Digitized by Google

MSS. From this we may learn the nature of the text contained in the Massoretic MSS. It follows that if a passage is not cited in them, we are by no means justified in concluding that this passage was not authentic in the eyes of the Syrian Massorites, because it is their habit sometimes to pass over several successive verses without drawing a single word from them.

V. It is important to observe, moreover, that all the MSS. do not contain the same passages, or the same words in the same passages. We have verified the fact in a number of passages, and have elsewhere given Matthew I., 18—II., 4*a*, as it is extracted in four MSS.[1] A single glance at the differences there manifest to all will make the conclusions, which such a comparison demands, very plain. Each MS., or nearly every one, is the work of an author or of a school: of one of those scholars who, from the seventh to the eighth centuries devoted their efforts and lives to the clearing up of all the difficulties of the Scriptures, or of one of those societies of "maq'r'yâne," the mission of which was to conserve the good traditions of reading and pronunciation. This is in harmony with the language which we have quoted from the copyist of the Additional MS. 7183.

VI. We ought not, therefore, to seek for a version in these books, but something very different. This is so true, that not only is the Peshito analyzed in them, but also the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version. Yet, it is worth noticing, that the "ch'mohe and q'roïotho" of the latter figure only in the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, while the Nestorian collections (MS. Add. 12138) contain only the analysis of the Peshito.

VII. Among the numerous remarks that might be made with reference to these volumes, we content ourselves with the four following:—(1) The New Testament is divided thus:—*a*. Acts and Catholic Epistles; *b*. Epistles of Paul; *c*. Gospels, in the usual order. This division is adopted in the analysis of both the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian. (2) The version of Thomas of Harkel contained, therefore, the Acts and Epistles. (3) In the Peshito only three catholic Epistles are analyzed. The fact is less clear in the Philoxeno-Heraclensian, because the Catholic Epistles are analyzed together, and a long search is necessary to find to which Epistle the words cited belong. (4) There are no "ch'mohe" of the Apocalypse given in either case. It would seem, then, that neither the Nestorians nor the Jacobites accepted the Apocalypse in the ninth and tenth centuries as authentic or canonical.

VIII. In the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, in the same fashion as the Bible, only somewhat more briefly, the works of the Greek Fathers translated into Syriac have been analyzed,—especially those the translation of which was due to James of Edessa, to-wit:—(1) the works attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite—three treatises and the letters; (2) the works of St. Basil—twenty-nine homilies; (3) of St. Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Nazi-

[1] *La Massore chez les Syriens.* Pieces Justificatives. Tableau III.

Digitized by Google

anza—forty-seven homilies in two parts; (4) the letters of St. Basil and St. Gregory the Theologian; (5) the λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι of Severus of Antioch—125 homilies divided into three parts, as in the version of them made by James of Edessa about 700–701, A. D.[1]

IX. To these analyses, made from the point of view of the pronunciation and punctuation, the following documents are adjoined: (1) the letter of James of Edessa to George of Sarug and to the "scribes who read this book;" (2) a treatise by James of Edessa on punctuation and accentuation; (3) a treatise, apparently by a deacon named Thomas; (4) the names of the Greek points according to St. Epiphanius; (5) divers other little grammatical treatises; (6) enumeration of the στίχοι and ῥήματα contained in the Holy Scriptures. For the Old Testament, the στίχοι are enumerated for the whole and also book by book; but for the New Testament they are enumerated simply for the whole. Moreover, it does not appear that the Nestorian Massora contains this enumeration. (7) Lastly, at the end of all these documents, come very short lives of the prophets, apostles, and disciples, largely taken from St. Epiphanius, and perhaps also from Eusebius.[2] Sometimes, also, the last leaves of these *collectanea* contain treatises on *vocibus aequivocis*, or tables of words written alike in their consonants, but pronounced differently.

This, then, is the contents of these voluminous collections, subject to variations of the codices. MS. 62 (formerly 142) of the National Library of Paris has furnished the description above.

X. It is astonishing, we repeat, that such an assemblage of documents has not long ago caused the true nature of the work contained in the Karkaphensian or other ܡܣܘܪܬܐ ܕܟܪܟܐ to be recognized. The grouping together of so disparate a collection of pieces ought to have opened the eyes of the blind. Yet neither Andrew Scandar nor Assemani understood the character of these collections. They mentioned, in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and the *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus*, the work of which we are speaking, under the title of "Onomasticon Jacobi Edesseni"! Cardinal Wiseman caught but half a glimpse of the truth. Rosen and Forschall[3] advanced no further than Wiseman: they still translated the title ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܫܡܗܬܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܐ, *secundum VERSIONEM Karkaphensem!* But no one has passed on this erroneous road beyond the old catalogue of the Paris National Library, which classified a collection of this kind among the "HISTORIAE SCRIPTORES!" This is not the first time that librarians have taken a missal for a treatise on astronomy. Very likely it will not be the last.

---

[1] This date is reached by means of MSS. in the Vatican Library. (J. S. Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. I., pp. 494, 570).

[2] *Patrol. Graec.* XXII. col. 1261—1271 c.

[3] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium.* London, 1838. Folio. Pars I. *Codices Syriacos et Carshunicos amplectens*, pp. 34—71.

Digitized by Google

XI. Of the collections of which we are speaking, only two of those which represent the Massora of the Western Syrians contain in the title the words ܡܨܥܦܢܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܐ, to wit, the Additional Manuscript 7183 of the British Museum, and the MS. 152 of the Vatican library; but all are drawn up on the same plan and are so much alike that a single glance will determine them all to belong to one family.

XII. It is scarcely to be doubted that the school of philologists and grammarians, called "Karkaphensian Tradition," drew its name from the convent of "Kar·kaph·tho," in the neighborhood of Amid, not far from the great Syrian monastery of Karthamin, in the region of Upper Mesopotamia, which, on account of its numerous convents, received, in the history of the Middle Ages, the name of Tûr-'Abdîn, or "Mountain of the Servants [of God],"—a name which it still bears to-day.[1] This school represented the grammatical and philological traditions of the Western Syrians.[2]

XIII. Who founded the Syrian Massora? A positive answer is difficult. No doubt the origines of the studies the results of which are collected in the volumes of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mount up to the fourth or fifth centuries. Few proper names, however, are found in these MSS., that are certainly of the fifth century. Perhaps the "Deacon Thomas" who wrote the treatise on punctuation and accentuation inserted in these collections, may be identified with that Thomas of Edessa, who was connected with the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Abdas I., called "the Great" (538–552). The Massora seems to have been born in Babylonia, and to have been early developed there. Thence it passed to the West, where it made much progress, but in a somewhat altered direction. It is evident that James of Edessa gave a strong impulse to this kind of study. The place of honor given to his letter to George of Sarûg, to his treatise on punctuation and accentuation, and to his translations from Greek writers proves this past doubt. It is perhaps for this reason that the ܡܨܥܦܢܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ of his Highness Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, bears, at the end of the title, this addition: "Works of Mar James of Edessa;"—not, beyond question, because the collection, such as we have it, was composed by James of Edessa, but in the sense that this great writer was the most illustrious popularizer of labors of this kind, the real founder of a Hellenistic and Græcizing school.[3] It is enough, moreover, to read the letter of James of Edessa and to observe the rôle it plays in the Massoretic collections in order to perceive at once the conclusion to which all the facts point: "Let no one omit a letter from," says James of Edessa to the copyists, "and let no one add a letter to these Greek

[1] On all these questions see Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, Paris, 1870. Pp. 123–130.

[2] Bar Hebraeus clearly identifies the Karkaphensian tradition with the Western Syrians.

[3] See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1872. Vol. II., pp. 247–256, and cf. Martin: *Syriens Orienteaux et Occidenteaux*. Paris, 1873.

Digitized by Google

and Hebrew words:"—giving a considerable list. There is no doubt, then, but that James of Edessa was the great promoter of the Hellenizing movement which was wrought out in the bosom of the Monophysite portion of the Syrian race in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries of our era. Bar-Hebraeus even attributes to him some ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܫܐ like those of the Karkaphensian school; but it is probable that he means by this the Karkaphensian collections, of which we may perhaps regard James of Edessa as the principal author.

It is from the translations of St. Basil, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, especially of Severus of Antioch, made by James of Edessa, that the Syrians obtained that terminology and barbarous orthography which disfigure the MSS. of the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It was James of Edessa, also, who enriched the Syrian tongue with some very curious words. It need not be added that the disciples, as always happens, outdid the master. It was a blessing that the Syrian words, properly so called, were in great part saved from these innovations, or the Aramaic language might have suffered a true disaster.

And let no one think that it was only a single Massorite who gave himself to this eccentricity. All yielded to the fashion; no one was able to withstand the Græcizing invasion. Only the Nestorian Massora remained almost entirely sheltered from this flood; but we do not fear to judge unjustly, when we say that it owed this less to good sense than to the circumstances of the times, and especially to the places where it lived.

XIV. The description which we have given of these collections of the Syrian Massora, suffices of itself to teach us the use that may be made of them, and the advantages we may hope to reap from their study. (1) We are not to expect to find a new version in them,—whether a "mountain version," or any other kind. They contain nothing of this sort; and he will be sorely deceived who approaches their study with such a preconception. (2) We are not even to expect to find exegesis in them; for above all things, these works are, like the Jewish Massora, grammatical or philological. (3) What we may expect to find in them is the tradition of the proper pronunciation, and of a correct punctuation and accentuation. They are the Syrian counterpart of what the Jews called the "Manual for the reader," or a "Master of the reader." Indeed, the title that is given to these collections in the most ancient[1] MS. that has come down to us, containing the Nestorian Massora, is just this. On folio 309*b*. at the head of a treatise on punctuation and accentuation, we read the following title: "We are still writing, by God's grace, the signs of the punctuation, of the 'Books of the Maq'r'yânâ'." The Maq'r'yânâ is, properly speaking, that which teaches to read. In the Indo-Germanic languages this is a comparatively easy thing to do. But in the Semitic languages, where only the consonants are written, it is not an easy task to teach,

[1] The date is 899 A. D.

Digitized by Google

or to learn, how to read a text, and to read it correctly. This accounts for the important rôle of the Maq'r'yânâ. We have in it, therefore, an important work that ought to be seriously studied; but which ought to be studied entirely from the point of view of Syriac phonology and lexicography.

XV. Is no profit to be obtained from it, then, for the study of Holy Scripture? Such a conclusion would be thoroughly mistaken. Just as the Hebrew Massora has rendered and will render great service to those who study the Old Testament; so the Syrian Massora can very greatly aid those who wish to study the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian versions of the Bible.

a. When we are trying to determine the canon of the Old and of the New Testaments, for example, one of the best sources of information that we can consult, is certainly the Massoretic collection; we have in these Massoretic volumes, not indeed a witness that is definitive, supreme and complete, but at least the witness of one of the most intelligent parts of two fractions of the Syrian race,—the Jacobite and Nestorian fractions; the witness of learned men who had often examined the sacred text minutely and scrupulously; who determined its reading, fixed its punctuation, marked its divisions, and collected all its lexicographical and grammatical peculiarities; and who did all this, not arbitrarily, but under the inspiration of their language, their church and their race. Such a witness as this, every body will understand, has great value.

b. Likewise, if our business is the determination of a reading in a given place, these Massoretic writings can render important service, if they contain the passage. Their testimony helps to control that of the Peshito or of the Philoxenian, the text of which they analyze and punctuate. Moreover, when we combine the separate MSS. of this family, we may find that we can reconstruct from them the whole text, since the fragments which are not in one حصوصا, may be in another.

XVI. These Massoretic manuscripts contain many marginal notes, but all have reference to points of grammar or lexicography.[1] No one of these notes, for example, makes any allusion to the additions to the text, found in the Curetonian version.

XVII. There are known about a dozen MSS. of the Syrian Massora. Of these, there are two at Rome,—one in the Vatican, No. 152 (of about the year 950), and one in the Barberini library, VI. 62, formerly 101 (1093). The National library at Paris has one,—No. 62, formerly 142, (tenth to eleventh century). Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, owned one, dated about 1015,[2] and probably has it yet. All the others are at London, to wit:—as representatives of the Jacobite Massora, the Additional MSS. 7183 (twelfth century); 12178 (tenth to eleventh century); 14482 (eleventh to twelfth century);

[1] Cf. Martin: *La Massore, &c.* Pieces Justificatives.

[2] This MS. is now in the Library of the Cathedral Church of the Syrians at Mosul.

Digitized by Google

14667, f. 1–22 (tenth century); 17162, f. 1–14 (tenth to eleventh century); 14684, f. 1–117 (twelfth to thirteenth century). A single MS. represents the Nestorian Massora, to wit, the Additional MS. 12138, which belongs to the year 899. Total: one MS. of the ninth century, one of the tenth, two of the eleventh, four of the tenth to the eleventh, three of the twelfth; in all eleven Massoretic collections, of which two are at Rome, one at Paris, seven at London and one at Damascus or Mosul.[1]

This then is what we had to say about the pretended Karkaphensian version, which is not a version, not even a recension in the proper sense of the word. If it is to be classed with any works made in the West, it must be put with the family of *Correctoria*, rather than with any other category of MSS. whatever.

XVIII. Before closing, we may pause long enough to say a word as to certain other Syrian versions that have from time to time been brought into discussion. After having examined carefully the passages of the authors on the authority of whom the existence of these has been affirmed, we are constrained to believe that in some of the cases the sense of the word has been misunderstood. There are in all languages, in Aramaic as well as the rest, some general expressions, the precise sense of which is determined only by the context and analogy. It is the duty of critics to allow weight to the circumstances which determine the sense of such a word in each passage. We have already seen them allowing themselves to be led into error by the word ܡܲܣܪܲܬܽܐ, the proper and rigorous signification of which is "Tradition," "Massora," but which is very often taken as "Version." The word generally used in Aramaic to designate a version is ܦܫܺܝܛܲܬܳܐ, although, to speak rigorously, this term rather signifies the "edition" of a book. There is also another term which has been the cause of much confusion; this is the word ܦܫܰܩ, "to comment," "explain," "interpret." The sense of "to translate" has often been given to this word; and thus commentaries have often been transformed into versions. Many writers of merit bear in literary history the name of ܦܫܩܢܐ, "commentators," "interpreters." Such, for example, are Paul of Callinicum (about 578), James of Edessa (+709–710), etc.; but no one seems to have received this name for having made versions of Sacred Scripture. James of Edessa deserved his title much more for the Greek writers whom he translated, than for his recension of Holy Scripture.

There is, nevertheless, a collection of texts that raise the suspicion that the Nestorians had a version made from the LXX., and that a century (or nearly that) before the Monophysites possessed theirs.

Of all the men who have ever lived, few seem to have had a more singular destiny than the Catholicus of the Nestorians, Mar Abbas, called the Great (538–552). Born in paganism, and brought up in the mysteries of Magism, he raised

[1] Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*; Wiseman: *Horae Syriacae*; W. Wright: *Catalogus*, vol. I., pp. 101—115.

Digitized by Google

himself by his strength of will, the force of his character, and the superiority of his talents, to the highest dignities of his sect and the most envied honors of his nation. What a curious history is this, of this Magian, becoming Christian, learning Aramean in the school of Nisibis, emigrating to Edessa in order to study Greek and literature, pushing on as far as Constantinople, some say even to Rome, sojourning at Alexandria for the completing of his exegetical labors, at last returning to his native land, there attaining the Catholicate, enjoying the intimacy of the great Khosroes, and at last,—that nothing might be lacking to his strange fate,—dying in disgrace and irons! Singular figure, which some writer of talent should rescue for us from the obscurity which invests it.

Now, a body of documents scarcely permits us to doubt that the Catholicus Mar Abbas translated the Old and New Testaments out of the Greek, in the first quarter of the sixth century, almost at the very time when Philoxenus of Mabug, in the West, was translating the Holy Gospels by the direction of his Chorepiscopus Polycarp (508). Mar Aud-Icho, metropolitan of Nisibis in the fourteenth century (about 1340) is explicit: "Mar Abbas, the Great," he says, "translated (ܦܫܩ) and explained (ܦܫܪ) the whole Old Testament from the Greek into Syriac. He commented also on Genesis, the Psalms, the Proverbs,"[1] etc. Ebed-Jesu (or Audicho, as the Nestorians call him) speaks only of a translation of the Old Testament, but other writers fill the lacuna. Bar-Hebraeus, to whom the epithet of "the Great" might be justly given (1226–1286), does not distinguish between the Old and New Testaments: "Mar Abbas," he tells us, "went to Nisibis to learn Syriac letters. Desirous also of learning Greek, he went to Edessa and put himself to school to a teacher named Thomas who knew enough Greek. Then he went with his teacher to Alexandria, and, with his help, translated the Holy Scriptures out of the Greek into Syriac."[2] Lastly, two other Nestorian writers, Maris and Amru-ben-Mathaÿ (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) are more explicit. They say clearly that Mar Abbas "composed a fine collection of Canons, which bears his name, and that he translated (or explained) the books of the Old and of the New Testaments."[3]

No fragments have come down to us which confirm these statements. We have never met with any other version than the Peshito in the liturgical books of this sect; and no other author known to us has mentioned the fact that we have here brought out. We must remember, however, that the Nestorian literature has almost entirely perished, in the invasions which through fifteen centuries have never ceased to sweep over Babylonia. It is not surprising, then, that this version, if it was made, has perished with so many other books, of the real existence of which there is not the least doubt.

[1] J. S. Assemani, vol. III., pt. I., p. 75. Cf. II., p. 130, col. 1, p. 411 and III., part I., pp. 407—408.

[2] J. B. Abbeloos and Lamy, *Greg. Bar-Hebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. II., p. 89—91.

[3] J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* II. 412.

Digitized by Google

It has been concluded, likewise, from a passage in the Commentaries of Dionysius Bar-Tsalibi (+1171), citing the *Historia Miscellanea* of Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos,[1] that Maras, bishop of Amid, translated the Gospels from Greek into Syriac. The conclusion does not seem to us, however, included in the premises.

[So far the Abbé at this place. Elsewhere he admits of course the biblical translations of James of Edessa; and also, on the strength of a passage to be found in Overbeck's *S. Syri Ephraemi aliorumque opera selecta*, p. 172, that Rabbulas, bishop of Edessa up to about 436, translated the New Testament. The passage reads: "And he translated (ܦܫܩ) by the wisdom of God that was in him, the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, on account of its variations, accurately according to what it was."]

[1] See *Anecdota* of Land, vol. III., p. 252.

Digitized by Google

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.[1]

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.,

Allegheny City, Pa.

In theology the Christological system starts from the πρῶτον εὐαγγέλιον, in Gen. III., 15. Not so the ancient synagogue. Starting from the talmudic saying, that "all the prophets have prophesied only of the days of the Messiah," it found references to the Messiah in many more passages of the Old Testament than those verbal predictions to which we generally appeal. According to this maxim, almost every passage of the Old Testament is to be referred to Messiah. That this was believed in the time of Jesus we see from passages like John v., 46, "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me." Now, these words are so general, that they cannot very well be confined, as is usually done, to Gen. III., 15; XII., 3; XVIII., 18; XXII., 18; XLIX., 10; Deut. XVIII., 15, 18. The same apostle also says (ch. XIX., 36): "For these things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken." Almost the same idea, as expressed in the talmudic passage quoted above, we find in the words of Peter, when he says (Acts III., 24): "Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." Such being the ideas in the consciousness of the writers in the time of Jesus, it is of no small interest to examine the sources, such as the *Talmud*, both the Jerusalem and Babylonian, the *Targumim* or Chaldee Paraphrases, and the oldest *Midrashim*, whence we derive our information on the subject.

Genesis.

I., 2. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

This is the Spirit of the King Messiah, as it is said, "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him" (Isa. XI., 2).—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 2, 8. Whence do you prove that Messiah already existed before the creation? From "And the Spirit of God," etc.; and that the Messiah is meant thereby is seen from Isa. XI., 2, "And the Spirit of the Lord," etc.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol. 58, col. 2.

[1] Although Dr. Edersheim, in his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (London, 1883), has treated the same subject, yet a comparison of both will show the truth of the old saying, "Duo, quum faciunt idem, non est idem." The reader will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to verify Edersheim's quotations; for to do this it requires not only a rabbinic library, but also a knowledge of rabbinic literature. As both these things cannot be expected of every one, it has been our aim to give the quotations in full. And this is one feature wherein our treatment of the subject differs from Edersheim. In Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclop.*, s. v. *Midrash*, the reader will find the necessary information concerning the midrashic literature; and s. v. *Targum*, all that refers to the Chaldee paraphrases of the Old Testament.

Digitized by Google

I., 4. "And God saw the light that it was good."

Which light is it that shineth to the congregation of God? The light of Messiah, as it is written, "And God saw the light that it was good;" that is to say, God saw beforehand, before the world was created, that the Messiah will bring salvation to the nations.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol 62, col. 1. Referring to this exposition, the author of *Yalkut Shimeoni*, fol. 56, asks: What is indicated in the words (Ps. XXXVI., 10), "In thy light shall we see light?" what else than the light of the Messiah, of whom it is said, "And God saw the light that it was good."

III., 15. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The *Jerusalem Targum* thus paraphrases this passage: And it shall come to pass, when the children of the woman shall labor in the law, and perform the commandments, that they shall bruise and smite thee on thy head, and shall kill thee; but when the children of the woman shall forsake the precepts of the law, and shall not perform the commandments, thou shalt bruise and smite them on their heel, and hurt them; but there shall be a remedy for the children of the woman, but for thee, O serpent, there shall be no remedy, for hereafter they shall to each other perform a healing in the heel in the latter end of the days, in the days of King Messiah. The *Targum of Jonathan* goes on in the same strain, and concludes: Nevertheless there shall be a remedy for them; but to thee there shall not be a remedy; for they shall hereafter perform a healing in the heel in the days of King Messiah. The *Talmud Sota*, fol. 49, col. 2, speaks of "the heels of the Messiah" (עקבות משיחא), i. e., of the time when the heel of the Messiah shall be bruised by the serpent, with reference to the troubles in the Messianic time. As this passage is very interesting, we give it here in full: Rabbi Pinchas, the son of Yaïr, said, Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages and the nobles are ashamed, and cover their heads. The wonder-workers are disdained, and those who rely upon their arm and tongue have become great. There is none who teaches (Israel), none who prays for the people, none who inquires (of the Lord). Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. Rabbi Eliezer the Great said: Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages have commenced to be like school-masters, and the school-masters like precentors, and the precentors like the laymen, and these too grow worse, and there is none who asks or inquires. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. In the footprints of the Messiah impudence will increase, and there will be scarcity. The vine will produce its fruit, but wine will be dear. The government will turn itself to heresy, and there will be no reproof. And the house of assembly will be for fornication. Galilee will be destroyed, and Gablan laid waste, and men of Gebul will

Digitized by Google

go from city to city, and find no favor. And the wisdom of the scribes will stink, and those who fear sin will be despised, and truth will fail. Boys will confuse the faces of old men. Old men will rise up before the young. The son will treat the father shamefully, and the daughter will rise up against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes will be those of his own household. The face of that generation will be as the face of a dog; the son will have no shame before his father. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven.—*Sota*, fol. 49, col. a, b.

IV., 25. "For God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, Eva meant that seed which comes from another place. And who is meant? The King Messiah. —*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 23. Rav Huna said, It is written, "For God hath appointed another seed;" this is the seed which comes from another place. Who is that? The King Messiah.—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 8.

XIX., 32. "Come, let us make our father drink wine, that we may preserve seed of our father."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel: The daughters said, "that we may preserve seed of our father." It is not written "a son," but "seed," which is to indicate the seed which is to come from another place. And what seed is it? The King Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 41.

XXII., 18. "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

Why does God compare the Israelites to the sand of the sea? Because without sand no plant can be planted, and thus no one could exist; because there would be no fruits. Thus, likewise, the world could not exist without the Israelites; wherefore it is also written, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." In this life, it is true, the Israelites are compared to the dust of the earth, but in the Messianic age they will be like the sand of the sea; for as the sand makes the teeth dull, so also will the heathen be destroyed in the time of the Messiah, as it is said: "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion" (Num. XXIV., 19).—*Bemidbar Rabba*, sec. 2.

XXXV., 21. "And spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar."

The *Targum Jonathan*, in loco, And Jacob journeyed and extended his tabernacle beyond the tower of Edar, the place whence hereafter King Messiah shall be revealed in the end of days.

XLIX., 10. "Until Shiloh come."

The *Targum Onkelos* paraphrases, Until that Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Jerusalem Targum*, Until the time that King Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Targum Jonathan*, Until the time that

Digitized by Google

King Messiah, the youngest of his children, shall come. The *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (sec. 98, 99), *Midrash Echa* (i. e., on Lamentations I., 16) refer the expression "Shiloh" to the Messiah. That "Shiloh" was regarded as the name of the Messiah, we see from the following interesting talmudic passage: What is his name? They of the school of Rav Shila said, His name is Shiloh, as it is said, "Until Shiloh come." But those of the school of Rabbi Yanai said, His name is Yinon, as it is said, "Before the sun (was) his name was Yinon" (Ps. LXXII., 17). They of the school of Hanina said, Hanina is his name, as it is said, "Where I will not show you favor" (Jer. XVI., 13). And some say, His name is Menachem, the son of Hezekiah, as it is said, "Because he keeps far from me the Comforter, who refreshes my soul" (Lam. I., 16). The rabbis say, His name is the leper of the house of Rabbi, as it is said, "Surely he hath borne our sickness, and endured the burden of our pains, yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted" (Isa. LIII., 4).—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.[1]

—— "And unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

The same is meant to whom the prophecy refers, "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people" (Isa. XI., 10).—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99.

XLIX., 11. "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes." The *Jerusalem Targum:* How fair is King Messiah, who is hereafter to arise from the house of Judah! He girdeth up his loins, and goes forth to battle against his foes, smiting kings with (their) princes, reddening their rivers with the blood of their slain, and whitening his valleys with the fatness of their strength; his garments are dipped in blood; he is like to the treader of grapes. The *Targum Jonathan* speaks almost in the same words. *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99, remarks on the words "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine," This refers to him of whom it is said "lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. IX., 9). In the Talmud we read, Whoever sees a vine in his dream, will see the Messiah, because it is written, "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine."—*Berachoth*, fol. 57, col. 1.

XLIX., 12. "His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk." The *Jerusalem Targum:* How fair are the eyes of King Messiah to look upon! more beautiful than the vine, purer than to behold with them the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of innocent blood; his teeth are more skillful in the law than to eat with them deeds of violence and rapine. The *Targum Jonathan* uses almost the same words.

[1] The same we find in *Midrash Echa*, or *Lamentations*, on i., 16.

Digitized by Google

EXODUS.

XII., 42. "It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations."

The *Jerusalem Targum* paraphrases: It is a night to be kept and established for the deliverance which is from before the Lord in the bringing out of the children of Israel free from the land of Egypt. For there are four nights written in the book of remembrance. The first night was when the word of the Lord was revealed on the world to create it.....The second night was when the word of the Lord was revealed to Abraham between the parts..... The third night was when the word of the Lord appeared against the Egyptians at midnight....The fourth night shall be when the world shall arrive at its end to be dissolved, the cords of the wicked shall be consumed, and the iron yoke shall be broken, Moses shall go forth from the midst of the desert, and King Messiah from the midst of Rome, etc.

XVI., 25. "Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto the Lord."

Jerusalem Talmud: Rabbi Levi said, If Israel would only observe one sabbath as it ought to be observed, the son of David would soon come, as it is said, "Moses said," etc.—*Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1.[1]

XL., 9. "And shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof, and it shall be holy."

The *Targum Jonathan:* And thou shalt hallow the magnificent crown of the kingdom of the house of Judah and the King Messiah, who will redeem Israel in the latter days."

XL., 11. "And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it."

The *Targum Jonathan:* And thou shalt anoint the laver, etc., for the sake of ....Messiah, the son of Ephraim, who is to proceed from him; by whom Israel will subdue Gog and his allies in the latter days.

LEVITICUS.

XXVI., 12. "And I will walk among you."

This refers to the Messianic time, as it is said, "For they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion" (Isa. LII., 8).—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 34, col. 1.

NUMBERS.

XI., 26. "And they prophesied in the camp."

The *Jerusalem Targum:* And both of them prophesied together, and they said, In the end of the heel of days, Gog and Magog and their army shall ascend against Jerusalem, but by the hand of King Messiah they shall fall.

---

[1] In the Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbath*, fol. 118, col. 2, we read: If Israel would only observe two sabbaths as they ought to, they would soon be redeemed.

Digitized by Google

XXIII., 21. "And the shout of a king is among them."

The *Targum Jonathan:* And the shouting of King Messiah which he will shout among them.

XXIV., 7. "And his kingdom shall be exalted."

The *Jerusalem Targum:* And the kingdom of King Messiah will be magnified.

XXIV., 17. "There shall come a star of Jacob."

The *Targum Onkelos:* When a mighty king of Jacob's house will reign, and the Messiah will be magnified. The *Targum Jonathan:* When there shall reign a strong king of the house of Jacob, and Messiah shall be anointed, and a strong sceptre shall be from Israel, etc. Rabbi Simeon the son of Yochaï lectured: Rabbi Akiba, my teacher, explained, "There shall come a star of Jacob;" Cosiba comes of Jacob, for when he saw Bar Cosiba, he exclaimed, This is the King Messiah.—*Jerusalem Taanith*, fol. 68, col. 4. The Israelites said to God, How long shall we be in bondage? He replied, Till the day comes of which it is said, "There shall come a star of Jacob."—*Debarim Rabba*, sec. 1. Our rabbis have a tradition that in the week in which Messiah will be born, there will be a bright star in the east, which is the star of the Messiah.—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 58, col. 1.

XXIV., 20. "But his latter end shall be that he perish for ever."

Targum Jonathan: And their end in the days of King Messiah."

XXIV., 24. "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim," etc.

Targum Jonathan: The destiny of all of them is to be conquered by King Messiah.

DEUTERONOMY.

XXV., 19. "Thou shalt not forget it."

Targum Jonathan: And even to the days of King Messiah thou shalt not forget it.

XXX., 4. "And from thence will he fetch thee."

Targum Jonathan: From thence will the word of the Lord your God gather you by the hand of Elijah the high-priest, and from thence will he bring you by the hand of King Messiah.

XXXII., 7. "Remember the days of old," etc.

Another explanation is this: "Remember the days of old" means that whenever God brings sufferings upon you, remember how many good and comfortable things he is about to give you in the world to come. "Consider the years of many generations" denotes the generation of the Messiah.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 134, col. 1.

XXXIII., 12. "And he shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders."

"And he shall cover him" denotes the first temple; "all the day long" denotes the second temple; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" denotes

Digitized by Google

the days of the Messiah. Rabbi said, "and he shall cover him" denotes this world; "all the day long" this are the days of the Messiah; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" means the world to come.—*Talm. Bab. Zevachim*, fol. 118, col. 2.

XXXIII., 17. "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock."

This passage is quoted in connection with Gen. XXXII., 5, "And I have oxen and asses." According to the rabbis, ox denoted the anointed of the war, for it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock;" ass denotes the King Messiah, for it is said, "Lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. IX., 9). *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 95.

RUTH.

I., 1. "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land."

Targum: And it came to pass....a mighty famine in the land of Israel. Ten mighty famines were decreed from the heavens to be in the world from the day that the world was created until King Messiah should come.

II., 14. "And Boaz said unto her, at meal-time come thou hither," etc.

The Midrash *in loco* remarks that Rabbi Jochanan interpreted this in six different ways. He referred it to David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Manasseh, King Messiah and Boaz. As to the fifth we read: The words refer to the history of King Messiah. "Come thou hither" means draw near to the kingdom; "and eat of the bread," i. e., eat of the bread of the kingdom; "and dip thy morsel in the vinegar," i. e., these are the sufferings, as it is said, "He was wounded for our transgressions" (Isa. LIII., 5); "and she sat beside the reapers" because his kingdom will once be put aside for a short time, for it is said, "For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken" (Zech. XIV., 2). "And he reached her parched corn," i. e., the kingdom will again be given to him, as it is said, "And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (Isa. XI., 4). Rabbi Berachia said in the name of Rabbi Levi: "As the first redeemer, so the last; as the first redeemer (i. e., Moses) revealed himself and disappeared from before them (i. e., the Israelites)—and how long was he hidden from them? Three months, as it is said, "And they met Moses and Aaron" (Exod. V., 20)—so also will the last redeemer appear to them and disappear from before them. And for how long? Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of the rabbis, Forty-five days, and this it is what is said: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away" and "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh" (Dan. XII., 11, 12). And what kind of days are these? Rabbi Isaac, the son of Kezartha, said in the name of Rabbi Jonah: During these forty-five days the Israelites cut up mallows and eat them, and to this refers "Who cut up

Digitized by Google

mallows by the bushes" (Job XXX., 4). Whither does he (the redeemer) lead them (the Israelites, before he disappears)? From the land into the wilderness of Judea, as it is said, "Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness" (Hos. II., 14). Some say, "into the wilderness of Sihon and Og," for it is said, "yet make thee dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feast" (XII., 9). Whosoever believes in him, shall live; whosoever believes not in him, goes to the nations of the world, which kill him. At the end God reveals himself to them, and sends down manna. "There is no new thing under the sun" (Eccl. I., 9).—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 5.

III., 15. "He measured six measures of barley."

Targum: And he measured six measures of barley.....and immediately it was said by prophecy that hereafter there should proceed from her the six righteous ones of the world, who should each of them hereafter be blessed with six blessings,—David, and Daniel, and his (three) companions, and King Messiah.

IV., 18. "Now these are the generations of Pharez."

You find that the word תולדות (i. e., generations) is everywhere in Scripture written defective (i. e., without the *waw* ו), except in two passages, viz., "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth" (Gen. II., 4), and "These are the generations of Pharez." And there is a great reason for this. Why? It is said, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth," where the word תולדות is written *plene*. Why? Because when God created his world, there was not yet the angel of death in the world, and therefore the word is written *plene*. But when Adam and Eva sinned, all the תולדות (generations) in the Scripture became *defective;* when Pharez arose, his תולדות became again *plene*, because from him proceeds Messiah, and in his time God swallows up death, as it is said, "He will swallow up death in victory" (Isa. XXV., 8). Therefore in these two passages (Gen. II., 4; Ruth IV., 18) the word תולדות is written *plene.*—*Midrash on Exodus*, or *Shemoth Rabba*, sec. 30.

IV., 20. See Gen. IV., 25.

1 SAMUEL.

II., 10. "And exalt the horn of his anointed."

Targum: And will magnify the kingdom of his Messiah.

2 SAMUEL.

XXII., 28. "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."

This passage is brought in connection with the advent of the Messiah in the *Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1: Rabbi Yochanan said, If thou seest a generation whose prosperity is gradually diminishing, look out for Him, for it is said, "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."

Digitized by Google

XXIII., 1. "Now these be the last words of David."

Targum: Now these are the words of prophecy of David, which he prophesied concerning the end of the world, concerning the days of consolation, which are hereafter to come.

XXIII., 3. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

Targum: He promised to set up from me a king, who is the Messiah, that shall rise and reign in the fear of the Lord.

1 KINGS.

IV., 33. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree, etc."

Targum: And he prophesied concerning the kings of the house of David, who were hereafter to reign in this world, and in the world to come of Messiah, and he prophesied concerning the cattle, etc.

Digitized by Google

GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

By Canon S. R. Driver, D. D.,

Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford University, Eng.

1. On Genesis II., 9 b.

In an instructive review of Budde's *Biblische Urgeschichte*, in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for last year, p. 136, Professor Kuenen argues, from the *form* of the verse Gen. II., 9 b (ועץ החיים בתוך הגן ועץ הדעת טוב ורע), that the words ועץ הדעת טוב ורע are an addition—though an addition made by the author himself—to the original narrative. In drawing this inference, however, the learned critic appears to have overlooked a peculiarity of Hebrew style. When Hebrew writers have occasion to combine a double subject (or object) in one sentence, it is their habit, not unfrequently, to complete the clause containing one of these subjects (or objects), attaching the other to this clause subsequently. Examples: (*a*) Gen. XLI., 27 a, where the seven ears are to be regarded, equally with the seven kine, as subjects to שבע שנים הנה, so that the ו has the force of "as also" (gleich wie); Num. XVI., 2 a, 18 b, 27 b; Judg. VI., 5 a, כי הם ומקניהם יעלו ואהלהים; Isa. LV., 1 a. (*b*) Gen. I., 16 b, where there is no occasion, with AV., to supply the verb "he made," but, as the accents also indicate, הכוכבים, as well as המאור הקטן, are appointed to rule over the night;[1] XII., 17, וינגע יי׳ את פרעה נגעים גדלים ואת ביתו; XXXIV., 29; XLIII., 15 a, 18, ולקחת אתנו לעבדים ואת חמרינו; Num. XIII., 23 b, 26 b, וישיבו אתם דבר ואת כל העדה; Jer. XXVII., 7 a; 1 Kgs. V., 9; 1 Sam. VI., 11; Judg. XXI., 10 b. (*c*) Analogous examples with prepositions: Gen. XXVIII., 14; Exod. XXXIV., 27 b, כרתי אתך ברית ואת ישראל; Deut. VII., 14 b (cf. XXVIII., 54 a, 56 a); Jer. XXV., 12 (על); XL., 9 (ל), etc.

The words thus attached are not, in all these cases, to be treated (with Ewald, § 339 a[2]) as subordinate. The order in Gen. II., 9 b, is quite regular and natural. Either ובתוך הגן עץ החיים ועץ הדעת טוב ורע, or ועץ החיים ועץ הדעת טוב ורע בתוך הגן would have been inelegant and heavy. From the *form* of the verse, at any rate, no support can be derived for the conjecture of Professor Kuenen.

---

[1] Construe, therefore, "And God made the two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light, as also the stars, to rule the night." Where two *zaqephs* are repeated (in the same half-verse), the second always marks a less appreciable break than the first. See, e. g., I., 20 a; III., 5 a, 17 b, etc.

[2] 1 Sam. XVIII., 6, is pretty clearly corrupt. In XXV., 42, הלכת should probably be read (cf. Ex. II., 5). XXIX., 10, is very abnormal; analogy requires the insertion of אתם after השכם בבקר

Digitized by Google

2. On מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ (Jer. x., 6, 8).

In order to estimate the various explanations that have been offered on this difficult phrase, it will be necessary to begin by examining briefly the use of מֵאֵין, and of the allied מִבְּלִי, in Hebrew generally.

מֵאֵין occurs in the general sense of "without" in a number of passages, of which the earliest are Isa. v., 9; vi., 11; and מִבְּלִי is used similarly, from Jer. ii., 15. How is this use to be explained, and what precisely is the force attaching to the preposition in these phrases? Our readers will be familiar with the use of מִן after verbs implying "cessation," for the purpose of defining the particular nature of the cessation intended: — "After sixty-five years Ephraim shall be broken מֵעָם *away from* (being) *a people*" (which becomes, in our idiom,[1] *so that it be no more* a people); "Every house is shut up מִבּוֹא *away from* (any) *entering in*" (= so that none entereth in); "Therefore it shall be night to you מֵחָזוֹן *away from vision*" (= that there be no vision); etc. Arguing from these, and many similar passages, we should expect in such a sentence as "The land shall be wasted *that there be no inhabitant* (or, *none passing through*, etc.)," to find the latter part expressed in Hebrew by מִיּוֹשֵׁב (or מֵעֹבֵר[2]). Instead of this, however, we find regularly מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב (or מִבְּלִי), and similarly with other words, מֵאֵין אָדָם, מֵאֵין עוֹבֵר (or מִבְּלִי).[3] One of the two negative particles מִן or אֵין (esp. בְּלִי) must here be pleonastic; and it seems, in fact, that אֵין is added for the purpose of strengthening the idea expressed by מִן, just as it strengthens the idea expressed by בְּלִי in a phrase which occurs in two widely separated parts of the Old Testament, and carries, therefore, with it the presumption of being a genuine Hebrew idiom:—.... הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין "Is it on account of there being no (literally, Is it from *the deficiency of no*) graves in Egypt...?" "Is it on account of there being no God in Israel....?" (Exod. xiv., 11; 2 Kgs. i., 3, 6, 16).[4] As thus used, however, both מאין and מבלי *presuppose* an antecedent clause expressing some negative idea with which מן forms the connecting link. If, therefore, they are rendered "without," it must be recollected that this preposition is used in a pregnant sense, expressing essentially the consequences of a preceding act.

It is only in the Book of Job that מִבְּלִי is used more freely in the sense of "without," the connection with a preceding verb being no longer distinctly felt.

---

[1] Thus drawing attention not to the *old* state which has ceased, but to the *new* state which has arrived.

[2] As indeed occurs, Zech. vii., 14 (מעבר ומשב).

[3] Jer. iv., 7; ix., 9; xxvi., 9; xxxii., 43; xxxiii., 10, 12; Ezek. xiv., 15; xxxiii., 28, etc. These cases will, of course, be carefully distinguished from those in which the מן has a *causal* force; as Deut. ix., 28; Isa. v., 13, מבלי דעת *from lack of knowledge;* Hos. iv., 6; Jer. vii., 32 = xix., 11, מאין מקום (according to Hitz., Ewald, Graf, Keil, and RV. margin).

[4] Examples of the corresponding phrase in Syriac (ܡܶܢ ܟܰܕ ܠܵܐ) are cited by Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 528, e. g. Ephr. i., 11 (ܡܶܢ ܟܰܕ ܠܵܐ ܘܣܦ); Lagarde, *Reliquiae Juris Eccles.*, 141, 6; 142, 8.

Digitized by Google

Thus, IV., 20, "*Without any heeding*, they perish forever;" VI., 6, "Will that which is tasteless be eaten *without salt?*" XXIV., 7, "Naked they pass the night מִבְלִי לָבוּשׁ *without raiment*" (cf. verse 10, "Naked they walk about בְּלִי לָבוּשׁ"); XXIV., 8, "*Refuge-less* they cling to the rock." The analogy of these passages makes it probable that מִבְלִי has the same force in IV., 11, "The lion perisheth *without prey;*" and XXXI., 19, "If I saw one perishing *without raiment*," although otherwise "for lack of" would here afford an excellent sense. But the general difference between the use of מִבְלִי in Job, and that of both מִבְלִי and מֵאַיִן elsewhere, is that, in these other instances, the clause thus introduced adds a *new* feature to the description ("The land shall be wasted,"—how? *so that the condition of persons passing through ceases*), whereas in Job מִבְלִי expresses little more than a *concomitant* of the description (which is not even necessarily expressed in negative terms) contained in the principal clause.

Ewald, now, explains the phrase in Jer. X., from the use of מֵאַיִן explained above. He supposes that the original and proper force of מֵאַיִן was forgotten, that it was considered simply to express the sense of a strong negation, "even none," in no necessary connection with a preceding or connected clause, and that it was thus capable of standing in any part of the sentence. He translates, therefore, מֵאַיִן כָּמוֹךָ "there is *even none* like thee," quoting, as a parallel to this free use of מֵאַיִן, Job XVIII., 15, תִּשְׁכֹּן בְּאָהֳלוֹ מִבְלִי לוֹ, which he renders—and Delitzsch follows him[1]—"there shall dwell in his tent *even naught*[2] of his."

Is this explanation tenable? It is true, as we have seen, that in Job מִבְלִי is used more independently than elsewhere; at the same time the prepositional force of מִן is never entirely lost; it is still a link, though a weakened link, connecting what follows with the main sentence. Upon Ewald's hypothesis, מֵאַיִן and מִבְלִי appear suddenly, not merely as independent particles, but as denoting the *subject* of a sentence. מִן has thus lost its negative force altogether. In this use of מֵאַיִן there is no analogy. מִבְלִי in Job XVIII., which is appealed to, is not decisive. If it denotes there "even naught," it expresses an entirely different sense from that which it bears in any other passage in the same book. And there is no necessity to give it such a sense even there. The מִן may be partitive, as it is understood by Hitzig, "There shall dwell in his tent *what is naught* of his." In the difficulty of understanding how מִן, in its *negative* sense, can have been treated as a mere expletive, this explanation, which gives מִן a natural and intelligible meaning, seems preferable. The analogy appealed to by Ewald in support of his rendering of מֵאַיִן כָּמוֹךָ is thus, at best, an uncertain one, and seems, moreover, upon independent grounds, to be improbable.

Another mode of explanation is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v. מִן), who regards מֵאַיִן כָּמוֹךָ as involving an extension of that partitive use of מִן which

[1] "מִבְלִי a strengthened בְּלִי."

[2] Neuter, (not masc.), on account of the *feminine* predicate.

Digitized by Google

we meet with in מֵאֵחַר in Hebrew, and which occurs more frequently in Arabic, "after negative particles, and after interrogatives put in a negative sense."[1] In Arabic: "Ye have not مِنْ إِلَٰهٍ *aught of god* (= any god) except Him;" "Doth *aught of one* (مِنْ أَحَدٍ = any, ullus) see you?" "Do you perceive of them *aught of one* (= a single one)?" "Not *aught of one* (= Not one) would hold you back," etc. In Hebrew: "If there shall be in the midst of thee a poor man, מֵאַחַד אַחֶיךָ *aught of one* (= any) of thy brethren, in one of thy gates," etc. (Deut. XV., 7); "If one doth מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה *aught of any* (= any) of those things" (Lev. IV., 2); "If he do *aught of one* (= any) of these things" (Ezek. XVIII., 10). Assuming now that מִן is rightly explained in these constructions as partitive, let us analyze its application to the passage in Jeremiah. אֵין כָּמוֹךָ means "(there is) naught of the like of thee," or, more briefly (the question of the precise meaning of כ not being before us) "(there is) naught like thee." מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ, then, will mean "(there is) aught of naught like thee." Is this an intelligible sentence? In a sentence either stating a hypothesis, or (as in the Arabic usage formulated by Dr. Wright) implying a negation, the use of מִן to strengthen the idea of *one only*, by assuming rhetorically a *part of one*, the existence of which is then questioned or denied, is intelligible; but a sentence affirming (as would here be done by implication) the existence of a *part of nothing* is surely an incredible one. It is not credible even on the supposition that, מֵאֵחַד being in use as a strengthened form of אֶחָד, the מִן was applied *mechanically* to אֵין for the purpose of strengthening it similarly; for the sentences in the two cases differ so widely in form and structure, that the foundation is lacking even for the operation of false analogy. Isa. XL., 17; XLI., 24 [M. T. מאפע] הן אתם מאין ופעלכם מאפס are not parallel. It is possible to say rhetorically, "Ye are of nothing and your work of naught" (whether *of* here means "a part of" [see Hitzig] or "consisting in"); but this does not justify the expression "(there is) part of naught of the like of thee."[2] At most, it would justify the punctuation מֵאַיִן, and the rendering, "Part of naught is the like of thee." But this, while more artificial, is not stronger than the normal אֵין כָּמוֹךָ, and, though suitable where the subject is אתם or פעלכם, for the purpose of declaring emphatically its equivalence with nonentity, is unsuitable when the subject is a word like כמוך. Gesenius fails to show how מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ can be intelligibly conceived as a strengthened expression for אֵין כָּמוֹךָ.

מֵאֵין כָּמוֹךָ appears thus to admit of no satisfactory explanation. In Jer. XXX., 7, however, occurs the expression, "Ho, for great is that day מֵאַיִן כָּמֹהוּ." The rendering of AV. (as also of RV.), "so that none is like it," can-

[1] Dr. Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, II., § 48 f. (b). See also Ewald, *Gr. Ar.*, § 577, and the examples cited by Gesenius.

[2] The rendering "(There is) *less than* naught of the like of thee" reads into מן more than it will legitimately express.

Digitized by Google

not be intended as a strictly literal version; for the analogy of the phrases מֵאַיִן יוֹשֵׁב, etc., would demand the punctuation מֵאַיִן כָּמֹהוּ; there is no example of אַיִן being pointed as if it were in the absolute state (אַיִן) when it precedes the word with which it is related.[1] מֵאַיִן must here bear its usual sense of "whence?" which agrees excellently with the context, "Ho, for great is that day; *whence* is the like of it?" This is the rendering adopted by Hitzig, who also proposes (following J. D. Michaelis) to point and render similarly in x., 6, 8 מֵאַיִן כָּמוֹךְ "*whence* is any like thee?" Nägelsbach, indeed, objects that we have always elsewhere מִי כָמוֹךְ "*who* is like thee?" but, whatever be the explanation accepted, we have to deal with an unusual expression; and a construction which is logically and grammatically intelligible seems preferable to one which is so difficult to understand or justify as either of those which have been considered above. The recurrence of the same form in verse 8 makes it improbable, as Graf remarks, that the מ is due merely to an accidental repetition of the preceding letter (מלכותם, אותם). The Versions (both here[2] and in xxx., 7) all render by a simple negative, as if the reading were אַיִן; but where delicate distinctions are involved, their evidence, as regards either reading or construction, is of slight value. In all probability, the true meaning of the phrase had been lost by the Jews, and a false interpretation is embodied in the Massoretic punctuation.

8. On 1 Samuel I., 5.

ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אַפַּיִם כי את חנה אהב ויהוה סגר רחמה.

The difficulty in אַפַּיִם is well-known. It is rendered (1) "heavily." So Coverdale (1534), following the Vulgate "tristis;" Joseph Kimchi (afterwards David Kimchi, כלומר בכעס היה נותן לה מנה אחת לבד), Luther, "traurig;" Sebastian Münster (1635), "facie (demissa);" Geneva *margin* ("some read [so, in fact, the "Great Bible" of 1539] 'a portion with an heavy cheer'"); and among moderns, Böttcher and Thenius. For this sense of אפים, however, there is no support in the known usage of the language: באפים occurs with the meaning "in anger" in Dan. xi., 20; but even supposing that an early writer would use the dual, upon the analogy of ארך אפים, in that sense, the meaning obtained would be unsuitable; and the expressions נפלו פניך (Gen. iv., 6) and פניה לא היו לה עוד (1 Sam. i., 18) are not sufficient to justify the sense of a dejected countenance being assigned to אפים.

It is rendered (2), in connection with מנה אחת *one portion of two faces* (= two persons), i. e., a double portion. So the Peshito (ܐܦ̈ܝܢ), Gesenius, and Keil. It is true that the Syriac ܐܦ̈ܝܢ corresponds generally in usage to the Hebrew פנים; but, to say nothing of the fact that a Syriasm is unexpected in Samuel, there is nothing in the use of the Syriac ܐܦ̈ܝܢ to suggest that the *dual* would, in

[1] Job xxxv., 15 (see Delitzsch) will hardly be objected as an exception.
[2] Where, however, LXX. omits.

Digitized by Google

Hebrew, denote *two* persons; أنف (like פָּנִים) is used of *one* person, the singular not occurring. If אַפַּיִם means *two* persons, it must be implied that אַף, in Hebrew, might denote *one* person, which the meaning of the word obviously does not allow. Secondly, the construction, if this rendering were correct, would be unexampled. אפים evidently cannot be a genitive after the compound מנה אחת; and the disparity between the two ideas (*one portion* and *two persons*) precludes us from treating it as a case of apposition (as is suggested by Keil);[1] Ewald, § 287 b, offers, in this respect, nothing parallel. Grammatically, therefore, not less than lexically, this rendering is exposed to the gravest objections.

(3) The history of the AV. *a worthy portion* (inherited from the Genevan Version of 1560) is curious. It is based ultimately upon the rendering of the Targum: "And to Hannah he gave חולק חד בחיר *one choice portion*," which is thus paraphrased by Rashi ראוי להתקבל בסבר פנים יפות "a portion fit to be received with a cheerful countenance." בחיר in the Targum corresponds to the Heb. אפים; how it was obtained from it may not be perfectly certain; but Kimchi seeks apparently to explain it, when he annotates the text thus, מנה אחת נכברת[2] להשיב אפה וכעסה וכן ארך אפים ארך כעס—in the Latin of Seb. Münster, "partem unam electam: hoc est, dedit Hannae partem honorificam *at ab ea auferet animi et vultus molestiam.*" As here explained, "worthy" is no translation of אפים, but merely expresses a characteristic of the particular "portion" sufficient to produce the desired result. But this explanation is only of historical interest; it is evident that אפים alone cannot mean "against" or "to remove vexation." In the *Book of Roots*, however (*s. v.* אף), there is suggested as an alternative או פירושו ראויה לפנים כלומר מנה נכברת. This explanation is easier, but is open to objections, upon ground of usage and construction, similar to those already urged against (2).

In the LXX. אפים is represented by *πλήν*, i. e., אֶפֶס. This reading at once relieves the difficulty of the verse, and affords a consistent and grammatical sense. אֶפֶס כִּי restricts or qualifies the preceding clause, precisely as in Num. XIII., 28. "But unto Hannah he used to give one portion;" this, following the מנות of verse 4, might seem to imply that Elkanah felt less affection towards her than towards her sister. To obviate such a misconception, the writer continues, "Howbeit he loved Hannah, but the LORD had shut up her womb," the last clause assigning the reason why Hannah received but one portion. The words *ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδιόν* in LXX. before *πλήν* seem to be merely an explanatory addition inserted by the translators, and need not be suppposed to have formed part of the Hebrew text read by them.

[1] See the Appendix to the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*, § 290.

[2] Cf. Abulwalid (11th century), وجهة عظيمة.

Digitized by Google

EMENDATIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF ISAIAH.

By Rev. Dr. K. Kohler,

New York City.

Biblical criticism is still in its infancy. Conservative scholars still deem it a sin to admit that the Massoretic text of the Bible has undergone great changes. They would rather impute to the sacred writers all kinds of deficiencies in logic and grammar, in oratory and common sense, than allow the intact state of the Holy Writings to be questioned. A careful study of the text of all the twenty-four books has convinced me that few chapters have escaped corruptions by mistake of writers, as well as alterations and interpolations at the hands of the scribes. Entire lines and columns have been misplaced and occasionally intermingled, so as to disturb the order and harmony of the entire composition. Expressions or prophetic predictions which sounded too harsh and severe were altered or softened by interpolations and additions, particularly at the end of a chapter or book. There are many Psalms and prophetical compositions in which the verse recurring at the end of each strophe, the refrain, has been sadly neglected and lost sight of to such a degree that only the sharp eye of a critic can discover it anew and restore the shattered fragments. No poetical rule has more consistently been adhered to by authors than the *Parallelismus Membrorum* by the Hebrew bards and writers. Yet even this has again and again been encroached upon by copyists and accentuators. And the best and most scholarly commentators have failed to give due attention to these facts. I am well aware that such general assertions will meet with ridicule and scorn, and unless I shall have accomplished the task of submitting my views of the whole Bible text to the scholarly world, I cannot expect to find many who will agree with me. Only the long array of proofs must at the end decide in my favor. At present I can merely plead for the patience and indulgence of my readers, as I intend to take up one chapter and one book after the other, being not so anxious to carry my point as to help in restoring, as far as possible, the original text. I shall commence with the book of *Isaiah*.

I.

4. נזרו אחור. These last two words disturb the parallelism, and fail to present a "climax" (Cheyne). On the other hand, the following verse seems defective, beginning in the second person, whereas no one is addressed. Read נְזִירֵי (חֶרֶב) אַשּׁוּר, and begin with it the new verse: "Ye single parts left by Assur, on what part will ye still be smitten, whilst adding 'perversion?'" The words are characteristically omitted in the Septuagint.

Digitized by Google

6. Read רְכֻבוּ instead of רכבה.

7. " סְרִים " " זרים. So Studer, *Protest. Jahrb.*, Lagarde and Cheyne.

9. " כִּמְעַט כִּסְרִם.....לוּלֵי, "Had not Jehovah left a remnant, almost like Sodom would we have become;" cf. my article on לוּ in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 29.

11. וּכְבָשִׁים, more than superfluous alongside of וְעַתּוּדִים, is not found in the LXX.

12 and 13 have greatly suffered at the hands of the Scribes, who felt like smoothing somewhat the rigid condemnations of the prophet. The LXX. offer the following reading: רמום חצרי לא תוסיפו כי תביאו מנחה שוא קטרת ויום מקרא (גדול) לא אוכל צום ועצרה תעבה היא לי : חדשיכם ושבתות. The original reading seems to have been thus—verse 12: כִּי תָבֹאוּ לֵרָאוֹת פָּנָי לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הָבִיא מִנְחַת שָׁוְא קְטֹרֶת תּוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי, מִי בִקֵּשׁ זֹאת מִיֶּדְכֶם רְמוֹס חֲצֵרָי : (13) חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא צוֹם וַעֲצָרָה אָוֶן, לֹא אוּכַל.

Translation: "If you come to see my face, do not continue to bring meal-offerings of falsehood; it is an incense of abomination to me.

"Who desires this from you? To trample my courts? The New Moon and the Sabbath, the calling of the assembly, the fasting and the solemn gathering—it is iniquity, I cannot bear it."

17. חָמוּץ gives no satisfactory sense. Read חָמוּם *the violenced*, participle pass. of חָמַס.

23. וְחַבְרֵי. The plural is to be replaced by the singular, וְחֶבֶר *and a band.*

25. וְאָשִׁיבָה *I will bring back* gives no sense. Read וְאָשִׁימָה *I will put my hands upon thee.* The error was caused by the first word of the following verse.

28. וְשָׁבְיָהּ. Read וּשְׁבִיָּהּ *and her captivity* = captives.

29. כִּי יֵבֹשׁוּ. In place of the third person there ought to be the second. Read כִּי תֵבֹשׁוּ *for you will be ashamed.*

31. וְהָיָה הַחֹסֶן. This word "stronghold" does not well fit itself to the context. Read, with Lagarde, הַחַמָּן "And the sun-pillar shall be as tow, and its maker (וּפֹעֲלוֹ) a spark." Here, for וּפֹעֲלוֹ, Lagarde's conjecture, I prefer the Massoretic reading, וּבַעֲלוֹ *and its Baal.*

II.

2–4 are certainly not in their right place here, if ever spoken by Isaiah. They originally belong to the author of the fourth and fifth chapters of Micah, probably a contemporary of Zephaniah; and it is not impossible that some of the scribes wanted to stamp them as Isaianic by giving them verse 1 as a heading, while another Massoretic tradition attributed them to Micah.

5 has no connection with the following verses, either. But there can be little doubt that the verse is corrupt. I read בֵּית יַעֲקֹב לְכוּ וְנִוָּכְחָה יֹאמַר

Digitized by Google

יהוה כִּי נָטַשְׁתָּ אֱלֹהֶיךָ בֵּית יַעֲקֹב כִּי מָלְאוּ מִקֶּדֶם וְעוֹנְנִים כַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים וּבְיַלְדֵי נָכְרִים יַסְפִּיקוּ *O house of Jacob, let us dispute together, saith the Lord. For thou hast forsaken thy God, O house of Jacob. For they are full of sorcery and diviners like the Philistines, and with the children of foreigners they practice witchcraft.*

The following passage is remarkable for the obvious confusion which some of its parts have suffered. Cf. verses 9, 10 and 11 with verses 17, 19, 21, and you discern a *refrain* in the composition. Yet it has been entirely lost sight of by the copyists; and confusion prevails to such a degree that the last verse has been given up by the latest commentators in utter despair. Here is the whole passage restored:—The first word of verse 11 offers the missing fragment of verse 9:

9. וַיִּשַּׁח אָדָם וַיִּשְׁפַּל אִישׁ וְאַל אֶשָּׂא (the LXX. read אשא) לָהֶם עָוֹנָם: .....*I shall not forgive them their sin.*

10. בֹּא בַצּוּר וְהִטָּמֵן בֶּעָפָר מִפְּנֵי פַּחַד יהוה וּמֵהֲדַר גְּאוֹנוֹ בְּקוּמוֹ לַעֲרֹץ הָאָרֶץ:

11. וְהָיָה גַּבְהוּת אָדָם שָׁפֵל וְשַׁח רוּם אֲנָשִׁים וְנִשְׂגַּב יהוה לְבַדּוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:

12. ושפל. Read וְגָבֹהַּ.

17 belongs after verse 19; then let 18 read וְהָאֱלִילִים כָּלִיל יַחֲלֹפוּ. The ו of the following word caused the omission of the same letter in the preceding one.

20. Read אשר עָשָׂה לו להשתחות לַחֲפַרְפֳּרוֹת ולעטלפים.

21 and 22 are but variant readings of verses 19 and 17—in fact, marginal glosses, partly corrupted.

III.

1. The last six words have, by various commentators, been declared to be glosses.

3. The word ויועץ is probably also a gloss.

4. וְתַעֲלוּלִים is correctly translated in the King James version "babes." It is parallel to נְעָרִים, and identical with מְעֻלָּל in verse 12.

6. Instead of והמכשלה *and the ruin*, which offers no tolerable sense in the whole context, the Septuagint presents the reading וְהַמַּבְשֶׁלָה *and this dish*. Taking into consideration that the following verse begins rather abruptly, I suggest that the original reading was וְהַמַּבְשֶׁלָה הַזֹּאת תִּקַּח *and take this meat*, the meaning being "they will offer a coat and a meal to any one accepting an office;" but אֶת יָדוֹ יִשָּׂא בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *he will lift up his hand* to swear that he will not accept the office, for his own household is not provided thereby.

8, at the close, shows traces, at least, of intentional alteration; and still more so the Greek version. Read בִּלְשׁוֹנָם וְמָעֲלוּ מַעַל בַּיהוה לְמָרֹת אֶת פְּנֵי

Digitized by Google

כְּבוֹדוֹ *with their tongues they commit treason against the Lord, to offend the face of his glory.* The Seventy have read כְּבוֹדָם *their glory*, a euphemistic alteration. The rather meaningless word כִּסְּרָם, in verse 9, originally may have been a marginal note belonging to כְּבוֹדוֹ in our verse.

10 and 11 have already been pointed out by Studer as marginal notes.

12. וְדֶרֶךְ *the way of thy paths* is a tautology. We expect a word analogous to מְאַשְּׁרֶיךָ *thy guides.* Read וּמוֹרֶיךָ *and thy teachers.*

14 c and d belong after 15 a, b. "Why do you crush my people and grind the face of the afflicted. Ye eat up the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your houses." This address of the prophet, with its allusion to the vineyard, is continued in ch. v., which deals with the iniquities of the oppressors, repeating even in verse 16 the refrain of ch. II.

15 d commences a new chapter: נְאֻם אדני יהוה צבאות *An oracle of the Lord Yahweh Ts'bhaoth.*

16. ויאמר (cf. LXX.). Read כֹּה אָמַר יהוה *Thus saith Yahweh.*

18. The LXX. read after the word תִּפְאֶרֶת a word like לְבוּשָׁם *the glory of their dress*, which was probably omitted for euphemistic reasons.

24. נִקְפָּה, as parallel to מַק = "rottenness," is not, likely, a rope, but, as Grätz suggests, a corrupted form of רִקָּבָה = "rottenness."

26. פתחיה "*thy gates* shall sigh and lament" gives little satisfactory sense; and so is the following word (ונקתה) very obscure and problematic. Read יְפֵיפִיּוֹתַיִךְ *thy fair ones* וְרַכּוֹתַיִךְ *and thy tender ones.* The Septuagint offers traces of this reading in the preceding verse, ὁ χάλλιστος, etc. לארץ תֵּשַׁבְנָה *shall sit on the ground.* This connects fitly with the following verse (IV., 1).

IV.

2. The words צֶמַח and פְּרִי, expressions used during the Exile for the expected son of David (cf. זֶרַע בָּבֶל *seed planted in Babel*) are missing in the Septuagint. Besides, the whole verse betrays the hand of an interpolator or emendator. That the whole chapter stands in close relation to the preceding one, can be learned from verse 4, which has undergone only slight changes. Cf. LXX., which have כי before אם and יִרְחַץ, instead of רָחַץ; the word בְּנֵי *sons* before בָּנוֹת may have originally belonged to the second part, דְּמֵי בְּנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם. There can be little doubt that the prophet describes God as bringing severe punishment upon the sons and daughters of Zion. Hence (verse 2) Jehovah is made to appear in wrath, like a burning fire and a sweeping storm of destruction. The expressions, however, seemed too severe for the time of the exilic repentance, and were therefore changed. Of course verse 3, speaking of single remnants who should be distinguished as holy ones, stands now rather without connection, and likewise verse 4.

5. Here the LXX. offer the older and more correct reading ובא יהוה והיה *And*

Digitized by Google

the Lord shall come and be....; but the rest shows again the work of תקון סופרים *emendation of the scribes.* Instead of כי על כל read לצבי ולכבוד. Cf. with the whole, ch. XXVIII., 2–6.

V.

1. Read, with Lowth and Cheyne, שִׁירַת דּוֹדִים *Love-song.*
9. LXX. have before באזני the word וְנִגְלָה *It was revealed in the ears*, connecting it in the *status construct.* with יהוה. Cf., however, XXII., 14. I am inclined to read נאום "the *oracle* of the Lord." Geiger's explanation of it as an oath, "by the ears of the Lord" (*Urschrift*, 325), is without analogy.
12. וְיַיִן. Read לְיֵין *to the wine* of their festive joy.
13. Instead of מִתֵּי read מְזֵי רָעָב (cf. Deut. XXXII., 24), and in place of צָחֶה read צָחֶה צָמָא "burnt with hunger and *dried out with thirst.*"

17 belongs after 10. When the fields have become barren, then "lambs shall graze as if on their usual pasture land, and the ruins of the fat the sheep shall eat up." Instead of גָּרִים read כָּרִים *fat sheep*, in accordance with LXX.

23. מִמֶּנּוּ, read מִמֶּנָּם *from them.*
25. The end of the verse is a thrice repeated refrain in IX. and X. (cf. IX., 11 and 20; X., 4). Hence the three chapters belong together, forming one prophetical composition. Indeed, a close observation will show that VIII., 21 continues the thread broken off at the end of our chapter.
26. The final ם in לגוים is one of the many DITTOGRAPHICAL errors found in the Bible. Read לַגּוֹי מֵרָחוֹק *to the people from afar.* Of course Assyria is referred to.
28. כַּצַּר *like flint.* This accords with the Septuagint, כַּצּוּר. Perhaps a better reading, more analogous to כַּסּוּפָה, is כְּסַעַר *like storm.*
29. וינהם is taken from verse 30, and must be stricken out.
30. The words ואור חשך are not given in LXX., and are a gloss. Subject of the verse is no longer the hostile invader, but the people of Judea. I, therefore, believe that עליו is corrupt, and ought to read עַמִּי *my people.* "My people will, on that day, sigh like the roaring sea, (וְיִבַּט) and look upon the land, and behold distressful darkness in the clouds." Continuation in VIII., 21–23 and IX., 7—X., 4.

VIII.

21. "And it will pass through it hard prest and hungry, and when it will be hungry and full of anger, it will curse its God and its king, and turn upwards."
22. "And again it will look upon the earth, and behold, distress and darkness of need and affliction for the fleeing one."
23. For כי לא read כִּי לוּלֵא "For were there not darkness around the afflicted one, כָּעֵת *then* the first one might take the easier way of escape along the

Digitized by Google

land of Zebulun and Naphtali, and the latter might take the heavier road along the sea and the other side of the Jordan, the province of the heathen.' Galilee." Cf. my article on לוּ in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 26.

IX.

1–6 present a strange conglomeration which no hermeneutical art is able to clear up. Verse 1 is obviously a soothing balm for the affliction threatening in the preceding; but it is very doubtful whether the prophet felt like offering it in this connection. 2 goes on in the same strain. Instead of הִגְוִי לֹא, it has been happily suggested to read, in accordance with the Peshito, הַגִּיל *the joy*, corresponding to הִשְׂמַחְתָּ. 5 and 6 have certainly no relation either to the verses preceding or to those following. They seem to belong to ch. XI., and so probably verses 1–3 (or 4?). About the first word of verse 6, I cannot help expressing surprise that so few of the commentators have found out the plain fact that the two letters לָם are simply a marginal note concerning the previous word שָׁלוֹם. A Massortic tradition existing to the effect that where applied to God שָׁלוֹם should be written in full (*plene*), and otherwise defectively, the scribes were at a loss whether to write it *plene* or *defectively*. This is the meaning of the two letters, which were by mistake added to the following word רַבָּה.

7 connects again with ch. VIII. The word דִּבֶּר, however, offers no sense. LXX. have θάνατον = דֶּבֶר (?) or מָוֶת. Read חֶרֶב *the sword*.

8. וַיִּדְּעוּ is not the right word here. Lagarde suggests וְנִדְּפוּ *And they shall blaspheme*. I would prefer וַיִּרְגְּנוּ *they shall rebel*, the letters being quite similar to וַיִּדְּעוּ.

10. צָרֵי is certainly to be corrected into שָׂרֵי *the princes* (cf. Ewald and others).

12. עַד הַמַּכֵּהוּ. Read, with Lagarde, עַדֵי מַכֵּהוּ.

14 has been generally declared a gloss.

16. לֹא יִשְׂמַח is not the proper word. Lagarde suggests לֹא יִפְסַח, explaining it after Isaiah XXXI., 5, פָּסוֹחַ וְהִמְלִיט = sparing and saving. I think לֹא יַחְמוֹל preferable (= he spares not).

17. נְּאוֹת is correctly given by the LXX. (τῶν βουνῶν) as גֵּיאוֹת, sing. גַּיְא = hill,—"the hills are wrapped up in smoke."

X.

1. Read חֹקְקֵי אָוֶן וּמְכַתְּבֵי "Woe unto those who decree decrees of falsehood and who write documents of iniquity."

3. עַל. Read אֶל.

4 is very obscure. Lagarde's conjecture (בֵּלְתִי כוֹרַעַת חַת אָסִיר *Beelthith* (the goddess) *sinks*, *Osiris is shaken*) is more ingenious than valuable. (See also Cheyne's Comm. II., 135). I believe the verse to have been purposely altered

Digitized by Google

by the scribes, the original reading having been: מַלְכֵּךְ יִכְרַע תַּחַת אַשּׁוּר וְתַחַת חַרְבּוֹ הֲרוּגֶיךָ יִפֹּלוּ: *Thy king shall kneel under Ashur, and beneath his sword shall thy slain ones fall.*

VI.

Isaiah's inaugural prophecy.

1. It is a noticeable feature in Isaiah that the name יהוה is so often written אדני, which, I think, only gives proof of the frequent copying of the book by writers who were scrupulous in regard to the Holy Name.

2. Supply the word לאחד after שש כנפים the first time.

5. The last part of the verse has been purposely misplaced. Read,

וַיֹּאמֶר אוֹי לִי כִּי נִדְמֵיתִי כִּי אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ יהוה צְבָאוֹת רָאוּ עֵינָי

11. תשאה. Read, in accordance with LXX., תִּשָּׁאֵר "the earth shall be left barren."

13. זרע קדש מצבתה. These last words are missing in LXX. Are they a late addition?

VII.

This chapter is written by a pupil of Isaiah. He is spoken of in the 3d person.

1. ולא יכל. Read, with LXX., וְלֹא יָכְלוּ *and they could not.*

2. נחה ארם על אפרים. Read, נָחַת אֲרָם אֶל *down went Aram to Ephraim*, viz., to join in warfare against Judah.

3 shows the son of Isaiah, by the name of שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, to be already grown up, whereas, in ch. x., the name שאר ישוב appears as a symbolic one, just given to him by the prophet. Ch. x. thus proves to be of older date than ch. vii.

4. The words בחרי אף and רצין וארם ובן רמליהו are glosses, and must be stricken out. רצין וארם belong to verse 5, and offer a better reading for ארם.

6. ונקיצנה. Lagarde suggests to read וְנַחְצֶנָּה *and let us set it on fire.*

8–9 b is a marginal note, probably belonging to verse 20. The continuation of verse 7 is verse 9 c where כִּי is to be changed into בִּי: "If you do not have faith *in me*, ye shall not stand fast,"—אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ בִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ.

10. ויוסף יהוה דבר. Here the words דַּבֵּר אֶל יְשַׁעְיָהוּ have been omitted by oversight. "And Jehovah continued saying to Isaiah, Go, speak to Ahaz."

11. שאלה. Read שְׁאֹלָה *unto Sheol.* So many old versions and comm.

13–16 belong elsewhere, connecting rather with VIII., 5–10. By no means can the words of the prophet be a rejoinder to Ahaz, who had just before refused to ask for a sign. Besides, it is the whole house of David who is addressed. 21 and 22 form part of the same "Emanuel" Prophecy, while verses 17–20 and 23–25 are prophecies predicting Assyria's invasion into Judea.

The explanatory words את מלך אשור, in 17, and במלך אשור, in 20, are glosses and probably also 25 a, b.

Digitized by Google

VIII.

Written by Isaiah himself.

1. בחרט אנוש is probably to be read אָנוֹשׁ "sharp, deep-striking chisel."

4. יִשָּׂא. Read יִשְּׂאוּ *they will carry off.*

The "Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz" prophecy is not given here; only in x., 6, allusion is made to it, but at a much later time.

6. רצין ובן רמליהו. LXX. have הַמֶּלֶךְ עֲלֵיכֶם. I suspect the original reading was אֶת יַרְדֵּן וְאֶמָּנָה. The people despise the slow waters of Siloah, and want to rejoice with Jordan and Amana, the great rivers of Samaria and Syria. The names of both kings formed originally but a marginal note, and were afterwards put into the text instead.

7. את מלך אשור ואת כל כבודו. These words are an explanatory gloss.

8. ארצך. Read אַרְצָם *their* (Syria's and Judea's) *land.*

The following עִמָּנוּ אֵל connects with the following two verses, which form part of the Emanuel Prophecy (VII., 13–16), but are left in a mere fragmentary state. In their present connection they are certainly not in their right place, as the preceding and succeeding passages threaten Israel and Judah with Assur's invasion, whereas the Emanuel prophecy predicts a speedy relief from Assur.

9. רעו. LXX. read דְּעוּ *know;* hardly correct. רֵעוּ from רוּעַ *make noise*, viz., "Blow the war-trumpet, yet be seized with fear (וְחֹתּוּ)."

11–20 connect with 8.

12. קשר....קשר. Read, with Lagarde and others, קַדֵּשׁ, "Do not call *holy* all that this people call holy."

14. למקדש. Read לְמוֹקֵשׁ *for a snare.* The alteration is obviously an intentional one, on euphemistic grounds. Cf. LXX., which have לא added to לאבן נגף "and not a stumbling-block."

15. בָּם is likewise altered. Read בּוֹ *through Him.* The meaning is, "through false prophecies the people will be ensnared into ruin."

20 is obscure and in a fragmentary state.

The children to whom the prophet refers in 18 are, no doubt, besides Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz, Shear-Jashub and Emanu-El. To the two former allusion is made in ch. x., 5–23.

X.

6. ומטה הוא בירם. Read וּמַטֵּה בְיוֹם זַעְמִי *and staff on the day of my wrath.*

7–11 have undergone considerable changes at the hand of the scribes, as can be learned from a careful comparison of our passage with the historical narrative (Isaiah XXXVI., 18 and XXXVII., 12, 13, 23, 24, and 2 Kings XVIII. and XIX.). Assyria's general declared his warfare to be as much against Jehovah, Israel's God, as against the people, the Deity being always identified with

Digitized by Google

the nation. This is what Isaiah is speaking against. I have no doubt the original read thus:

7. כִּי לְהַשְׁמִיד עַם וֵאלֹהִים בִּלְבָבוֹ וּלְהַכְרִית גּוֹיִם לֹא מְעָט (גּוֹי וּמַלְכּוֹ)
8. כִּי יֹאמַר הֲלֹא הִשְׁמַדְתִּי גּוֹיִם וֵאלֹהֵיהֶם יַחְדָּיו : (וֵאלֹהָיו)
10. כַּאֲשֶׁר מָצְאָה יָדִי לְמַמְלְכֹת הָאֱלָה וֵאלֹהֵיהֶם כֵּן אַשְׁמִיד גּוֹי וֵאלֹהִים מִירוּשָׁלַם וּמִשֹּׁמְרוֹן :
11. הֲלֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לְשֹׁמְרוֹן וְלֵאלֹהֶיהָ כֵּן אֶעֱשֶׂה לִירוּשָׁלַם וְלֵאלֹהֶיהָ :

Translation:—"But he doth not think thus, and his heart does not reckon thus: For to destroy people and their deity is in his heart and to cut off nations not a few (nation and its king) (God).

For he says: Have I not destroyed peoples and their gods together?

Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Chamath as Arpad? Or is not Samaria as Damascus?

As my hand hath reached those kingdoms and their gods, thus I shall destroy people and the deity from Jerusalem and Samaria.

Truly, as I did unto Samaria and her god, thus I shall do unto Jerusalem and her God."

These blasphemous words sounded too hard even in the mouth of the heathen, and were therefore changed; but they present the real case only in the form restored here. And to judge from the historical narrative in the passages quoted above, they had actually been uttered thus by Rabshakeh.

12. פְּרִי. "The fruit of the high spirit of the king of Assur" is hardly correct, nor is "the glory of his haughtiness" (תִּפְאֶרֶת) the object of God's visitation. Read שְׂפַת *the language* and הִתְפָּאֲרוּת *the boasting*.

13. וְעַתִּידוֹתֵיהֶם. Read וּמְצוּדוֹתֵיהֶם "and their fortresses I plunder," and instead of וכאביר, read בְּעָפָר יוֹשְׁבֵיהֶם "and I shall put down into the dust their occupants."

14. וּפוֹצֶה פֶּה is only a variant reading for וּמְצַפְצֵף.

15. כִּי יָנִיף שֵׁבֶט אֶת מְרִימָיו כִּי יָרִים מַטֶּה לוֹ־עֵץ כהניף...לא עץ. Read, and translate, "Shall the staff swing the one who lifts it? Shall the rod lift him to whom the wood belongs?"

16. יקד יקד. Read יְקַדְקֵד, as one word (cf. לחפר־פרת, נאה־נאה, etc.).

18. Read, in accordance with the text offered by LXX., וְהָיָה כְּמְסוֹס הַמָּסִים אֵשׁ לְהָבָה *and it shall be as wax that melts before the fire of the flame.*

19. עץ יערו is a gloss, and not given in LXX.

21. שאר ישוב is also a marginal note not rendered in LXX. The rest of the verse belongs to the preceding one, and is the responding parallel, if, instead of אל, עַל is read,—"The rest of Jacob leans upon the mighty God." Still it is very likely that the passage before us (16–23) is rather directed against Israel and Judah than against Assyria, and connects with XXVIII. Cf. 23 in

Digitized by Google

our chapter with 22 there. Particularly is this view supported by 22, here compared with XXVIII., 18, 19.

22. בו כליון. Read מְכָלִיוֹן "Even should Israel thy people be as numerous as the sand of the sea, a remnant only will return from the certain destruction, the sweeping storm of justice." If the view expressed here be correct, the words עֵץ יַעֲרוֹ, omitted in LXX. (verse 19), are probably only a substitute for Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵל). The name of Shear-Jashub was then not a sign of comfort, but a threat, a prediction of evil, and the giving of that name has, then, probably been purposely omitted.

24-26. Here is the continuation of the prophecy against Assur (5–15). The latter half of the verse, however, belongs after 25. Read thus, after Luzzato's suggestion: אַל תִּירָא עַמִּי יוֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן מֵאַשּׁוּר כִּי עוֹד מְעַט מְזָעָר וְכָלָה זַעְמִי וְאַפִּי עַל תִּבְלָם. Translate:—

"Fear not my people, inhabitant of Zion, from Assur,
For yet a very little while and my anger will cease,
And my wrath against the world shall be at an end.
He would smite thee with the rod,
And swing his staff over thee on the road towards Egypt;
But Yahweh Ts'bhaoth shall brandish over him a scourge,
As at the smiting of Midian at the rock of Oreb,
And (read וְדִהֲדָהוּ) shall drive him toward the sea,
And carry him on the road of Egypt.

27. וחבל עול מפני שמן are marginal glosses.

33. במערצה. Read בְּמַעֲצָדָה *with the axe.*

34. באדיר. Read בְּאַרְזָיו *with his cedars.*

(*To be continued.*)

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON GENESIS I., 1, and XXIV., 14.

By Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M. A.,

Rector of Tendring, Essex, Eng.

1. On the Rendering of Genesis I., 1.

"In the beginning Elohim fashioned the heaven and the earth. Now the earth was waste and wild, and darkness was upon the face of the flood, and the breath of God [a naïve popular phrase for 'the divine energy'] was brooding over the face of the waters. And Elohim said, Let light be; and light was."

The first verse is the introduction to the story of creation. It was rendered necessary by the frequent adoption or retention of phraseology of mythic affinities, phraseology which needed to be guarded against misapprehension. בראשית has no reference to the order of the works of creation; Tuch has already referred to the Peshito version of ἐν ἀρχῇ, John I., 1; cf. also מֵרֵאשִׁית *from the beginning* (of a historical period), Isa. XLVI., 10. It has been objected to the view here taken of verse 1, that the special introductory formula of the class of narratives known as Elohistic is אלה תולדות. But we find this very formula, used retrospectively, at the end of the section (II., 4 a), for which the author doubtless had his reasons. Verse 2 is, of course, a "circumstantial clause" (*Zustand*, or *Umstandsatz*), a phrase no longer unfamiliar even to purely English readers. It describes the condition of primeval matter at the moment when Elohim said, Let light be.

Followers of Ewald will call this exposition half-hearted; there was a time when I should have done so too. There is no grammatical objection to the rendering adopted from Rashi by Ewald, "In the beginning, when Elohim made the heaven and the earth (and the earth was then a chaos), Elohim said, Let there be light." Similar constructions occur elsewhere in the simplest narratives, and particularly at the beginning of new sections; see Gen. II., 4–7; V., 1, 2; Num. V., 12–15; Josh. III., 14–16; 1 Sam. III., 2–4; 1 Kgs. VIII., 41–43; Isa. LXIV., 1–4. It is more natural, however, to make verse 1 an independent sentence. (1) The cosmogony needs a heading, and II., 4 a, would not read easily before I., 1 (where Knobel and Schrader would place it). (2) The narrative of the next section begins in the same way, with a circumstantial clause (II., 4 b, 5, 6) which is followed by the clause relating the event (II., 7, corresponding to I., 3). Those who regard the whole of II., 4, as belonging to the second narrative section will go further, and point out (3) that we thus obtain a heading for the second section exactly corresponding to I., 1. I follow K. H. Graf, whose remarks near the beginning of his paper on the so-called *Grundschrift* (*Archiv....des Alten Testamentes*, 1869, p. 470) have scarcely been sufficiently attended to. It may be worth noting that Ibn Ezra, who held a view of Gen. I., 1–13, somewhat analogous to

Digitized by Google

Rashi's ("When, in the beginning, Elohim made heaven and earth, the earth was," etc.), seems to have abandoned this in his later writings. See Friedländer, *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, 1877, p. 5.

2. On Genesis XXIV., 14 (נַעֲרָךְ).

Knobel and Dillmann (*ad loc.*) simply say, "נער stands in the Pentateuch for a girl, consequently instead of נערה (here and in verses 16, 29, 55, 57; XXXIV., 3, 12; Deut. XXII., 15-29; also Ruth II., 21.)" Delitzsch objects to the last reference, however. Lagarde considers the feminine use of נער as an Aramaism. Schrader (in his edition of De Wette's *Einleitung*, p. 87), considers that the use of נער for "a girl" is an archaism in certain passages only, while in other places it is due to the archaizing hand of an editor. Delitzsch (Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 399) remarks that "in any case נער = נערה is an archaism not to be gainsaid from the point of view of the history of language. We know it simply from the existing form of the Pentateuch text; in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is removed in all the twenty-one passages. It resembles the archaism הוא = היא in this respect, that we have no other ancient record which attests it. Must we not, therefore, hold that the use of הוא for both sexes indifferently (in spite of the already existent feminine form) is not a mere invention?" However we may decide the difficult question as to the use of הוא, I see no difficulty in assuming that נערה is of late coinage, or at any rate that, as in Arabic parallels, the feminine form was not recognized by choicer writers. Cf. the use of "maidens" in early English for knights as well as dames.

Digitized by Google

A NOTE ON THE RELATIVE (אֲשֶׁר).

By Professor A. H. Sayce, D. D.,

Oxford, Eng.

The suggestion that אֲשֶׁר is the construct of a substantive corresponding to the Assyrian asru and Aramaic אַתַר is not due to Dr. Hommel, as is supposed in Hebraica, April, 1885, but is to be found in Mühlau & Volck's Hebrew Lexicon, and had been previously made by myself in my *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872). I there supported it by the analogy of the Chinese, where so *place* has become a relative pronoun. The chief argument in its favor is this:—

The Assyrian asru and Aramaic 'athar imply that Hebrew also once possessed a substantive אשר, meaning "place," and the most probable cause which can be assigned for its apparent disappearance is that it came to be used with another signification. Prof. Brown's etymology is phonetically inadmissible. He would find it hard to produce any other instances of a "pleonastic" *r* at the *end* of a word either in Hebrew or in any other language where the trilled *r* is pronounced, while the prosthetic vowel in Hebrew presupposes a double consonant at the *beginning* of a word. The Phœnician relative pronoun אש is אשׁ, which is already written אשׁ in the Siloam inscription.

Digitized by Google

MODERN IDEAS IN HEBREW.

By Mr. W. Willner,

New Haven, Conn.

In order to express modern ideas in the Hebrew language, three methods are employed: new forms are made from old roots, or two words expressing the idea are united, or (thirdly) the new word is transliterated. These three methods are illustrated in the words used for the implements, etc., of smoking; "to smoke" is עִשְּׁן, a Pi'ēl formation from the noun עָשָׁן *smoke;* "tobacco" is טַאבַּאק (Ṭă'bbă'q); "tobacco-pipe" is מַעֲלֵה עָשָׁן *raiser of smoke.*

To the first method belongs also the specialization of meanings. Thus, in the Talmud P'ṣāḥîm, 37 a, we find דְּפוּס (Greek τύπος) in the meaning of "form;" this has, in modern Hebrew, been specialized to mean "printer's form," hence "the art of printing," and, finally, "printing establishment." This forms a Nyph'ăl דְּפַס *it was printed*, a Hyph'îl הִרְפִּיס *he has printed*, and from this a Participle מַדְפִּיס *a printer.* The "veredarius" of the Romans, בַּר־דַּוְיָאר, corrupted into בִּי־דָאָר, gives us the word for "post-office."

As a model for the union of two words, the European languages are often followed. Thus we have מַסִלּוּל בַּרְזֶל (German *Eisenbahn*) *railroad;* יֵין שָׂרָף (German *Branntwein*) *brandy;* מִכְתָּב־עֵת (German *Zeitschrift*) *newspaper, magazine.* In other ideas, the combination is original, often curiously formed; thus כַּף פָּרוּר (pot-spoon) *pot-ladle,* מוֹצִיא לָאוֹר (bringer-forth to light) *publisher, editor;* סַדֵּר אוֹתִיּוֹת (Pi'ēl from סָדַר *to arrange letters*) *to set type,* מְסַדֵּר אוֹתִיּוֹת *a compositor,* אֲבַק־אֵשׁ (fire-dust) *gunpowder;* קָנֶה שְׁרֵפָה (burning-rod) *fire-arm.*

Words which have one form for all the modern languages, as the most recent inventions, or the latest investigated maladies, are transliterated. It formerly was the fashion to do this in such a manner that the resulting form should be two Hebrew words expressing about the same idea; as a result, we still have חוֹלִי־רַע (a bad sickness) for "cholera," and the *Hammagid*, a Hebrew weekly published in Lyk, Prussia, calls the "telegraph" דִּלּוּג־רַב (great leaper). But the best and most accepted way is to transliterate these words, as טעלעגראף (which, by the way, can be regularly conjugated, יְטֵלֵיגְרַפּוּ, טֵלֵיגְרַפְתֶּם), likewise טֶלֶעפּוֹן (telephone) דינאמיט (dynamite), etc. Often the Arabic method is followed, and we have both קאפֶע and קהוה, קאוה for "coffee;" טֵיי, טֶע and טהעע for "tea." נומאניא or פנייֿמ would perhaps be used for "pneumonia."

Digitized by Google

SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A MORE EXACT NOMENCLATURE AND DEFINITION OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

By Professor Wm. G. Ballantine, D. D.,

Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, O.

With the recent translations of the works of Ewald and Müller on general Hebrew syntax, and the excellent monograph of Professor Driver on the Use of the Tenses, the beginner cannot complain of lack of efficient help at the most difficult point of the language. Still it must be confessed that the subject has not yet been wholly freed from perplexity, and that portions of it are still enveloped in that "luminous haze" which Ewald so often substituted for dry light. We venture, therefore, with much diffidence, to offer for the criticism of scholars a tentative scheme of nomenclature and definition of the Hebrew Tenses, with some remarks in explanation. We would present the doctrine of the tenses to the beginner in Hebrew grammar somewhat as follows:

There are in Hebrew two tenses, the *Aorist* and the *Subsequent*.

I. The Aorist Tense expresses the mere predication of a fact. It asserts the occurrence of the action signified by the verb, without connotation of the time of that occurrence.

1. But since most facts are now past, the proper translation of this tense in English will oftenest be our Preterite; e. g., בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים *God created*, Gen. I., 1.

2. Very frequently the translation will be our Perfect; e. g., נָתַתִּי *I have given*, Gen. I., 29.

3. Occasionally the translation will be our Pluperfect; e. g., אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *which he had made*, Gen. II., 2.

4. When the verb signifies an action or state likely to be present, the presumption is that the speaker refers to the present. The translation then is our Present; e. g., לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not*, Gen. IV., 9; יְהוָה מָלָךְ *Jehovah reigns*, Ps. XCIII., 1. (But the context may show that the past is meant, and then the same verbal forms must be rendered by Preterites, etc.)

5. General truths are expressed by the Aorist, and rendered by the English Present; e. g., יָבֵשׁ חָצִיר *the grass withereth*, Isa. XL., 7.

6. When a future occurrence is regarded as so certain that it may be predicated as a fact, the Hebrew uses the Aorist, but the English translation may require the Future or Present; e. g., מָכְרָה נָעֳמִי *Naomi selleth*, Ruth IV., 3.

7. The Aorist may be used where the most precise English expression is the Future Perfect; e. g., עַד עֵת יָלְדָה *until she shall have borne*, Mic. V., 2.

Digitized by Google

II. The Subsequent Tense connotes the act predicated as following upon or arising out of a known act or situation of affairs.

1. In independent sentences the act will oftenest be understood to be subsequent to the speaker's present, i. e., future. In such sentences it is exactly rendered by the English Future; e. g., יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ *he shall rule over thee*, Gen. III., 16.

2. Often, however, the action must be understood to supervene immediately upon the existing situation. The Subsequent Tense is then a vivid Present, and must be rendered by the English Present; e. g., יִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת *the floods lift up*, Ps. XCIII., 3.

3. When by means of the adverbs of time or place אָז, טֶרֶם, מִשָּׁם, or in any other manner, a date, starting point, or scene of action, has been indicated, the Subsequent Tense connotes the action as following after or occurring upon such point or scene; e. g., טֶרֶם יִהְיֶה *it was not yet*, Gen. II., 5; מִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד *from thence it was parted*, Gen. II., 10; יוֹם אִוָּלֵד *the day I was born*, Job III., 3. The proper translation here will often be one of the English past tenses.

4. From the idea of supervention, the transition is easy to that of liability to occur, and thus to repetition. Accordingly, the Subsequent Tense is used in predicating customary actions; e. g., אֵד יַעֲלֶה *a mist used to go up*, Gen. II., 6.

5. By a very natural extension the Subsequent Tense is employed to express the Subjunctive Mood, and also the Optative and Potential. It is thus used in wishes, permissions and commands; e. g., יְהִי אוֹר *let there be light*, Gen. I., 3.

III. The Tenses with Waw Conversive.

1. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding predication (or idea), the Subsequent Tense connotes an action as supervenient upon or arising out of that foregoing action.

2. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding Subsequent Tense (or idea), the Aorist falls into the temporal and modal limitations of that foregoing predication.

In justification of this scheme, and upon the subject in general, we make the following somewhat disjointed remarks, or rather memoranda:

1. This is but a sketch. Many important usages are not mentioned; but we think that they may be appropriately classed under the several heads and definitions.

2. The old names of the tenses—*past* and *future*—were after all nearer to the truth than *perfect* and *imperfect*. The Subsequent is a future, only future to any assigned date, not merely to the speaker's present. The name Aorist exactly fits that Hebrew tense. In Greek the Aorist Indicative is *limited* to the past; but in Hebrew the Aorist is truly unlimited except by the possibilities of reality.

3. The application of the term *moods* to the Hebrew tenses is an abuse of a useful word of fixed meaning, as necessary in that meaning to Hebrew grammar as to any grammar. The distinction of the two Hebrew forms is a true *tense* distinction.

Digitized by Google

4. The Perfect is often defined as connoting "finished" or "completed" action. These words are misleading. They can only fairly be used to mean action viewed comprehensively, as in the Greek Aorist, not *now* completed, as in the Greek Perfect.

5. The grammarians have great difficulty with the numerous cases in which the Hebrew Perfect must be rendered as equivalent to an English Present. They explain that the *consequences* of the finished act continue to the present. But making the most of such classic parallels as *οἶδα* and *memini*, the explanation fails for a host of cases; e. g., קָטֹנְתִּי *I am little*, Gen. XXXII., 11.

6. It is a mistaken analogy to compare the Hebrew Perfect, when used in general truths, with the Greek Gnomic Aorist. In Greek there is a reference to past experience. In Hebrew there is no evidence of such a reference.

7. The difference between the Hebrew Aorist and Subsequent is not at all the same as that between the Greek Aorist and Imperfect. Only incidentally, by the extension of the usage of the Hebrew tense to connote customary acts, does that language reach the power to express the distinction.

8. It appears a confusion to define a tense as *inceptive*, and then name it the *Imperfect*. An Inceptive Imperfect which expresses the *future* is a grammatical jumble.

9. We believe that all that Ewald and Driver so laboriously set forth regarding "incipiency," "nascency" and "progressive continuance," may be fairly reduced to the simple idea of *subsequence*.

10. It appears that the *conversion* after strong Waw is rather of the English translation. The Subsequent is by strong Waw only made more distinctly subsequent to the preceding verb, and the Aorist falls under the limitations already expressed.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Second Volume.—With this number HEBRAICA enters upon its second volume. The variety and value of the material furnished ought, we think, to commend the Journal to all who are interested in Semitic studies.

We venture the assertion that no single Semitic publication of the same size has ever contained contributions from so many representative Semitic scholars. There is something encouraging in this. It means that Semitic scholars are at work, and that they are interested in an undertaking whose purpose it is to incite others to work.

When it seemed doubtful whether another volume of HEBRAICA would be published, many letters were received in which the strong hope was expressed that it might be continued. The managing editor, after much debate, concluded to undertake the second volume. And now, will not those who declared themselves interested in its success lend a hand in making it such? What is needed? About four hundred additional subscribers. Is there not something which all who have at heart the interests of Hebrew study can and *will* do to secure these subscribers? The Journal will improve with each succeeding number, if its friends will but help and encourage it. *Now* is the time. The fact is, it is *now* or *never*. Shall it not be *now*?

Proof-reading.—The readers of HEBRAICA cannot but be aware of the extreme difficulty attending the setting up of the type and the reading of the proof of the articles and notes which make up each number. In the present number there will be found, for example, words, sentences, or paragraphs in ten different languages, in five different alphabets, in which there are used ten distinct fonts of type. For use in transliteration there are, besides these, numerous special letters. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if occasionally there shall be discovered slight errors. Yet, according to the testimony of those who are able to judge of such matters, the Journal has been singularly free from typographical errors. This is due, in large measure, to the efficient help rendered by the Rev. John W. Payne, of which the Editor takes this opportunity of making a public acknowledgment.

As the Journal becomes older and better established, and as the facilities for work are improved, it is hoped that, so far as mechanical execution is concerned, it may be made more and more perfect.

An Important Help for the Study of Assyrian.—Semitic students will be interested in the publication of an *Assyrian Manual*, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, which, but for an unavoidable delay, would now be ready. Of the

Digitized by Google

importance of the Assyrian language for the Semitic study, and especially for the study of the Old Testament, words too strong could scarcely be employed. But the difficulties in the way have been until recently well-nigh insurmountable. Until the authorities of Union Theological Seminary, of Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities and the Episcopal Seminary in Philadelphia, made it possible to pursue the study at those institutions, one was forced to go abroad in order to learn Assyrian. The great expense, and other difficulties, left the privilege to but few. Happily, now a rapid change is taking place. The institutions above named, and the list will be enlarged yearly, offer facilities not inferior to those found at the German universities. But there are many eager American students so situated that they cannot attend the American schools. What are these to do? Many of them finished their college, seminary, or university courses before Assyrian study came to the front. They are now active teachers and pastors.

For such persons several courses are possible. If familiar with the German language, they can use Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestuecke*, of which a third and greatly improved edition has recently appeared. This book contains a short lexicon of the most common Assyrian words, two pages of transliterated text, with translation and notes, and should by all means be the constant companion of every student of the language. The fact that it is written in German will unfortunately close its pages for some, and others will find the way hardly sufficiently prepared. While the whole work is intended to be elementary, experience in America has shown that a better method may be employed. Every Assyrian text-book for beginners must aim to reach the same goal that Professor Delitzsch has in view. The question is, Can it be reached by shorter, and easier methods?

The answer to this question, it is confidently believed, will be found in Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*. The fundamental idea in this work is that the language is to be acquired, not by first burdening the memory with the cuneiform characters, but by a large use of transliterated texts. The tests which have been made at Harvard University, and in the Hebrew Summer Schools, have demonstrated the value of this idea. It will be argued that one who learns the language by the aid of transliterated texts can never be sure of the correctness of the transliteration. Be it so. There are scores of intelligent pastors who cannot hope to become Assyrian workers, but who wish to be able to form an opinion on the utterances of those who are. There are teachers of Hebrew who can learn, for comparative purposes, all that is known of Assyrian grammar and vocabulary without committing the cuneiform signs to memory. It cannot be too often urged that the Assyrian language, like all language, lies in the sound, not in the signs representing those sounds.

But while Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual* makes it possible to learn the language without learning the written characters, the method does not contem

Digitized by Google

plate such a course. A nearly complete list of the syllabic characters (several hundred in number) is given, and also several pages of cuneiform text accompanied by transliteration and translation, and still others accompanied by neither. The student should first take the transliterated passage which is translated, and master it. He can also set himself a daily task of a few signs to be learned, and can practice what he thus daily learns, and what he learns from the transliterated passage, by turning to the cuneiform original of that passage. With or without this work on the original signs, all the other transliterated passages, filling forty-one pages, are open to him. These are almost exclusively from the historical records of Tiglathpileser I., Assurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, Nabonidus and Cyrus. The originals of nearly all these passages are easily accessible. There is no better way of learning the cuneiform signs than by reading the originals in connection with a transliteration. By such a course there is not a three-fold effort of the mind, first to recall the sign, second to decide on its connection, and then to discover the meaning of the word; but the whole effort may be directed to the task of impressing on the mind those signs not already familiar. Many of these selections in the *Manual*, in addition to their linguistic value, are of the greatest historical and religious interest. The passages in cuneiform are from Assurbanipal's Egyptian wars, from the Babylonian story of the deluge, from Ishtar's descent to Hades, and from the account of creation.

The *Assyrian Manual* will also contain the necessary grammatical paradigms, notes on the reading selections, and a glossary of all the Assyrian words. It is believed that the book will thus be so furnished as to meet the needs of beginners in the language, and to ease very greatly their task.

While the teacher's place can never be filled by any book, it is believed that those who wish to know Assyrian, but who cannot have a teacher, will find in the method of the *Assyrian Manual* that the greatest difficulty is removed.

Other Semitic Helps.—The announcement, elsewhere, of an Arabic Manual by Prof. John G. Lansing, D. D., of New Brunswick, N. J., and of a Syriac Manual by Prof. R. D. Wilson of Allegheny City, Pa., will be of interest to all Semitic students. The plan of these books agrees in general with that of the *Assyrian Manual* spoken of above. One great reason why there have been so few American students to engage in these studies is the fact that there have been no practical text-books for beginners. The series, now proposed, including Prof. Charles R. Brown's Aramaic Method, of which the second part is soon to appear, will supply a want experienced by many, and, at the same time, incite others to undertake similar work.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

[Any publication noticed in these pages may be obtained of the AMERICAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF HEBREW, Morgan Park, Ill.]

DR. SOCIN'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.*

This is a new edition of Petermann's Elementary Arabic Grammar, brought out by Dr. Socin, translated into English by Drs. Stenhouse and Brünnow, formerly pupils of Dr. Socin.

There is great need for a new Arabic Grammar, but there is no need for such an Arabic Grammar as this one. There is great need for an Arabic Grammar midway between Wright, Palmer, and others, on the one hand, and Faris, Bagster, and others, on the other hand; a Grammar clear, concise, sufficient, without taking the place of Wright's, and without degenerating to the other extreme. To meet this need, Dr. Socin's Grammar is largely a failure, because of its confusions, omissions, and errors.

It would be a difficult task to enumerate the faults which appear on many pages of this Grammar. A few specimens may be given.

Dr. Socin tells us that *waw* is pronounced as *alif* in the word حَيَوٰة and a few other words, excepting when these words have suffixes. This is not the only exception. There are only two other words where the *waw* is pronounced as *alif*. Why were they not given?

In speaking of the elision of connective *alif* under the orthographic sign *Wasla*, Dr. Socin speaks of this elision as taking place with the article and with two words, the words for "son" and "name." Two of the most important places in which this elision occurs are never mentioned. Besides, instead of there being only two words, there are nine words, or rather nouns, in connection with which this elision takes place.

Dr. Socin speaks of long and short syllables, instead of pure and mixed syllables with long and short vowels, etc. He says, "A short syllable consists of a consonant with a short vowel." And "A long syllable of a consonant and a long vowel," etc. That is not a definition of the Arabic syllable. Both of the above cases are included under the pure syllables; while the mixed syllables include the diphthong, and that composed of two consonants when the closing consonant has *sukoon* or *tashdeed*.

---

* ARABIC GRAMMAR, PARADIGMS, LITTERATURE, CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY. By Dr. A. Socin, Professor in the University of Tuebingen. Carlsruhe and Leipzig: *H. Reuther*. Pp. xvi, 294. Price, $2.60.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Socin leaves the three short vowels,—of such great importance in the language,—with a bare mention. He has almost nothing to say about the peculiarities of the letters. He has nothing to say about the Pause. He does not treat of the Article at all. A person would not know there was any Article except as it is incidentally mentioned. Dr. Socin writes the dual of the Relative Pronoun defectively, when only the singular and the masculine plural are written defectively, on account of their frequent occurrence.

He classifies أَيٌّ as a relative pronoun, when it is an interrogative pronoun; and he declines the interrogative مَنْ, which is rarely declined, while the interrogative أَيٌّ, which is declined, he leaves undeclined.

Under the Particles Dr. Socin treats of the Adverbs, Prepositions and Conjunctions. To all this he devotes two small scant pages. He tells us nothing about the kinds of prepositions and adverbs, nothing about their formation, does not give a single definition. He only gives one or two examples of each, and then leaves the subject. Even the examples he gives contain errors. For example, he classifies إِنَّ and أَنَّ as prepositions, and translates إِلَى "against."

As to Interjections, Dr. Socin does not seem to be aware that there are any, as they are entirely left out of his Grammar.

The mistakes and omissions upon the Verb are numerous. Only two or three can be noted. He says that the second stem or form of the Verb most usually denotes the causative; whereas the causative signification comes from the intensive, which is the primary and radical signification. He says that the sixth stem or form is reflexive of the third, and that it has a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, e. g., تَقَاتَلَ *to fight one another*. This is a mistake. The idea of reciprocity conveyed in the third form, is, in this sixth form, necessarily limited to one of the two parties concerned; so that, if it is said of one قَاتَلَ *he fought*, the other party to such reciprocal action will become تَقَاتَلَ *fought against;* so that the former will have an active sense, while the latter will be passive, but passive only as it is consequent upon the former. Between the seventh and eighth forms Dr. Socin makes no radical difference whatever. But there is such difference: the reflexive pronoun contained in the seventh form is never the indirect, but always the direct object itself, and it never assumes the reciprocal signification. These two points distinguish the seventh form from the eighth. The explanation of the formation of derived forms, moods, etc., is most unsatisfactory and confusing even when touched upon. The treatment of the Weak Verb is the most unsatisfactory part of the Grammar. Several different kinds of weak verbs are never mentioned at all.

The treatment of the Noun is little better than that of the Weak Verb. We are told that nouns are primitive and derived. But he does not tell us whence or how they are derived, and almost nothing about their formation. Some classes of nouns are given; nothing is said of others which come in the same category.

Digitized by Google

He forms the broken plural of غُصْن *a branch* upon the measure of فِعْلَة when it should be upon the measure of فِعَلَة.

There are numerous errors of translation, as, e. g., عَنْ translated "away from;" حَمَام translated "a flight of doves."

There are numerous typographical errors, as, e. g., three in a paragraph of two and a half lines.

The omissions are as startling as they are numerous. Two or three definitions, rules, classes, etc., will be given, while others of the same character and equally important will be left out altogether. Conjectural remarks of no practical use to the learner are frequently indulged in, while first essentials are found omitted from almost every page.

As to arrangement the Grammar is confusion worse confounded. A more difficult grammar for the learner, on account of the absence of any system, could scarcely be found in any language.

The Grammar proper numbers about 125 pages. The book numbers over 300 pages. In a volume of half its size it is believed that more material of practical value could have been furnished.

J. G. LANSING,
New Brunswick, N. J.

THIRD EDITION OF DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE.*

This book, in its new form, is a great advance on ed. 2, 1878 (ed. 1, 1876). The progress is less in the matter of correction than of addition. The new syllabic values of the signs are comparatively few; but a large number of ideographic values has been added. Nearly all the material of ed. 2 is retained, except the Eponym Canons, which filled pp. 87-94 of that edition. Of additions are three pages of grammatical paradigms, Sennacherib's campaign against Judea transliterated, translated and explained (five pages), the Babylonian equivalents of the signs placed beside the Assyrian form, eleven pages of cuneiform vocabularies (80–90), the cuneiform account of the Deluge (pp. 99–109) of which ed. 2 contained a part, a historical text from Nebuchadnezzar and one from Darius (123–125), a bilingual vocabulary in three columns (126–130) and a dictionary of the most common Assyrian words (137–148), the words being transliterated and the definitions being in German. Beginners will thank the author most for pp. IX–XVI (grammar, transliteration, etc.) and for the dictionary. Other students will thank him most for the full text of the Deluge story and for the convenient collection of additions to syllabaries and vocabularies.

*ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE, nach den Originalen theils revidirt, theils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, nebst Paradigmen, Schrifttafel, Textanalyse und kleinerm Woerterbuch, zum Selbstunterricht wie zum akademischen Gebrauch, von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Professor der Assyriologie an der Universitaet Leipzig. Dritte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*. 1885. Pp. xvi, 148. Price, 35 Marks.

Digitized by Google

Of typographical errors may be mentioned p. XVI, note to line 72, where one must read 9 for g in II R. 23, g; p. 137, êṭû for êtû; p. 140, iḫîṭ for iḫît; p. 147, šikṣu for šikšu; p. 148, takânu for takânu. On p. 14, no. 100, the syllabic value ta, in col. 3, has been omitted.

What ed. 2 called the Babylonian account of the fall of man, ed. 3 calls Texts about the serpent Tiâmat. This is an improvement. The Babylonians may have had an account of the fall of man; but if so, it still awaits discovery.

Professor Delitzsch is to be congratulated on the great usefulness of past editions of the Lesestücke, and on having made edition 3 more indispensable than its predecessors. The book belongs to every Assyrian library.

D. G. LYON,
Harvard College.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ABEL, CARL. Einleitung in e. ägyptisch-semitisch-indoeuropäisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Leipzig: *Friedrich.* large 8vo, pp. iv, 112.....M.20.

Archæological News. Summary of Recent Archæological Discoveries and Investigations. Africa; Asia. *American Journal of Archæology*, July, '85.

BACHER, W. Leben u. Werke d. Abulwalîd Merwân Ibn Ganâh u. die Quellen seiner Schrifterklärung. Leipzig: *Schulze*.....M.4.

BEECHER, W. J. The idea of Atonement, as found in the Pî'ēl verb כִּפֶּר, the nouns כִּפֻּרִים and כַּפֹּרֶת. *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, June and Dec., '84.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDR. Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testament. III. Die drei Nachtwachen. *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*, Juli, '85.

DERENBOURG, H. Le livre de Sîbawaihi; Traité de grammaire arabe. Paris: *Maisonneuve.* T. 2. 1e partie.....15fr.

GILDEMEISTER, J. Idrîsî's Palästina u. Syrien im arabischen Text herausg. *Beilage zu der Ztschr. d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Bd. VIII.* Bonn, '85.

GRUENBAUM, M. Einige Bemerkungen mit Bezug auf den Aufsatz „Sur un vase judéo-babylonien" etc. (II, 2, S. 113 ff.). *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

HALL, I. H. A Syriac Manuscript with the Antilegomena Epistles. *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, June and Dec., '84.

HAUPT, P. Einige Verbesserungen und Nachträge zu seinen Akkadischen und Sumerischen Keilschrifttexten. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

HEIDENHEIM, M. Die samaritanische Liturgie (eine Auswahl der wichtigsten Texte) in der hebr. Quadratschrift aus den Handschriften d. brit. Museums u. anderen Bibliotheken. Bibliotheca samaritana II. Leipzig: *O. Schulze.* gr. 8. xlviii, 56 S.....M.3.50

HEIDENHEIM, M. Die samaritanische Liturgie in der hebr. Quadratschrift etc. *Sunday School Times*, Sept. 19, '85.

HERSMANN. Zur Geschichte des Streites über die Entstehung der hebräischen Punktation. Progr. d. Realgymn. Ruhrort, 1885. 4to, pp. 10.

Imitatio Christi, nunc primum ex latino in chaldaicum, idiomatis urmiæ persidis, translata. Paris: *Maisonneuve.* In-12.....10fr.

JASTROW, MORRIS. Abu Zakarijjâ Jaḥjâ ben Dawûd Ḥajjûg und seine zwei grammatischen Schriften. Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung des philosophischen Doctorgrades der Universität Leipzig. Giesen: *Keller.*

JASTROW, MORRIS. Abu Zakarijjâ Jaḥjâ ben Dawûd Ḥajjûg und seine zwei grammatischen Schriften. *Academy*, Sept. 5, '85.

KEIL, C. F. Die Voraussetzungen und die Argumente der neueren Kritik des A. Testaments. II. *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1885, 5.

KING, EDWARD G. Hebrew Words and Synonyms. Part I. The Names of God. Cambridge: *Deighton Bell & Co.*

KLATT, J. Orientalische Bibliographie. *Literatur-Blatt fuer Orientalische Philologie*, No. 2, '85.

KOHN, SAMUEL. Zur neuesten Litteratur über die Samaritaner. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, '85.

Digitized by Google

KOHUT, ALEXANDER. Ethics of the Fathers. New York: *The American Hebrew* $1.75

LATRILLE, JOH. Der Nabonidcylinder V Rawl. 64 umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt. I. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

LYON, D. G. The Wolfe Collection of Inscriptions. *Independent*, Sept. 10, '85.

MARCEL, J. J. Dictionnaire français-arabe des dialectes vulgaires d'Algérie, de Tunisie, du Maroc et d'Egypte. Avec la prononciation figurée en lettres latines. 5e édition revue et corrigée. Paris: *Maisonneuve.* In-8.....6fr.

MARX, G. A. Traditio rabbinorum veterrima de librorum veteris testamenti ordine (v. J. Barth), *Deutsche Littztg.* 1885, 12; (v. H. Strack) *Lit. Ctrlblt.* 1885, 17.

MERRIAM, A. C. The Arrangement of Hair on the Sphinxes of Eujuk. *Am. Jour. of Arch.*, July, '85.

MERX, A. Proben der syrischen Uebersetzung von Galenus' Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Heft II., '85.

MORDTMANN, J. H. Neue himjarische Inschriften. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, '85.

NEUBAUER, A. The Origin of Σεμελή. *Athenæum*, Sept. 12, '85.

OPPERT, JUL. Die astronomischen Angaben der assyrischen Keilinschriften. (Aus: „Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.") Wien: *Gerold's Sohn.* Lex.-8. (13 S.) .....M.—.30

PINCHES, THEO. G. Additions and Corrections to the Fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

PRAETORIUS, FRANZ. Tigrina-Sprüchwörter. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, '85.

ROHDEN, P. v. De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis romanis quaestiones selectae. Berlin: *Mayer & Mueller*.....M.1.20

SAYCE, A. H. An ancient Babylonian Work on Medicine II. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

SCHRADER, E. The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament. *Expositor*, Sept., '85.

SCHRADER, EB. Der assyrische Königsname Salmanassar. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

SCHROEDER, P. Phönizische Inschrift aus Tyrus. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, '85.

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON. Zu den Liedern der Hudhailiten. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.* '85.

SOERENSEN, A. Juda und die assyrische Weltmacht. Progr. der techn. Staatslehranst. Chemnitz, '85. 4to, pp. 25.

Sprechsaal: Mitteilungen der Herren Nöldeke, Oppert, Jensen, Pinches, Haupt, Bezold etc. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Juli, '85.

TIEN, DR. Manual of Colloquial Arabic. London: *W. H. Allen & Co.*

Verzeichniss der Bücher, Landkarten etc., welche vom Januar bis zum Juni 1885 neu erschienen oder neu aufgelegt worden sind. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*..M.4.

VOGEL, AUG. Nach Kanaan (H. Guthe). *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, July 25, '85.

WARD, W. H. Extract from a Private Letter from Babylonia. *Am. Jour. of Arch.*, July, '85.

WEILL, A. Le Pentateuque selon Moïse et le Pentateuque selon Esra. Partie I. Paris: *Dentu.* 8vo, pp. 92.....3 fr.

YOUNG, ALEXANDER. Assyrian Antiquities illustrating Sacred History. I.—IV. *Evangelical Repository*, July—Oct., '85.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. II. JANUARY, 1886. No. 2.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE REVISED VERSION TOWARD THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.,
Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

The Revision of the so-called Authorized English Version was carried on subject to the following rule respecting the original text: 4. "That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin." This rule was for the guidance of the Old Testament Company, as well as the New Testament Company. The New Testament Company gave heed to the rule, and adopted the following principles for carrying it into effect:

"A revision of the Greek text was the necessary foundation of our work; but it did not fall within our province to construct a continuous and complete Greek text. In many cases the English rendering was considered to represent correctly either of two competing readings in the Greek, and then the question of the text was usually not raised. A sufficiently laborious task remained in deciding between the rival claims of various readings which might properly affect the translation..... The fourth rule.....was in effect an instruction to follow the authority of documentary evidence without deference to any printed text of modern times, and therefore to employ the best resources of criticism for estimating the value of evidence.....Many places still remain in which, for the present, it would not be safe to accept one reading to the absolute exclusion of others. In these cases we have given alternative readings in the margin, wherever they seem to be of sufficient importance or interest to deserve notice....".

These principles are sound and reliable. The New Testament Company have achieved great success in working them out with conscientious care and painstaking accuracy.

We see no sufficient reasons why the same principles should not have been followed by the Old Testament Companies. A revision of the Hebrew text "was a necessary foundation of their work." They ought to have decided "between the rival claims of various readings which might properly affect the translation."

Digitized by Google

They were bound by the fourth rule, no less than the New Testament Company, "to follow the authority of documentary evidence without deference to any printed text of modern times;" and to employ "the best resources of criticism for estimating the value of the evidence."

But the Old Testament Company took another view of their duty. They say, 'The task of the Revisers has been much simpler than that which the New Testament Company had before them." It has been *simpler*, because they have emptied rule 4 of its meaning. They have not regarded a revision of the Hebrew text as "the necessary foundation of their work." If they had done so, they would have found their task vastly *harder* than that of the New Testament Company. They have simplified their task by neglecting the rule under which they were appointed to make the Revision.

They did not seek a revision of the Hebrew text, but adopted the *Massoretic* text as a *Textus Receptus*. They declined to follow the authority of documentary evidence, but adopted as their foundation the same Hebrew text essentially as that upon which the Revisers of 1611 built. But they fail to tell us what they mean by *Massoretic Textus Receptus*. Ginsburg is of the opinion that "the *editio princeps* of Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1525–26)—alone is the authoritative Massoretic edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, as no reliance is to be placed on the successive reprints." If the Revisers had adopted this text as a foundation, they would have given us a definite basis; but when they inform us "with regard to the variations in the Massoretic text itself, the Revisers have endeavored to translate what appeared to them to be the best reading in the text, and where the alternative reading seemed sufficiently probable or important, they have placed it in the margin," we cannot determine whether they mean any more than the variants of the Massora of the Rabbinical Bibles, or whether they mean the variants in the Hebrew manuscripts. They make no reference to documentary authorities in dealing with the Massoretic text; and they give the impression, from their statement and from their work, that they did not seek even a revised Massoretic text. It is well known that the Massoretic text needs thorough revision. Ginsburg has not yet completed his monumental work of collecting and digesting the Massoretic material. He tells us:

"Of all the MSS. which I have collated for the last twenty years for a new edition of the Massorah, and a correct Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, I have not found two alike, containing exactly the same Massorah... My experience has shown me that each scribe has selected a larger or smaller quantity of Massoretic materials for the MS. he annotated, corresponding to the sum which he got for doing the work.... to edit the Massorah and to compile a glossary of its technicalities, it is absolutely necessary to collate all the accessible biblical MSS."

Baer's revision of the Massoretic text is still far from completion, and far from satisfactory. The Babylonian Codex has been used by him only in part, and other ancient Hebrew MSS. still remain uncollated.

Digitized by Google

If the Revisers had considered a revised Massoretic text as "the necessary foundation of their work" and had decided between the rival claims of various readings, following the authority of documentary evidence so far as their work of translation required it, after the example of the New Testament Company, they would have rendered an invaluable service to the Christian world. But it appears that they neglected to do even this. They tell us, "The Massoretic text of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us in MSS. which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension;" and yet they appear not to have weighed the documentary evidence of these MSS., and to have failed to secure a correct Massoretic text of this one recension. They have taken into consideration certain variants in the Massoretic text; but they do not tell us of any standard by which these variants were measured, or of the extent to which the consideration of the variants was carried.

What, then, has the Revision accomplished for the Textual criticism of the Old Testament?

"The Revisers have thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the Authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases." The Textual criticism is therefore confined to exceptional cases. But in these exceptional cases there is great difference of opinion among the Revisers.

"In some few instances of extreme difficulty a reading has been adopted on the authority of the Ancient Versions, and the departure from the Massoretic text recorded in the margin. In other cases, where the versions appeared to supply a very probable though not so necessary a correction of the text, the text has been left and the variation indicated in the margin only."

The margin contains the greater number of departures from the Massoretic text. The version itself contains very few of them. The American Revisers, however, in their Appendix, assume a different attitude when they say, "Omit from the margin all renderings from the LXX., Vulgate, and other Ancient Versions or 'authorities'," and take exception to several of the very few departures from the Massoretic text contained in the Revision. Dr. Chambers, a member of the American company, defends this attitude on the ground that—

"All these references had in them too much of the uncertain, conjectural and arbitrary, to be entitled to a place in the margin, as if they had some portion of intrinsic authority. We are not sure, in any case, that the makers of these versions did not follow their own notion of what the text ought to be, rather than that which they found in the codices before them. And conjectural emendations are of no value."

Dr. Green, the chairman of the American Old Testament Company, after magnifying the difficulties in the way of the Textual criticism of the Old Testament, and showing how little has been accomplished, says:

Digitized by Google

"In this condition of affairs, the American Company felt that the best thing to do, in relation to the text, was to do nothing. When competent scholars shall have fully elaborated the problem before them, we shall be prepared to accept their results, so far as they are satisfactorily established. But until they have made it clear that we can, with safety and advantage, depart from the text traditionally preserved with such marvelous care and accuracy, we shall adhere to it as, for the present at least, the best that is attainable, getting along with its hard places as well as we can, and never setting it aside unless from imperative necessity."

We thus have clearly before us three attitudes represented in the Old Testament Company with reference to departures from the Massoretic text: (1) The margin represents the opinion of the more advanced scholars that the Ancient Versions should be used, with some measure of freedom, to ascertain the original Hebrew text; (2) The Revision represents the official opinion of the English Company that, in "instances of extreme difficulty," a reading should be adopted from the Ancient Versions; (3) The American Revisers object to all reference to the Ancient Versions as authorities, and will depart from the Massoretic text only "from imperative necessity."

We shall rise from the consideration of what has been done, to an apprehension of what ought to have been done.

The Massoretic text has the three constituent parts,—consonant text, text pointed with vowels, and accented text. We shall consider these in the reversed order.

(1) The Massoretic system of accentuation was devised partly for the division of the sentences into sections in accordance with the sense, but chiefly for cantillation in the synagogues. There are three distinct systems: (1) The Babylonian, as presented in the most ancient Hebrew MSS. now at St. Petersburg, which give the same system of accents to all the Old Testament Books; (2) The Palestinian system, which is more elaborate and artificial, and which was used for all the books except Psalms, Job and Proverbs; (3) The Palestinian Poetic system, which is more concise, but still more artificial; it is confined to the three books, Psalms, Job and Proverbs. An order of development is shown, in passing from the Babylonian points through the Palestinian prose system to the Palestinian poetic system. But even the Babylonian system shows traces of a long previous development, which was based upon the system of cantillation in the Syriac churches.

"The introduction of these musical signs was, in all probability, simultaneous with that of the vowel signs—an improvement in which, too, the Syrians had led the way. The one notation fixed the traditional *pronunciation* of each word, the other its traditional *modulation*. The two together furnished the needful direction to the Reader for the correct recitation of the sacred text" (Wickes, p. 2).

The earliest MSS. certainly known to us have the Babylonian system. If we had still earlier MSS., we might have a still earlier and simpler system. If

Digitized by Google

we should go back to the MSS. upon which the Ancient Versions were based, we would find no accents whatever, except the simple divisions such as are to be seen in the Samaritan codex. The English Company, in their Massoretic text, adopt the Palestinian system of accentuation which is found in the Rabbinical Bibles and in the printed editions generally, except in the Complutensian Polyglott.

(*a*) The American Revisers differ from the English Revisers in Dan. IX., 25. The English Revisers follow the Massoretic accents, and read, "Unto the anointed one, the prince, shall be seven weeks: and three-score and two weeks, it shall be built again," etc. The American Revisers disregard the accents, and read, "Seven weeks, and three-score weeks and two weeks: it shall be," etc. Dr. Green (in *Presbyterian Journal*, June 25) says:

"The most serious alteration, to my mind, in the entire Old Testament, is the famous passage of the seventy weeks, in Dan., ch. IX.... Instead of the semicolon after threescore and two weeks, the text of the Revision punctuates after seven weeks. This is in accordance with the Massoretic interpunction, which, however, in so difficult a prophecy, need not be decisive. It absolutely closes the door to the Messianic interpretation," etc.

This, then, is what Dr. Green regards as an "imperative necessity." The necessity springs from the desire to preserve the "Messianic interpretation." It is not a necessity of documentary evidence, or of the authority of Versions, but purely internal evidence which is offered for the departure from the Massoretic text,—and this of a somewhat slender kind.

Moreover, this change is not necessary for the preservation of the Messianic interpretation. Keil, Kleifoth, and others, adhere to the accents, and yet are firm in their Messianic interpretation. One fails to see any "imperative necessity" for a departure from the text here, such as would be recognized either by the science of Textual criticism, or the rules of Hermeneutics.

Textual criticism has its well defined laws. The three great principles, well nigh universally admitted, are, (1) The reading which lies at the root of all the variations, and best explains them, is to be preferred; (2) The most difficult reading is more likely to be correct; (3) The reading most in accordance with the context, and especially with the style and usage of the author and his times, is to be preferred. These principles were employed by the New Testament Company. Why were they not employed by the Old Testament Company? There is nothing capricious about them. They are well tried, and lead to positive and solid results.

(*b*) In the matter of the accents, the Revisers do not always follow the documentary authority of the Hebrew manuscripts. They render Ps. XIX., 13:

"Keep back they servant also from presumptuous sins;
Let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be perfect,
And I shall be clear from great transgression."

Digitized by Google

The best MSS. divide verse 13 at בי by the 'Olèv'jored. The documentary evidence is supported by the internal evidence of the parallelism, which had already influenced Ewald, Hitzig, Bickell, Ley, and others, to arrange—

גם־מזרים חשך עברך אל־ימשלו בי
*אז איתם ונקיתי מפשע רב

(*c*) In Isa. LIV., 9, the current Palestinian accentuation is כי־מי נח (so Baer). But the Babylonian Codex and other Hebrew MSS. read כימי נח; and these are sustained by the Peshitto, Targum, Vulgate and Saadia. The LXX. reads ממי, which can best be explained as a corruption of כימי, as Delitzsch shows. The passage, Matt. XXIV., 37, also points in the same direction. The external evidence is unusually strong; for it is varied, extensive and harmonious. כימי has the strongest documentary evidence, and is at the root of all the readings, and best explains them all. It is also the more difficult reading; for the scribe would naturally write מי נח, in accordance with the next clause. The correct Massoretic text is therefore כימי נח זאת לי, and the translation should be, "As the days of Noah is this time, when I sware that the waters of the flood should no more go over the earth, so I swear that I will not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee." The *margin* of the R. V. gives it correctly, but the R. V. itself neglects the documentary evidence in its favor, and the American Revisers would blot the correct reading from the margin.

(*d*) The Revisers do not correct the Massoretic accents by the Ancient Versions. The Ancient Versions were all made from unaccented MSS. Their readings must be explained. They can be explained only by blotting out the accents from the original text, and then determining, on the principles of Textual criticism, what is the proper divisions of the verses. If this first principle of the Textual criticism of the Old Testament had been followed, and the third law of intrinsic probability had been obeyed, who can doubt that the refrain of Ps. XLII., 5, would have been given correctly? The Massoretic text points ישועת פניו; אלהי, but the original text was certainly ישועת פני ואלהי.

Here again the margin gives the correction; the R. V. itself does not obey the laws of Textual criticism, but adheres to the Massoretic text in spite of them; and the American Revisers would remove the correct reading from the margin.

(*e*) The chief mistakes of the points are in the parallelism of Hebrew Poetry. We have already given a number of examples of this in the *Presbyterian Review* (July, '85). We shall confine ourselves here to a single example.

Psalm CXLIV. is made up of two distinct psalms. It is noteworthy that the Revisers give a space between the two pieces, after verse 11. The difference is more distinct in Hebrew, owing to the rhythmical movement; verses 1–11 are trim-

* We insert the Maqqephs in accordance with the requirements of the rhythm, here and elsewhere, and disregard the Maqqephs of the Massoretic system, which were employed for purposes of cantillation. The lines are pentameters, composed of 3+2, or 2+3 accented words.

Digitized by Google

eters, but verses 12-15 are pentameters. The parallelisms of the Revisers show the increased length of the lines in verses 12, 13; but in verses 14, 15 they are misled by the accents, and miss the rhythm. Cheyne (*Book of Psalms*, 1884) recognizes the movement, and also sees that the Massoretic text is corrupt in the last half of the fifth line. We venture to insert the rare word צִין, of Job v., 5, and Prov. XXII., 5, "thorn-hedge," and with the suffix צִנֵינוּ after פֶּרֶץ. The LXX. implies some such word by its rendering *κατάπτωμα φραγμού*. Any one can see how easy it would be for a copyist to leave out צִין or צִנֵינוּ between פֶּרֶץ and וְאֵין, especially in rapid reading aloud. It is also our opinion that שׁ (שֶׁכְּכָה) is a representative of an older אֲשֶׁר used in the poem. The Revisers make the last four lines into five, thus:

"*When* our oxen are well laden (two words);
When there is no breaking in, and no going forth (three words),
And no outcry in our streets (three words);
Happy is the people, that is in such a case (four words):
Yea, happy is the people, whose God is the Lord (four words)."

The arrangement should be,

אשר בנינו כנטעים מגדלים בנעוריהם
בנותינו כזויות מחטבות תבנית היכל
מזוינו מלאים מפיקים מזן אל־זן
צאננו מאליפות מרבבות בחוצותינו
אלופינו מסבלים אין פרץ (צנינו)
ואין יוצאת ואין צוחה ברחבתינו
אשרי העם אשר ככה לו
אשרי העם אשר יהוה אלהיו

We would translate:

"When our sons are as plants,—grown up in their youth;
Our daughters as corner-stones,—hewn after the fashion of a palace;
Our garners full,—affording all manner of store;
Our sheep bringing forth thousands—ten thousands in our fields;
Our kine great with young;—there is no breaking in through our thorn-hedges;
And there is no going forth to war,—and no cry of alarm in our streets;
Happy the people,—when it is so to them:
Happy the people—when Jahveh is their god."

(2) The vowel points do not belong to the original text. There are two systems,—the Babylonian and Palestinian, both represented in the MSS. now accessible to Hebrew scholars. They go back upon an earlier and simpler system, like the Arabic and Syriac. The chief Ancient Versions were made from texts without vowel points. The principles of Textual criticism require us, therefore, to build on a text without the points.

(*a*) The American Revisers agree to the change of points of כָּאֲרִי, Ps. XXII., for they acknowledge that "the Hebrew text, as pointed, reads, *like a lion*," and yet they

Digitized by Google

propose to strike from the margin the "Sept., Vulg. and Syr.," which support the reading they have adopted. The change of points is sustained by the Versions, but not by documentary authority of Hebrew MSS. The Complutensian text, and a few others, read כָּאָרֹן. But the ' best accounts for all the facts of the case, and the word, by different points, is capable of the two interpretations. But we cannot see that there is here any "imperative necessity" to depart from the Massoretic points, or even an instance of "extreme difficulty." It is indeed nothing more than "a very probable" correction of the text, such as the English Revisers tell us they would place in the margin.

(*b*) The American Revisers also consent to the change of the construct מִדְבַּר into the absolute מִדְבָּר, in Ps. LXXV., 6, in order to get the rendering of the R.V. "Nor yet from the south *cometh* lifting up." The margin is "Or, *from the wilderness of mountains*, cometh judgment." There is the documentary evidence of 50 MSS. and Kimchi, for this change; Baer follows them in his text of the Psalms, but the Massoretic MSS. are decidedly for מִדְבָּר. The LXX., Vulg. and Symm. give "wilderness of mountains," and are against the change. It was more natural for the scribe to point with Qāměç here, as in the two previous words; the construct is the more difficult reading. Two of the three laws of Textual criticism count against the change. Intrinsic probability is rather in its favor. There is no necessity, however, in this case for departing from the A. V., and the Revisers, according to their principles, ought not to have made the change. Cheyne, and De Witt, two of the Revisers, rightly adhere to the Massoretic text, in their versions.

(*c*) In Hos. VII., 5, the R. V. gives "the princes *made themselves sick* with the heat of wine;" the margin "According to many ancient versions *began to be heated with wine.*" The difference is in the pointing. הֵחֱלוּ or הֵחֳלוּ. Hitzig rightly says upon this passage, "Since all the ancient versions read הֵחֳלוּ, and the passage VIII., 10 is a close parallel, we reject the Jewish points, whose sense in other respects is not suited to the context." The margin and the text ought to have changed places. If, now, we turn to VIII., 10, we find that the Revisers reject the A. V. "shall sorrow a little," and placed it in the margin, and render "begin to be minished." In order to this, they follow the usual Massoretic וַיָּחֵלּוּ, (we presume), although they render it as ו consecutive of perfect, and they take מְעַט as an infinitive. But the Codices Bab. and Erfurt 3 read וַיָּחֳלוּ, and this imperfect with weak waw is sustained by LXX., Symm., Theod., Vulg., and is best suited to the syntactical construction of the context, and מְעַט is an adverb. If we render the verb "begin," and מְעַט as an adverb, it is necessary to regard the clause as pregnant, and supply a verb. None more suitable can be found than those supplied by the LXX. κοπάσουσιν, and Vulg. *quiescent.*

(*d*) But there are very many passages in which internal evidence calls for a change in the pointing. Thus Ps. L. is a beautiful pentameter of three strophes.

Digitized by Google

The first strophe has eight lines, verses 1–6; the second, ten lines, verses 7–15; the third, ten lines, verses 16–23. If, now, we examine the second strophe, we find it to be throughout an address to the people of God, with a concluding exhortation in two lines,

זבח *(לאלהים) תודה ושלם לעליון נדריך
וקראני ביום צרה אחלצך ותכבדני

The third strophe is an address to the wicked, with a concluding warning,

פן אטרף ואין־מציל זבח תודה
יכבדנני ושם־דרך אראנו בישע אלהים

The Massoretic text points זבח here as a participle, and divides the verse at יכבדנני. It also gives the clause with פן in the previous verse. If, now, we point זבח as imperative, we find that the wicked, as well as the people of God, are exhorted to offer a thank-offering; and if we make the second line begin with יכבדנו, the wicked are exhorted to glorify God, as the righteous had been in the second line which closed the previous strophe. We see, then, that the exhortation is urged in the first line by a warning which reminds us of Ps. II., 12, and in the second line, in the introverted parallelism, by a promise which goes back upon the promise of the closing line of the previous strophe. It seems, then, that we have here two forms of a refrain, which marks the close of the two strophes, and it would appear that the first strophe is just two lines short, on account of the absence of this refrain, which has been omitted, as frequently elsewhere in the Psalter. Cf. Ps. XLVI., 3.

(3) The original Hebrew text, upon which the Ancient Versions were based, and which is the essential thing to be determined in Textual criticism, was altogether without points. It was a consonant text. But even this needs to be determined by a thorough revision of the Massoretic K'thîbh, by a careful study of MSS., the Massora, the Ancient Versions, and citations, and the conditions of the text itself. The rules of external and internal evidence should be applied with scientific accuracy and precision.

(*a*) The American Revisers agree to the change of the consonants אבל into אבן, in 1 Sam. VI., 18, as Dr. Chambers says, "one of the few instances in which the existing Hebrew text is corrected, on the authority of the Early Versions, the internal evidence in their favor being overwhelming." Here Dr. Chambers seems to use the internal evidence to strengthen the external evidence of the Versions. But he has said that "*conjectural emendation is worthless*," and that the Versions are of uncertain authority. How can two such weak reasons make a strong one? But there are other examples of departure from the Massoretic text which the American Revisers allow.

* This divine name is probably a prosaic addition. It is quite frequent, in Hebrew Poetry, that divine names are inserted, against the original rhythm.

Digitized by Google

(*b*) In Isa. IX., 2, they follow the Q'rî לוֹ, and reject the K'thîbh לֹא. The Bab. Codex agrees with the western codices here. The Peshitto, Targum and Saadia agree with the Q'rî; but Symmachus and the Vulgate are with the K'thîbh. The LXX. gives it *τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ ὃ κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου.* The documentary evidence is in favor of the K'thîbh, and the Versions are divided. Following the example of the LXX., several modern critics change the text to הִגִּיל, as Selwyn, or הִגִּילָה, as Krochmal and Cheyne. The Q'rî is easy; but the לוֹ would be in an unnatural position, and apparently superfluous to the sense and the rhythm. If we render "whose joy thou didst not increase," as Hitzig, Hengst., *et al.*, we have a contrast which is in accord with VIII., 23. The לֹא is the more difficult reading, and is to be preferred on that account. The three great critical principles count for לֹא. There is no such "imperative necessity" for departing from the K'thîbh as the American Revisers require. Textual Criticism sustains the K'thîbh.

There are very many textual changes which ought to have been made from better critical authority.

(*c*) Ps. LXVIII., 23 is given by the R. V.:

"That thou mayest dip thy foot in blood,
That the tongue of thy dogs may have its portion from *thine* enemies."

The Massoretic text is:

לְמַעַן תִּמְחַץ רַגְלְךָ בְּדָם
לְשׁוֹן כְּלָבֶיךָ מֵאוֹיְבִים מִנְהוּ

The English Revisers change תִּמְחַץ into תִּרְחַץ, and מִנְהוּ into מִנְתוֹ.

The American Revisers agree to the rendering of the last line. They may have followed Perowne, in taking מִנְהוּ as a noun, מִן with the archaic nominal suffix הוּ; but there is no lexical authority for such a word as מִן = "portion." It is better to correct the text by a single letter, to get a good word, than to keep the text and forge a word. The rendering "portion" we presume comes from מִנְתוֹ, which the Revisers saw to be a proper change in the text. But it is not a necessary change. The A. V. renders מִנְהוּ as preposition מִן with suffix, "in the same." Some interpreters supply a verb, and render drink "of it," or "of them." External authority for the change of text, and corresponding change of rendering, is wanting. The internal evidence is probable, but not necessary. The other change of מְחַץ into רָחַץ, which the American Revisers reject, has strong evidence in its favor. Several Versions, such as LXX., Vulgate and Syriac, give external evidence for it. It is easy to explain a copyist changing רָחַץ into מְחַץ, owing to the מְחַץ of verse 22. Moreover, intrinsic probability is so strongly in favor of the change, that the American Revisers are forced to supply the very verb which they decline to find in the original; so that they render "crush *them*, *dipping*."

Digitized by Google

(*d*) Psalm VIII., 1 is rendered by R. V., "Who has set thy glory upon the heavens." The American Revisers allow it to stand, and yet object to the margin "so some ancient versions," which justifies it. The Massoretic text cannot be rendered in that way. There is no documentary evidence for the change in Hebrew MSS. We must go to the Versions. These require us to change תנה into נתתה. There is, however, an easier change of תְּנָה into תֵּנָה, suggested by Ewald, and followed by Riehm and others, which retains the K'thîbh, and only changes a single point. This commends itself to our judgment as best explaining all the facts of the case.

(*e*) The current Massoretic text reads in Hos. II., 22, ידעת את יהוה. This is supported by the LXX. But the Babylonian Codex reads ידעת כי אני יהוה. This is supported by the Vulgate "quia ego Dominus." The authority of the documents and the Versions is divided. Cheyne refers to the usage of Hosea elsewhere as an internal evidence in favor of the common text; but it seems to us that the context of chap. II. is decisive for כי אני יהוה, on account of the contrast between בעלי and אשי, and the removal of the name בעל as a lawful name of Israel's God, in order to the use of יהוה.

(*f*) The Massoretic text of Hos. V., 11, is הלך אחרי צו; but the LXX. and Peshitto read שוא. This better reading is mentioned in the margin. The omission of the א was an easy scribal error, in the unaccented text, which read אחרי שוא ואני. The omission of the א would force the change of ש to צ.

(*g*) Psalm XXXII., 5, is somewhat difficult of construction. The difficulty is removed if, with Hupfeld, we transfer אמרתי from the second line to the first line of the verse, and read,

אמרתי חטאתי אודיעך ועוני לא־כסיתי
אודה עלי־פשעי ליהוה ואתה־נשאת עון־חטאתי

The Revisers ignore the difficulty by rendering the imperfect אודיעך "I acknowledged," which is contrary to good grammar as well as to the parallel אודה, which they render "I will confess." The אמרתי must be supplied in sense, in order to translate correctly.

(*h*) Psalm LXXII. is composed of three strophes. The strophes begin with imperatives or jussives, e. g., תֵּן, verse 1; וְיָרֵד, verse 8; ויהי, verse 15; which then pass over into future indicatives, e. g., 1–7, 8–14, 15–17. These jussives are ignored in the Revised Version, where they are all rendered as futures. The margin proposes to ignore the indicatives, and translate all as jussives, ignoring the difference in form. The strophes are uniform, save that the middle one has an extra line. When we compare the line

כי יציל אביון משוע ועני ואין עזר לו

with Job XXIX., 12, כי אמלט עני משוע ויתום ולא עזר לו,

we see that it is a free reproduction of it. The clause with כי is different from

Digitized by Google

all the other clauses of the previous and the subsequent context, which are all clauses of direct statement in future indicatives in progressive parallelism. We cannot escape the conclusion that the line has come into the text from a marginal note, and that it should be stricken out.

(*i*) Ezekiel XXI., 31, is rendered by the A. V., "Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this *shall* not *be* the same: exalt *him that is* low, and abase *him that is* high." The R. V. substitutes "mitre" for "diadem," "*be* no more the same" for "not *be* the same," "exalt that" for "exalt *him*," and "abase that" for "abase *him*." The R. V. gives in the margin "I will remove," etc., for "Remove," etc., and "Heb., not this" for "no more the same." The American Revisers do not object to the R. V.

The Massoretic text gives three infinitive constructs, הָסִיר, הָרִים, and הַשְׁפִּיל, and one infinitive absolute הָזֹבַח. The A. V., R. V., margin of R. V. and American Revisers all follow the Versions against the Massoretic text, and point these four forms alike as infinitive absolutes. The text renders the infinitive absolutes as imperatives, the margin as first person of imperfect; either of which is correct if the forms be really infinitive absolutes. There is a clear inconsistency here between the one infinitive absolute and the three infinitive constructs, but the textual principle of consistency requires that we should correct the one infinitive absolute after the three infinitive constructs, rather than the reverse. Hence Ewald renders:

"Zu entfernen ist der Kopfbund und wegzunehmen die Krone! das ist nicht das! das Niedrige ist zu erhöhen und das Hohe zu erniedrigen!"

There is certainly here no "imperative necessity" or any "extreme difficulty," to require a departure from the Massoretic text and a following of the Versions. Ewald is here stricter in his adherence to conservative critical principles than the Revisers.

Furthermore, we are constrained to inquire why the Revisers did not give the "that" of the clause "exalt that which is low" in italics, in order to show that this word was not in the text, and that it was of the nature of an interpretation. The A. V. is more careful here; for although they interpret differently, they give their interpretation in italics, and render "*him that is* low" and "*him that is* hilig." The same objection may fairly be taken to the rendering "This *shall be* no more the same," as against the more careful A. V., "this *shall* not *be* the same." "No more" is an interpretation. The Hebrew gives simply the negative לֹא, as the margin "Hebrew, not this."

The R. V. leaves the A. V. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; this also shall be no more," in its inexactness. The margin "An overthrow, overthrow, overthrow will I make it" ought to have gone into the text. And the last clause ought to have been rendered correctly. גַּם זֹאת לֹא הָיָה cannot be rendered "this also shall be no more." The verb is perfect and masculine, and cannot

Digitized by Google

have a feminine subject before it, or be rendered as future. The גם זאת belongs to the previous clause, and לא היה to the following. This is clear from the difference in gender.

(*k*) Psalm LXXXVII. is a charming little pentameter, whose movement escapes the Revisers. We shall arrange it correctly, and then arrange it as the Revisers translate. It should be arranged

יסודתו בהררי קדש אהב יהוה
שערי ציון מכל משכנות יעקב
נכבדות מדבר בך עיר האלהים
אזכיר רהב ובבל לידעי
הנה פלשת וצר־עם־כוש זה ילד־שם
ולציון יאמר איש ואיש ילד־בה
והוא יכוננה עליון יהוה
יספר בכתוב עמים זה ילד־שם
ושרים כחללים כל מעיני בך

This arrangement disregards the accents which separate verses 1 and 2. The margin of the Revision is correct here. We also remove יהוה from verse 6 to the close of verse 5. The Massoretic text reads כל מַעְיָנַי בך = "all my fountains are in thee." But the LXX. κατοικία, and the Vulgate *habitatio* imply a different pointing, מְעִינֵי = "dwellers in thee," a construct of participle עין *to dwell.*

Accordingly, we translate:

"His foundation in the holy mountains Jahveh is loving;
The gates of Zion more than all the tabernacles of Jacob.
Glorious things are being spoken in thee, city of God.
I mention Rahab and Babylon as belonging to them that know me;
Behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia, this one was born there,—
Yea, as belonging to Zion, it is said, One and another was born in her.
And He himself establishes her—the Most High, Jahveh,
He counts, in writing up the people, This one was born there,
And singing as well as dancing are all who dwell in thee."

The Revisers arrange the Psalm:

יסודתו בהררי־קדש
אהב יהוה שערי־ציון
מכל משכנות יעקב
נכבדות מדבר בך
עיר האלהים
אזכיר רחב ובבל לידעי
הנה פלשת וצור עם־כוש
זה ילד־שם
ולציון יאמר איש ואיש ילד־בה
והוא יכוננה עליון

Digitized by Google

יהוה יספר בכתוב עמים
זה ילד־שם
ושרים כחללים
כל מעיני בך

Any one can see that there is no poetry here.

The Revisers seem capricious in their treatment of Hebrew Poetry for (1) their arrangement of the parallel lines is not in accord with the laws of Hebrew Poetry, (2) they neglect the poetry of the prophets altogether, (3) they make the Old Testament discordant with the New Testament, for the Revisers of the New Testament Version give the parallelisms of the poetic extracts from the prophets, and at times differ from the Old Testament Company in the parallelisms, that both have given, e. g., Heb. III., 9; Mark XII., 36; Acts II., 17.

We have given a sufficient number of examples to show that the attitude of the Revised Version to the Textual criticism of the Old Testament is an inconsistent and untenable one. The Revisers appear not to have followed the well established rules of Textual criticism. They have neglected to build on a correct Hebrew text; they have not sought a correct Massoretic text; they have departed from the current Massoretic text in a few cases, but with caprice, making departures that were not necessary, according to their own restrictions, and which are not sustained by the laws of Textual criticism, and yet declining to make changes which the rules of Textual criticism imperatively demand. The Textual criticism of the Old Testament is in its infancy. It is desirable that the defects of the Revised Version, in this respect, should arouse Hebrew scholars and the general Christian public to a realization of what needs to be done, and to an earnest resolve and an enthusiastic endeavor to accomplish the work. A Christian Bible-loving people will never be satisfied with a version which does not rest upon a thoroughly revised and carefully sifted Hebrew text.

Digitized by Google

SIPPARA.

By Rev. William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D.,

Editor New York *Independent*.

Sippara is known in Scripture as Sepharvaim. We are told that it was one of those cities whose inhabitants, with those of Cuthah (supposed to be Tel Ibrahim), Avva (or Ivvah, locality unknown), and Hamath, were carried to Samaria to replace the children of Israel carried captive in the reign of Hoshea (2 Kgs. xvii., 24). The Sepharvites, we are told, burned their sons in worship of their gods Adrammelech and Anammelech (2 Kgs. xvii., 31). The Rab-shakeh of King Sennacherib, sent by him to Jerusalem from Lachish, mentions Hamath and Arpad, and then Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah, as cities which could not withstand the royal armies (2 Kgs. xviii., 34; Isa. xxxvi., 19, where Hena and Ivvah are omitted); and a little later the king sends a letter to Hezekiah in which these towns are mentioned in the same order (2 Kgs. xix., 13; Isa. xxxvii., 13).

In the Fragments of Berosus, Sippara is also called Sispara, Sipphara, and Pantabibla, the latter name being an obvious but incorrect translation of the Semitic name of the city. Of the ten kings before the Flood, he says that five (Euseb., *Armen. Chron.*, p. 5, ed. Mai) were from Pantabibla, preceded by two from Babylon, and followed by three from Larancha. As quoted in Syncellus (p. 39 B) four of these kings were from Pantabibla (so also Syncellus quotes Berosus from Abydenus, p. 38 B).

Syncellus (p. 30 A) and Eusebius (*Armen. Chron.*, p. 14, ed. Mai) report Berosus as saying that before the Flood Kronos commanded Xisuthrus to bury in "Sippara, the city of the Sun" (no longer Pantabibla) the record of all things, beginning, middle and end; and further, that after the Flood, when his ship had settled on one of the Cordyæan mountains of Armenia, he was bidden by the god to dig up these records, which was done when he went south to Babylon. The same legend, quoted through Abydenus, is told more briefly elsewhere (Syncellus, p. 38 D; Euseb. *Armen. Chron.*, p. 22, ed. Mai), Sippara being also called Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun.

In Ptolemy (V. 18, 7) the form Sipphara is given, and it is one of the few towns of the twenty-two on the Euphrates which are easily recognized. The same town is probably designated as Hipparenum in Pliny's Natural History (VI. p. 691, ed. Franz, 1778). He says that in Mesopotamia the city of Hipparenum is famous for the learning of the Chaldees, and is near the canal Narraga, and that its walls were thrown down by the Persians. He mentions Babylon and Orchœ (Warka, Erech), farther south, as the other seats of Chaldean learning.

Digitized by Google

It would be interesting and important, did space permit, to trace the town in the later literature of Zosimus, Ammian, the Talmud of Babylon, Abulfeda, Benjamin of Tudela, and others. It bore different names, and it is a task of difficulty to disentangle these names, and those of the Royal Canal, Nahar-malka, at whose exit from the Euphrates it lay. Apparently the name Hipparenum, or Harpanya, was transferred to a spot north of the canal, now called Sufeireh, and Sippara took the names of Persebora, Firuz-Sabor, Shabor, and Anbar or Ambar. Persebora is called by Zosimus the largest city in Assyria, after Ctesiphon, which had 600,000 inhabitants.

In the Talmud, which contains a mine of information about Babylonian geography, yet but imperfectly worked, Sippara seems to be mentioned under several names. Neubauer, *Geog. de Talmud*, p. 340, shows that the Talmudic city of Nehardaa, was at the junction of the Nahar Malka, or Royal Canal, and the Euphrates, and on the south bank of the canal, which he identifies with the present Nahr Isa. Nehardaa is the same, he shows, with the Naarda of Ptolemy, and the Naharra of the Peutingerian Tables, and also identical with, or close to Hipparenum, which was also at the point of departure of the Nahar Malka from the Euphrates. Nehardaa was one of the chief places of Babylonia, and one of the districts was named after it (Neub., p. 342). This was the most ancient Jewish community in Babylonia. From Nehardaa the Jews sent their alms to Jerusalem, and here they found a refuge from persecution.

We now turn to the Assyrian inscriptions to learn what they can tell us about this once famous city. Its Akkadian designation was Ud-kib-nun, with the determinative sign ki added. In the Semitic Assyrian it is Sippar or Sipar. There is no likelihood that the word is derived from a root meaning "a book," notwithstanding the Greek translation of Pantabibla. Perhaps the derivation given in the four-column syllabary W. A. I., V. 23, 1, Reverse (mistake for obverse) l. 29, from *Zimbir*, the meaning of which is not easy to guess, is equally incorrect. The existence of two Sippars has long been recognized, a Sippar of Anunit, apparently identical with Agane, otherwise read *Agade* or *Akkad*, and a Sippar of Shamash, the sun-god; and these two have been regarded as two faubourgs of a single city, separated by a canal, and thus making the city double, and accounting for the Hebrew dual Sepharvaim (see Fr. Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 209–212, for the fullest account of Sippar in cuneiform records).

Sippara is always mentioned in such a way as to indicate that it was one of the oldest and largest cities of Babylonia.

In W. A. I., II. 13, l. 26, d, a, grammatical bilingual text, the fortress of Sippar is mentioned, following the mention of the fortresses of Nipur and Babylon (cf. Lenorm. *Etud. Accad.* 7, 3, p. 16; Oppert et Menant, *Doc. Jurid.* p. 11). This text distinctly identifies the Akkadian form Ud-kib-nun with the Semitic Sipar. In a bilingual list of towers (*ziggurat*) in Babylonia, W. A. I., II. 50, l. 8, Sippar

Digitized by Google

is mentioned, and l. 9, Agane. These are preceded by Babylon and Nipur. A bilingual tablet, W. A. I., II. 48, l. 55, a, b (Lenormant, *Etud. Accad.*, III. p. 211), mentions "the star of Sippar," following it by "the star of Nipur," and "the star of Babylon," Other passages could be quoted which indicate equally that Sippara, Babylon and Nipur were the chief towns of Akkad.

Sippara was on the Euphrates river. Indeed the Euphrates is called in a syllabary, W. A. I., V. 22, Rev. 30, 31 (Budge's *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon*, p. 7, N.) the River of Sippar. The two lines read:

Idicnu = Nahar Bartiggar,
Puranunu = Nahar Sippar,

or "The Idicnu [Sumerian name] is the River Tigris, and the Puranunu [Euphrates] is the River of Sippara." Also a clay cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II. W. A. I., V. 34, col. 1, l. 39 (Budge's *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon*, p. 22), in a description of the building of the quay along the bank of the Euphrates at Babylon, calls that river "the River of Sippara."

Among the passages which distinguish the Sippar of Shamash from the Sippar of Anunit may be mentioned the Synchronistic Table, W. A. I., II. 65, 18, 19. (Lotz's *Tiglath Pileser*, pp. 200, 201; *Records of the Past*, V. p. 89; Menant's *Annales de l'Assyrie*, p. 51) where we are told that Tiglath Pileser I. (1120–1100 B. C.), in the second year of his reign, destroyed in Upper Akkad the cities of "Durkurigalzu (Akerkûf), Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunit, Babylon and Upe (Opis), great cities, and their fortresses." This locates Sippara in the district which extends not much south of Babylon, and recognizes the two places of the name. Other similar passages could be cited.

The Sippara of Shamash had a temple to the sun-god called E-babbara (otherwise vocalized Bit-parra); while the temple of Anunit at the Sippara of Anunit was called E-ulbar (otherwise Bit-ulbar). We have noticed above that Berosus is quoted as calling Sippara the city of the Sun. Thus on the barrel of Nabonidus from Mugheir, W. A. I., 69, 3, l. 27, 29, 42 (Oppert, *Exped. en Mes.*, I., pp. 273–275; Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 257; Lenormant, *Berose*, pp. 293–295), we read, "E-babbara, the temple of Shamash of Sippara, and E-ulbar, the temple of Anunit of Sippar." The temple E-ulbar, built or repaired by the ancient king Sagaraktiyas, is said, *ib.*, col. 2, l. 29, to have been in Agane, and, col. 3, l. 28, to have been the temple of Anunit of Sippara. The identity of Agane with Sippara of Anunit is further indicated by W. A. I., IV. 59, 3, l. 54, where Anunit is mentioned as the goddess of Agane; and W. A. I., III. 43, 1, l. 19, where E-ulbar is mentioned in close connection with Agane (*ib.*, l. 23). Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 96, mentions a "Nahar Agane," Canal of Agane, which he supposes to flow between the Sippara of Shamash and the Sippara of Anunit, but I fail to find the text which confirms it.

Sippara appears finally in the history of the capture of Babylon from Nabon-

Digitized by Google

idus by Cyrus. In all his memorial inscriptions Nabonidus records his repairs of the temples in Sippara of Shamash and Sippara of Anunit, describing his search for the old foundations and memorial tablets of Sagaragtiburyas, and Naramsin, son of Sargon I., 3200 before, W. A. I., V. 64, col. 2. The tablet which gives the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, *Transs. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VII. p. 158, says that on the fifth of Nisan the mother of Nabonidus "who dwelt in the fortress and camp on the Euphrates river above Sippara, died." Eight years later Sippara was captured by Cyrus "without fighting." This passage clearly indicates that Sippara was on the Euphrates. Agane is mentioned also by Cyrus in his cylinder, W.A.I., V. 35, 31, as one of the places where he restored the shrines of the gods.

From these, and other passages which might be cited, but which add little geographically, we would safely gather that Sippara was on the Euphrates river, above Babylon, near the north line of Akkad, that it was one of the very oldest and largest cities of Akkad, the seat of the earliest great conqueror Sargon, and that it continued down to the time of Cyrus to be a city of the greatest importance.

This place Mr. Rassam claims to have discovered at Abu Habba, a ruin a little to the left of the caravan road from Baghdad to Babylon and Hillah. He has carried on extensive excavations there, and found a great number of tablets bearing date at Sippar of Shamash. A large stone tablet also found there describes the repair of the temple of Shamash of Sippara. It has generally been admitted, since the discovery of these remains, that Abu Habba must be the site of Sippara.

I visited Abu Habba twice, while with the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia. It was the first tel I visited after reaching the country, and my time was limited, and my results unsatisfactory. After visiting Southern Chaldea, on my return to Baghdad, I paid it a second visit, for the purpose of discovering if it could be made to agree with the description given of Sippara in the monuments. It is a large and very important ruin, though scarcely of the first class. The walls are nearly square, perhaps seven hundred yards long, and the enclosure is divided into three principal parts by two cross walls which are not parallel to the northern and southern walls. Of these included sections only the middle, shaped nearly like the letter V, is occupied by ruins. The explorations made by order of Mr. Rassam are very extensive, having opened scores of rooms, but they are chiefly about the south-west corner, and large spaces are undug. The deepest excavation is about a large, square tower, but nothing was found there. The men who conducted the excavations for Mr. Rassam showed us all about, and pointed out the place where was found the stone with pictures of "Noah and his three sons" (the Sun-god of Sippara), and assured us that they knew, by the indications of ashes, where further tablets could be found by a day or two's digging. I looked especially to see if there was any thing to correspond to the "double city" which Sippara has been

Digitized by Google

supposed to be, but there is nothing duplex about it. It is a single faubourg in the enclosing walls, with no marked depression, or canal course dividing it. It has been supposed that the ed-Deir, distant about five miles, might be the Sippara Anunit, or Agane, while Abu Habba is the Sippara of Shamash; but ed-Deir, which I did not visit, was described to me as an unimportant ruin, where digging has failed to discover any thing. Another thing which troubled me about making any identification was the fact that Abu Habba is not on the Euphrates, but is some seven miles distant, or nearly a third of the distance which separates the Euphrates from the Tigris. It has been suggested that perhaps the Euphrates used to run near Abu Habba; but this is very improbable. There is, south-west from Abu Habba, along the east bend of the Euphrates, a long hill of conglomerate stone, sixty feet high, which would prevent the Euphrates from taking a detour so far to the east as Abu Habba. We may safely conclude that Abu Habba never was on the river, and never could have given its name to the Euphrates. That it was the Sippara of Shamash seems, however, to be beyond question, judging from the tablets, so dated, found there, and the stone tablet of the Sun-god, W. A. I., V. 60, 61.

It was in view of the difficulties that I have indicated that I determined, on my way from Baghdad to the sea-coast, by the route of the Euphrates and the Syrian Desert, to visit the ruin of Sufeirah, where, before Mr. Rassam's excavations at Abu Habba, Sippara had been generally located (Oppert, *Exp. Scient.*, I. 271; Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 96; Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Par.*, p. 212; T. G. Pinches, *Transs. Soc. Bib. Arch.* VII. p. 173) as late as 1880. Sufeirah is situated just north of the Nahr Sakhlawieh, which is a chief canal, or river, and is about four or five miles from its point of outflow from the Euphrates. I went completely over it, and found it a low, unimpressive mound, about 250 yards wide, over which there were scattered much less than the usual quantity of bricks and slag. It had no salient elevations or gullies that would make a photograph. I was very much disappointed about it.

Fortunately we were detained in the Arab mud village Sakhlawieh by the rain, and called on the Mudir. Asking him about ruins in the vicinity, he mentioned one called Anbar, which he said was larger than Sufeirah. Not expecting very much, but anxious not to let any chance escape, I walked three miles down the river that night, and again the next morning, to make a more careful examination. I found it not only much larger than Sufeirah, but larger even than Abu Habba, and of a size to compare with those capital ruins of Warka and Niffer. It is a double city, and the principal, or, apparently, older city, is surrounded by walls from thirty to fifty feet high, and with the city nearly on a level with these walls. To the east of this city and its wall, is another city on a lower level, separated from the first by what seems to have been a canal, or moat. The wall, or bank,

Digitized by Google

on the east side is not continuously clear, but on the west side it is a marked feature. The chief, west city is of irregular height and construction, and there are in it two large courts, on a much lower level than the rest, of irregular shape, and surrounded by high banks, as if they were the courts of ancient palaces or temples that surrounded them. These courts are now used as wheat fields, and, gathering the rains of the banks around them, do not require irrigation. Over large spaces this western city is covered thick with fragments of bricks, with considerable pottery and glass, but I saw no inscribed brick, and I doubt not these fragments belonged to a period of Parthian or Abbassid domination. On the east side of the old city, and on the vertical sides of what looked like a gate, I saw a floor of brick laid in mortar above and below it. The eastern city is large, but on a lower level. As its eastern extremity was a space about two hundred yards square, surrounded by walls of sun-dried bricks, and with a building projecting into the enclosure from the western side. A large bay runs in on the north side, I think between the two cities, almost surrounded by walls. The two cities can hardly be less than a mile long. On the south side is a little Arab village, and on the west a dilapidated ziarrat, or Moslem holy place. There is no marked ziggurat, or tower, as at Hammam, or Akerkuf, although some elevations suggest one. The faces are nearly to the cardinal points. There were a number of little outlying tels to the south and south-west. Anbar is but about a mile from the present bed of the Euphrates.

I was extremely surprised and much delighted to find this enormous mound in a place where it had attracted so little attention from previous travelers that it was not on the large Kiepert's map of Turkey, of 1884, which was our constant guide. In about this location a mound, apparently not important, is mentioned under the name of "Tell Akar," in Kiepert's map *Ruinenfelder*, etc. I was convinced, on seeing it, that this must be the original and larger Sippara, the dual Sepharvaim of Scripture, as no other Babylonian city could have been large enough to compete with it. Allowing, if we must, Abu Habba to be the Sippara of Shamash, I am inclined to put Sippara of Anunit, the old capital of Sargon, and the seat of the antediluvian kings, at Anbar. It fulfills the conditions, being the only great city north of Babylon on the Euphrates, and situated on the Sakhlawieh, which is very likely to be the Nahr Agane, and is certainly the Nahar Malka on which the great cities were located which occupied the site of Sippara and supplanted its name in the period from the historians of Alexander's campaigns to Benjamin of Tudela and Abulfeda. I regret that space will not allow me to develop this most interesting portion of the subject, showing how the name of Anbar, which is retained from Arabic writers on the maps down to the early part of this century, and is familiar in the middle ages; and, in the Talmud, the names of Nehardaa, and Shabor (the latter possibly a relic of Sippara, possibly con-

Digitized by Google

nected rather either with the name of king Sapor, or with Persebora, another earlier name for this place which Zosimus says to have been the largest city but one in Babylonia) have been applied to the old Sippara. Under various slight disguises the name Nehardaa is known to Josephus, Ptolemy, Stephanus Byz., and the Peutingerian Tables, as well as to the Talmud. I take room only to quote Abulfeda, who says that the Isa Canal (formerly the Nahar Malka, now the Sakhlawieh) passed by El Ambara, under the bridge Dahama, in the territory of Feluja; that Anbar, or Ambara, is a day's journey from Baghdad (a long one); and that here the first of the Abbasid Khalifs, the blood-thirsty Abdul Abbas Sefah, settled; but that it was a very old city, built long before by Nebuchadnezzar, who was the first to dig the Nahar Malka, and who settled the nomad Arabs here as tillers of the soil.

A single other point will close this discussion. A little fragment of a tablet in my possession, to whose character Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention, is only about an inch square, but it contains complete the four lines—all there were in that section, of the Sumerian column of a bilingual inscription which has an important bearing on this subject. These lines are thus read by Mr. Pinches:

(1) Sipar D. S.
(2) Sipar edina D. S.
(3) Sipar uldua D. S.
(4) Sipar utu D. S.

This geographical tablet gives a clear indication that there were not one, or two, but four cities or districts called Sippara. By the first we may understand is meant the chief or original Sippara, while the last is the Sippara of Shamash, utu being the Sumerian form of Shamash. The second and third forms are new, although Sipar ulla D. S. is found W. A. I., IV. 38, 1, l. 22 b. The second Sipar edina, or Sipar of Eden, or of the plain, deserves special attention, which I cannot give it now. I only call attention to the fact that this is, so far as I know, the first inscription discovered in which *Eden* occurs as the designation of a geographical region, and so it is very important as confirming Delitzsch's argument in his *Wo lag das Paradies?* As no Sippara of Anunit is distinctively mentioned, it is safe to infer that it is this chief and old Sippara that is meant by the first line where the simple name occurs with the determinative sign only.

It is my conclusion that, while the Sippara of Shamash has been discovered by Mr. Rassam at Abu Habba, the original Sippara, that known as Sippara of Anunit, the Sippara of the most ancient Sargon I., who was exposed in his infancy like Moses in the bulrushes, the Sippara of [Xisuthrus, the city captured by Cyrus "without fighting," the seat of a famous Jewish school, after Ctesiphon the largest city of the times of the Arsacidæ, the Sassanidæ and the Khalifs, is

Digitized by Google

now to be found south of the point of the effluence of the Sakhlawieh from the Euphrates in the mound which I have discovered still bears its mediæval name of Anbar, and which is one of the very largest tels in the valley of the two rivers. It is much to be desired that this mound, never yet touched by the spade of the excavator, might be investigated by American scholars, and the literary treasures buried in this old Pantabibla, whose fame as a city of books is carried by tradition to a period before the Flood, might be recovered for our study.

It may be proper to add here that for much politeness and many favors, while making explorations in the East, I am indebted to Hemdi Bey, who has charge of the Constantinople Museum of Antiquities, and to the Turkish governors of provinces, cities and villages, who never failed to give all the assistance I desired.

Digitized by Google

INSCRIPTION OF AŠURBANIPAL, FROM A BARREL-CYLINDER FOUND AT ABOO-HABBA. V. Rawl. 62, No. 1.

Transliterated and translated by JAMES A. CRAIG and ROBERT F. HARPER, Leipzig.

I. TRANSLITERATION.

1. (m ilu) Ašûr-bân-apal šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mâtu) Aššûr šar kib-rat irbit-ti
2. šar šarrâni rubû la ša-na-an ša ina a-mat ilâni ti-ik-lê-šu ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit
3. a-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma gi-mir ma-lik ú-šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu ;
4. apal (m ilu) Ašûr-âḫ-iddin-na šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mâtu) Aššûr šakkânâku Bâbîli (ki)
5. šar (mâtu) Šumêr u Akkadi mu-šê-šib Bâbîli (ki) ê-pêš Ê-sag-ila
6. mu-ud-diš êš-rê-ê-ti kul-lat ma-ha-zê ša ina ki-rib-ši-na iš-tak-kan si-ma-ti
7. ŭ sat-tuk-kê-ši-na baṭ-lu-tu ú-ki-nu ; bin-bin (m ilu) Sin-aḫê-êrbâ šarru rabû
8. šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mâtu) Aššûr a-na-ku-ma. Ina palê-ê-a bêlu rabû (ilu) Marduk ina rê-ša-a-ti
9. a-na Bâbîli (ki) i-ru-um-ma ina Ê-sag-ila ša da-ra-ti šu-bat-su ir-mê
10. sat-tuk-kê Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbîli (ki) ú-kin ki-tin(din(?))-nu-tu Bâbîli (ki)
11. ak-ṣur aš-šu dan-nu a-na ênšu la ḫa-ba-li. (m ilu) Šamaš-šum-ukîn âḫû ta-li-mî
12. a-na šarru-ú-ut Bâbîli (ki) ap-kid ŭ ši-pir Ê-sag-ila la ka-ta-a
13. ú-šak-lil ina kaspi ḫurâṣi ni-sik-ti abnê Ê-sag-ila az-nun-ma
14. ki-ma ši-ṭir bu-ru-mu u-nam-mir Ê-ku-a ŭ ša êš-rê-ê-ti ka-li-ši-na
15. ḫi-bil-ta-ši-na ú-šal-lim ê-li kul-lat ma-ḫa-zê ú-šat-ri-ṣi *an dul-lum*(?).
16. Ina û-mê-šu-ma Ê-babbar-ra ša ki-rib Sippar (ki) bît (ilu) Šamaš bêli rabê bêli-ia ša la-ba-riš
17. il-lik-u-ma i-ku-pu in-nab-tu aš-ra-ti-šu aš-tê-, ina ši-pir (ilu) [Libitti(?)]
18. êš-šiš ú-šê-piš-ma ki-ma šadi-i rê-ê-ši-i-šu ul-li a-na šat-ti.....
19. dânu rabû ilâni bêlu rabû bêli-ia êp-šê-ti-ia dam-ka-a-ti ḫa-diš lip-[pa-lis-ma]
20. a-na ia-a-ši (m ilu) Ašûr-bân-apal šar (mâtu) Aššûr rubû pa-liḫ-šu balâṭ û-mê rûkûtê šê-bê-ê lit-[tu-ti]
21. ṭu-ub šêri u ḫu-ud lìb-bi li-šim ši-ma-ti u ša (m ilu) Šamaš-šum-[ukîn]
22. šar Bâbîli (ki) âḫi ta-lim-ia û-mê-šu lê-ri-ku liš-bi bu-'-a-ri. Ma-[ti-ma]
23. ina aḫ-rat û-mê rubû ar-ku-ú ša ina û-mê palê-šu ši-pir šu-a-ti in-na-ḫu-ma
24. an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš šu-mî it-ti šumi-šu liš-ṭur mu-šar-ú-a lê-mur-ma
25. šamni lip-šú-uš (immêru) nikâ lìk-ki it-ti mu-šar-ê-šu liš-kun ik-ri-bi-[šu]
26. (ilu) Šamaš i-šim-mê ša šu-mî šaṭ-ru ŭ šum ta-lim-ia ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti
27. i-pa-aš-ši-ṭu šu-mî it-ti šumi-šu la i-šaṭ-ṭa-ru mu-šar-ú-a

Digitized by Google

28. i-ab-ba-tu-ma it-ti mu-šar-ê-šu la i-šak-ka-nu (ilu) Šamaš bêl ê-la-ti u šap-la-ti
29. ag-gi-iš lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu zêri-šu ina mâlâti li-ḫal-lik

II. TRANSLATION.

1. Ašurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world,
2. the king of kings, the prince without an equal, who, by order of the gods, from the upper sea
3. to the lower sea ruled and brought under his subjection all princes;
4. the son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, the mayor of Babylon,
5. the king of Sumeria and Akkadia, who caused Babylon to be inhabited, who built Êsagila,
6. who repaired the temples of all cities, who adorned their interior,
7. and established their discontinued sacrifices; the grand-son of Sennacherib, the great king,
8. the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, am I. During my reign, the great lord Marduk, with rejoicing,
9. entered Babylon, and, in Êsagila, he established his dwelling forever.
10. The sacrifices of Êsagila and of the gods of Babylon I established, the priesthood of Babylon
11. I strengthened, so as not to injure either powerful or weak. Šamaš-sum-ukîn, my real-brother,
12. I appointed to the sovereignty of Babylon, and the work of Êsagila, which was incomplete,
13. I finished. With silver, gold and precious stones, I decorated Êsagila,
14. and like the variegated heavens, I caused it to shine. Êkua and all the other temples,—
15. their damages I restored, over the whole city I spread out my (protecting) shadow (?).
16. In those days, Ê-babbar-ra, which is in Sippar, the temple of Šamaš, the great lord, my lord,
17. which had become old, had fallen in, and was destroyed, its sanctuaries I sought out, with the work of the [Brick-god(?)]
18. I caused to be built anew, and, like a mountain, I raised high its spires [....]
19. May the great judge of the gods, the great lord, my lord, look with joy upon my good works.
20. To me, Ašurbanipal, the king of Assyria, the prince, his worshiper, a long life, abundance of offspring,
21. health of body and joy of heart, may he determine as my lot. And as for Šamaš-šum-ukîn,

Digitized by Google

22. the king of Babylon, my real-brother, may his days be long, and may he be satisfied with glory.
23. In the future, may the later prince, in whose reign this work shall fall into ruin,
24. repair its ruins, my name with his name may he write, my inscription may he see, and
25. with oil may he cleanse (it), a sacrifice may he offer, with his inscription may he place (it), his prayer
26. shall Šamaš hear. Whosoever my name so-written and the name of my real-brother in a work of deceit (*i. e.*, treacherously, deceitfully)
27. obliterates, my name with his name does not write, my inscription
28. destroys, and with his inscription does not place it, may Šamaš, the god of the upper and lower regions,
29. in wrath look upon him, and from the face of the earth blot out his name and his seed.

Nov. 28th, '85.

Digitized by Google

ADVANTAGES OF A SLIGHT KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW.

By Frederic Gardiner, D. D.,
Professor in Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.

The importance to every student of theology of a thorough knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament is so evident as to require little argument. It is not so generally realized that even the slight knowledge of Hebrew acquired in the ordinary routine of our divinity schools is of great value. Men who lay aside their Semitic studies as soon as they enter upon the practical duties of life are apt to think the time they have spent upon them has been almost or wholly wasted. Is this true?

It is to be remembered that the whole Bible, the New Testament as well as the Old, was written by men trained in Semitic habits of thought and modes of expression. Any thing which enables us to better understand those habits and forms of expression must therefore necessarily be of value to the student of Scripture. We believe that even a slight study of Hebrew, or of any other Semitic language, will fix in the mind, in a way never to be forgotten, some important knowledge of this kind which cannot be so well acquired in any other way.

Almost the first lesson learned by the tyro in Hebrew is that the language was originally written only in consonants. Except the meager indications of the "*matres lectionis*," the vowels have been subsequently supplied. Of course these vowels are not arbitrary; they constantly determine the grammatical forms and frequently seriously affect the sense. Still they are secondary; the *radicals* are all consonants. It is not so in our Western languages; what may be learned at the start from this difference? Is it not that to the Semite the *root-idea* of his words, as expressed by their radicals, had a greater relative importance than with us? He cared relatively less than we about its modifications and shades of meaning; his main point was in the fundamental idea.

After mastering the alphabet, the learner will very soon attack the paradigm of the verb. The first thing that will strike him here, so at variance with every thing to which he has been accustomed in the Indo-European languages, is the starting-point. It is no longer the Infinitive, nor the first person of the Present; but the third person of the Narrative tense. This not merely carries us back to the dim beginnings of the growth of language; it shows us what the Hebrews must have been always accustomed to look upon as the starting-point in all they had to say,—narrative, or in other words, facts. The history of what had occurred before them was the foundation on which they rested. And the recognition of this, which may be called the historical habit of mind, is a most important factor in understanding the Scripture writers. Is a divine law to be given re-

Digitized by Google

quiring the heart's obedience of the people to its Author? It starts with the story of the creation of all things by Him. Is the Evangelist to show that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised and expected Messiah? He begins with His genealogy. Are apostles to proclaim to a lost world salvation through Christ? They set out from the historic fact of His resurrection.

The next peculiarity of the verb which is very surprising and perhaps perplexing to one who has been hitherto occupied with the study of the classic tongues is the poverty of the Semitic languages in tense-distinctions. Evidently to the Semites of old, as to the Semitic races now, ideas of time were not prominent, and the nicer distinctions, so accurately expressed in Greek, were almost or quite unknown. It is true that the New Testament authors wrote in Greek and had learned to use its tenses, when they had occasion, with accuracy. Still, their ancestral speech and their sacred books were in a language in which time was a matter of secondary importance. They lived much nearer than we to the idea of "the Eternal Now," to the divine omnipresence in all time as in all space. What a flood of light does this fact cast upon a large part of the prophecies, and especially upon that New Testament prophecy of the *παρουσία* which has been so much misunderstood. To the Hebrew-born apostles the important point was the thing; the time of its manifestation was altogether secondary. In fact, its overshadowing importance gave it the effect of nearness, just as the overhanging cliff, seen through the vista of a clear air, makes us tremble as if it were upon us, though we may know it to be distant. They thought of it, not in its relation to time, but in its relation to the end of all things.

When the student has learned the Qăl of the simple verb, with only its complete and its incomplete tenses, supplemented by its Imperative, Infinitive and Participle, he turns to the other "conjugations" which answer to our Western "voices." Instead of the two of the Latin, or the three of the Greek, he finds in Hebrew seven, in Syriac eight, and in Arabic no less than thirteen forms of the regular verb active and as many of the passive; so that it becomes difficult or impossible to express in English, even by periphrasis, the precise force of each of this multitude of "voices." Here it is at once seen that, although the Semitic mind was singularly indifferent to the time idea in its verbs, it was correspondingly alive to other modifications of the verbal idea.

Space would fail to speak of all the peculiarities of Semitic grammar which throw light upon the modes of thought and expression in writers of Semitic origin. Passing allusion only can be made to the juxtaposition of nouns, by which the latter is made to qualify the former (often indicated by what is called the *construct state* of the former); so that the two together form one complete idea, thus largely supplying the place of compound terms, and making good the poverty of these languages in adjectives. This throws light upon the use of the Genitive in the New Testament, and should have absolutely forbidden such a marginal read-

Digitized by Google

ing in the Revision as "judge of unrighteousness" for "unrighteous judge" in Luke XVIII., 6. This is as absurd as "hatred of violence" would be for "violent hatred," for instance in Ps. XXV., 19.

In conclusion, a single word may be said of a common Hebrew method of comparison which, especially when it passes into the language of the New Testament, is often misunderstood. When our Lord says, "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes" (Luke X., 21), we are not to understand that He is thankful that they are hidden from any one, but that they are revealed to babes *rather than* to the wise and prudent. So when He said to the seventy, rejoicing in their power over evil spirits through his name, "In this rejoice not.....but rather rejoice," He does not mean to forbid the lower joy, but only to point them to one infinitely greater. Perhaps the passage where inattention to this form of comparison has been most productive of misunderstanding is St. Paul's quotation from Malachi (Rom. IX., 13; Mal. I., 2) "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." It is true that this passage refers not so much to the individuals mentioned, as to their descendants; yet even so, it is a comparison: "I have loved Jacob more than Esau." Familiarity with Hebrew would have prevented any misunderstanding.

It is not to be supposed that the tyro in Hebrew, especially if he takes little interest in its stndy, will distinctly formulate to himself these and many other facts which help to the knowledge of the meaning of the Sacred Word. But as we all come to have impressions of our acquaintances which guide our conduct towards them, though we may never make any philosophical analysis of their character; so one can hardly learn even a little of the structure of a Semitic language without, even if it be unconsciously, coming to know what he could hardly learn otherwise of the modes of thought and habits of expression of writers of the Semitic race.

Digitized by Google

MORIAH.

By Edward G. King, D. D.,

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, England.

In Dr. Cheyne's note on this word in the April number of Hebraica, he seems to assume that the name "Jehovah-jireh" (Gen. xxii., 14) represents the original reading. There is no one point in which the Hebrew text has suffered more change than in the names for *God*. I have given several examples of this in my *Hebrew Words and Synonyms, Part I. The Names of God.* Perhaps one example may suffice for the present purpose.

In Ps. civ., 16, the present Hebrew text has עֲצֵי יְהוָה וגו' "The trees of Jehovah are full of sap...." We may, I think, prove beyond a doubt that the original text was עֲצֵי אֵיל or עֲצֵי אֵל, for the LXX. reads τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου; i. e., the text from which the LXX. translated did not read יְהוָה, but אֵיל; for, if we turn to Ps. xlii., 2, כְּאַיָּל תַּעֲרֹג וגו', Aquila badly translates ὡς αὐλὼν κ. τ. λ., while Versions V. and VI. give ὁ τρόπον πεδίον κ. τ. λ., i. e., the Hebrew אֵיל was translated πεδίον. If now we turn back to Ps. civ., 16, we may confidently assert that the MSS. from which the LXX. translated had (אֵל or) עֲצֵי אֵיל where now we read עֲצֵי יְהוָה. Whether this word אֵל were intended for *El*, *god*, or for *oak-trees* I do not care to dispute; but that a reviser of the text deliberately changed אֵל into יְהוָה is evident. This is only one case out of hundreds.

There is no one point in which the Hebrew text is so little to be trusted as in the reading of the names for God. Wholesale changes have taken place *even since the date of the Septuagint translation.* Scholars would do well to attend to the evidence for this before they base arguments on Elohistic or Jehovistic passages. I believe it will be proved that the name יְהוָה had no place in the original text of Genesis; but that the far older name יָהּ was of frequent occurrence, was known to Abraham, and was originally pronounced *Ah* or *Eh*, as I have endeavored to prove in my *Names of God.* This name יָהּ would naturally be changed by a reviser into יְהוָה.

Let us now turn to the name Moriah. I admit, with Dr. Cheyne, that it may very possibly be a form of מוֹרָה, but I should not call it "a lengthened form" but rather a form after the type מַאפֵלָיה, שַׁלהֶבֶתְיָה, etc. Thus it would denote *The Moreh of God*, or *the high Moreh.* But the word Moreh signifies also *a teacher.* Consequently when Abraham is commanded to go to the land of הַמֹּרִיָּה (Gen. xxii., 2) the name may well have suggested to him the fact that "God is teaching." With this thought in his mind, he answers Isaac's question by the words (verse 8) "God will provide," possibly in the very words מֹרֶה-יִרְאֶה; and,

Digitized by Google

after his deliverance, he calls the name of the place, not מֹרִיָּה but מֹרִיָּה־יְהֹוָה; i. e., the "Mountain of God" has become to him a place "Shown of God;" it is henceforth a sacred spot. The writer of Genesis translates this into the language of his own day, and paraphrases Abraham's מֹרִיָּה־יְהֹוָה by יְהֹוָה יִרְאֶה (verse 14) and adds כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵאָמֵר הַיּוֹם בְּהַר יְהֹוָה יֵרָאֶה; i. e., just as, to Abraham, the "Mountain of God" (מֹרִיָּה) had become a consecrated spot "Shown of God" (מֹרִיָּה־יְהֹוָה); so, says the writer, "It is said to-day, In the Mount of the Lord a man must appear" (before God, for worship).

Scripture nowhere identifies the Moriah of Abraham with the Moriah of Solomon (2 Chron. III., 1). Indeed it is impossible to suppose that they were the same. But both were scenes of Revelation, and therefore, like Bethel, spots consecrated for worship. Few scholars will be found to maintain that the language spoken by Abraham was the Hebrew of Genesis. If therefore the record contained in Genesis XXII. be an ancient one, it must be a translation. The name for *God*, used by Abraham, would date back to Akkadian times. This condition is not fulfilled by יְהֹוָה, but it is by יְהּ, pronounced *Ah* or *Eh*, which is, I believe, identical in origin with the name for *God* (A n and E a) among the Akkadians.

Digitized by Google

A NOTE IN REFERENCE TO THE "MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS."

By Professor Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.,
Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

On page 22 of Hebraica for October, 1885, in Dr. Warfield's translation of the Abbé Martin's section on the Massora among the Syrians, the spelling of *Ebediesu* is given once as "Aud-Icho;" and a few lines below the spelling "Audicho" is given as representing that which "the Nestorians call" the name of "Ebed-Jesu." To those not familiar with the subject, it might seem that the Nestorians had a different orthography; which is not the case. The Nestorians spell the name in the same way as the other Syrians (vocalizing the *waw*, however as *o*); and the "Au," supposing it to be a tolerable French representation, is merely a matter of pronunciation, chiefly of the b e t h, for which the reasons and procedure may be read in Stoddard and Nöldecke. As to the "ch," that is apparently the French method of expressing our "sh;" for the consonant is s h i n.* As the ' e e or ' ă Ỳ n in both words is unnoticed in the spelling, neither is an adequate representation of the Syrian pronunciation; but that alone would call for no remark.

Is it out of order to protest against the representation, in this generation, of ṣ a d e by "ts," as in "Bar-Tsalibi," on page 23 of the same article? To say nothing of the general facts on the subject, and the special fact that "ts" is the perpetuation of a former European misapprehension, which the Europeans themselves are now dropping, it is not possible that Bar Ṣalîbi himself or his contemporaries could have so pronounced the name—any more than the modern Arabic- or Syriac-speaking peoples do, among whom the name Ṣalîbi is still common. We are gradually outgrowing some of the early mistakes about Oriental consonants—among which was the representation of ' ă Ỳ n by *ng*, a sound so difficult for the Orientals that they commonly reproduce it in speech as either *n* or *nk*. It is hard to get at the facts in such matters from books alone, even from such an admirable statement of them as is to be found in Wright's Arabic Grammar; but it is worth while to try to keep on outgrowing mistakes.

Dr. Warfield deserves the thanks of the readers of Hebraica for his translation. It is but fair to say, however, that, as is implied in Dr. Warfield's footnote on page 13, this article of the Abbé Martin's by no means exhausts the subject, nor, so far as I am aware, presents any thing more than a short sketch of

* The author's mode of transliteration differs slightly from that which is generally followed in this Journal.

Digitized by Google

facts and inferences more fully presented elsewhere. Also, that the Abbé Martin's general conclusion presented itself as a possibility to Wiseman about sixty years ago, as to others since. My own conclusion, from going over the ground pretty well, a few years ago, was that the balance of argument favored the existence, past if not present, of a Karkaphensian *version* of at least a portion of the Scriptures, and that, so far as could be ascertained or conjectured, it was based on the Peshitto. A partial hint of the reasons is all that can be given here. The fact is suppressed by Martin that the same MS. which contains the ܐܣ ܟܪܟܦܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܘܕܐ—which Rosen and Forshall (not Forschall) translated by "*secundum VERSIONEM Karkaphensem!*" (I take the *italics*, etc., from HEBRAICA, for Rosen and Forshall do not have them, of course)—mentions also several times the Peshitto version and the Harklensian version, both of which it calls by the name of ܟܪܟܦܝܬܐ, in the sense of *version*. The same phenomenon occurs in other manuscripts. At the same time, the manuscript (it is 7183 Rich, British Museum) gives other Massoretic matters besides those taken from the Karkaphensian, Peshitto, and Harklensian "versions," taking them from a series of authors and treatises; but it calls none of these latter sources by the above name of ܟܪܟܦܝܬܐ. Moreover, Rosen and Forshall expressly state in a foot-note, at their rendering "versionem," that "Eodem voce Jacobus Edessenus versiones Simplicem et Heracleensem designat, fol. 99. b;" showing that they had considered the matter. The statement of their foot-note, however, needs a little explanation: instead of *James of Edessa* designating the Peshitto and Harklensian by the same word, it is *this MS.* that does so, at the place which they correctly cite, viz., fol. 99. b.; and the whole MS. is ascribed by its title to James of Edessa, though it—original composition, as well as this copy—is probably much later than his time. Rosen and Forshall might doubtless have cited Gregory Bar Ebraeus for the same use of the term; but their quotations from the latter's "Treasure of Mysteries" only show that he put the Peshitto, the Harklensian, and the Karkaphensian on the same footing as Scripture, by a common designation, as if all were *versions;* while other sources that were not versions have a different designation. Rosen and Forshall might have further fortified their rendering by citing the title to the Hexaplar, where the same word is used of the Septuagint *version*. So Assemâni, Wiseman, Rosen and Forshall, and others, have a pretty sound basis to stand upon, which the Abbé Martin does not (at least in the matter translated by Dr. Warfield) care to show to his more popular readers, although he is well aware of its existence. In this light his capitals and exclamation point do not quite suit Saxon frankness. A study of the use of ܟܪܟܦܝܬܐ in Syriac literature would still further diminish the scarecrow force of his exclamation point and capitals; but into this we need not go—at least no further than to remark that the "tradition" in the word means rather "delivered" than "handed down," or than "received from old time." In that sense it is much

Digitized by Google

like παράδοσις and παραδίδωμι; and in several places where, from our English version or the Greek, we might expect to find it, it is replaced in the Peshitto New Testament by ܬܘܠܦܢܐ, *teaching*, *doctrine*, (teacher's) *commandment*. As applied to a *version*, the etymology might make us suppose that the medial step was to indicate *the translation delivered by*—e. g., the Seventy; but etymological reminders do not outweigh usage in the definition or understanding of a word.

Just two things more may be mentioned. One is that, if the quotation from Assemâni had included two more of his lines, it would appear that the above triple assemblage of versions, or whatever the common designation of them means, were reckoned as occupying a higher plane than the Nestorian copies of the Scriptures. These lines read: "Demum singulis fere paginis notantur variæ lectiones, seu punctationes *Nestorianorum*, hoc est, Chaldæorum, qui Nestorii labe infecti sunt." The other thing is, that it is hard to explain *all* the statements and Scripture extracts in Wiseman, under the general Karkaphensian subject, as belonging merely to the Syriac Massora, to a *correctorium* whose scope was larger, or even to an exegetical work. I may say, also, to show that a short extract may *seem* to be from an exegetical work, and yet be part of a double version, that Syriac MSS. exist (one of the sort is in my hands just now) in which *two versions* of an entire composition occupy the same pages; a sentence of one version following a sentence of the other, all through—much after the fashion of an interlinear translation, only it is not interlinear, but in interrupting portions.

Had we only these Syriac Massora MSS., and not the actual Peshitto and Harklensian too (and perhaps we may include the Septuagint also), the Abbé Martin's arguments would inevitably sweep them out of existence along with the Karkaphensian. His statement that all the mountains of Europe and Asia have been ransacked, and every crack and cranny searched, is hyperbolical, and not enough to show that no fragment of a Karkaphensian may yet turn up. The European libraries alone have not yet told all their secrets to the ransackers. It is better to study the Syrian Massora, and reap its benefits, holding in suspense the question of the existence of a Karkaphensian version, than to throw away the stimulus which the balance of argument seems now to furnish in the line of possible discovery. Unless, indeed, we may see another alternative, in the Abbé's conclusions, and begin a general ransacking for MSS. which present hitherto unknown Massoras, but which must exist somewhere as the Peshitto, Harklensian, Septuagint, and other "traditions."

Digitized by Google

ON THE PENITENTIAL PSALM "DE PROFUNDIS."

BY PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the prospectus for the second volume of HEBRAICA, it was announced that I should publish a commentary on the fifteen so-called *Songs of Degrees*, Hebrew שירי המעלות, i. e., *The Songs of the Return*[1] (from the Exile),[2] Psalms CXX.-CXXXIV. I fear that I shall not, in the near future, find time to complete this task, and will therefore content myself, for the present, with offering Psalm CXXX.,[3] heretofore commonly misunderstood, in text and translation. As to the commentary, I shall limit myself to some brief preliminary remarks.

The text of this fervent penitential song is, according to my opinion, to be restored in the following manner:

שיר מעלה

א [4]מִמַּעֲמַקִּים [5]קראתיך יהוה
אדנָי שמעה בקולי
[6]תהיינה אזניך [6]קַשֻּׁבות
לקול תחנוני

[1] Cf. Ezra vii., 9: המעלה מבבל. I will note here that my predecessor in the chair of Semitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, Thomas C. Murray, (whom an untimely death called away), in his interesting and suggestive *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York: *Scribner*, 1880), p. 295, adopts the explanation proposed by Agellius, Herder, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, Reuss, Kamphausen, and others,—*Songs of Feast Journeys*, or *Pilgrim Songs*. Cf. also Friedlaender, *Zur Erklaerung der Psalmen*, Stettin, 1857, p. 16.

[2] This of course can also mean "Songs of *the first period after* the return from exile." Concerning the plural מעלות, it will be useful to bear in mind that "*A* Song of the Return from Babylon" would be in Hebrew שיר מעלה מבבל, without the article before מעלה. The plural to this, "*Songs* of the Return," can be expressed in three different ways, either שירי מעלה or שירי מעלות (cf. Hitzig, *Psalmen* II., 365: "den Plural מעלות wuerde nicht die Stelle Ez. xi., 5, sondern nur Plur. auch des Stat. const. rechtfertigen."), or finally שיר מעלות. In the same way in Ethiopic there occurs as plural to beta krestiyan *church* either abyata krestiyan or abyata krestiyanat or beta krestiyanat. See Dillmann's Grammar, p. 365; Muller-Robertson, *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, 2d ed., Glasgow, 1883, § 77; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 108, 3. שיר המעלות, with the article before the *nomen rectum*, can only mean, like שירי המעלות, "*the* songs of the return," and is therefore out of place as the superscription of a single Psalm.

[3] Luther once termed this Psalm, along with Psalms xxxii., li., and cxliii., as *Psalmi Paulini*; see Moll, *Der Psalter, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet*. Part II. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1871, p. 185. Also A. Tholuck, in his *Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen*, 2d ed., Gotha, 1873, p. 704, says, "the Psalmist here promulgates the true evangelical doctrine of the New Testament: teaching, according to Exod. li., 6 and 7, that the enduring existence and prosperity of sinful people is only possible through divine forgiveness."

[4] Cf. Ps. lxix., 3: באתי במעמקי־מים *I am come into deep waters*; Ps. lxix., 15: אנצלה משנאי וממעמקי מים *let me be delivered from them that hate me and out of the deep waters*; Isa. li., 10:

Digitized by Google

ה אִם עֲוֹנוֹת תִּשְׁמָר־יָהּ
אֲדֹנָי מִי יַעֲמֹד׃
כִּי־עִמְּךָ [7]הַסְּלִיחָה
לְמַעַן תִּוָּרֵא

ו קִוִּיתִי יְהוָה
[8]וְלִדְבָרוֹ קִוְּתָה נַפְשִׁי
הוֹחִילָה נַפְשִׁי לַאדֹנָי
מִשֹּׁמְרִים לַבֹּקֶר׃

טו שֹׁמְרִים לַבֹּקֶר
יַחֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה
כִּי־עִם־יְהוָה הַחֶסֶד
וְהַרְבֵּה עִמּוֹ [9]פְּדוּת

עַתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתְּ מַיִם במעמקי־מים מַעֲרָבֶךָ: מעמקי־ים and *now art thou broken* (Jonah i., 4; 1 Kgs. xxii., 48) *from the seas, in the depths of the waters thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee are fallen.*

[5] If I could find the time to carry out a long entertained plan of publishing a *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, I should but partly vocalize all the texts, and arrange the words in the *Glossary* according to the stems. That the latter system gives the beginner too much difficulty, is an erroneous supposition. The student who can look up a verbal form like אָט under נטה, will, I presume, also be able to find out the stem of nouns like מַמְלָכָה, etc. For more complicated cases an *Analytical Index* could be added. As to the vocalization of the texts, I consider it superfluous to point words like אלהים, ויאמר, הארץ, etc., throughout. An entirely unpunctuated text, on the other hand, like the *Liber Genesis sine punctis exscriptus* cur. Muehlau and Kautzsch (ed. altera, Lipsiae, 1885) is hard to employ for educational purposes. Certain difficult words should, by all means, be pointed. But then, above all, a *critical text*, with emendations of the corrupt passages, should be established. The more this departs from the Massoretic text, the better for practical linguistic training. Ps. cxxii., 3, 5, e. g., I should write, יְרוּשָׁלַם הַבְּנוּיָה כְּעִיר שֻׁחְבְּרָה־לָּהּ עֲרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל יְחַדָּו: כִּי שָׁמָּה עָלוּ שִׁבְטִים שִׁבְטֵי־יָהּ לְהוֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם: שָׁשָׁם ישבו כִּסְאוֹת וגו׳. And Ezra iii., 3: וַיֶּאֶסְפוּ מַעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת וַיָּכִינוּ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַל־מְכוֹנָתוֹ כִּי בָא אֵימָה עֲלֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲלוּ עָלָיו עֹלוֹת וגו׳: It stands to reason that the first extracts must be vocalized throughout; but the points should gradually become more scarce. This is the only way to really learn Hebrew. "In order that I may not be misunderstood," says Lagarde (*Symmicta*. II., 23), "I will add that it is no proof of an acquaintance with Hebrew to have attended, or for that matter to have given, lectures on the Old Testament." Cf. also *Mittheilungen* von Paul de Lagarde, Goettingen, 1884, p. 164, and Hitzig, *Psalmen*. I., p. iv.

[6] Cf. 2 Chron. vi., 40: עַתָּה אֱלֹהַי יִהְיוּ־נָא עֵינֶיךָ פְּתֻחוֹת וְאָזְנֶיךָ קַשֻּׁבוֹת לִתְפִלַּת הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה: "Now, my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open and *let* thine ears *be* attent unto the prayer *that is made* in this place." Cf. *ibid.*, vii., 15.

[7] Cf. Neh. ix., 17: אַתָּה אֱלוֹהַּ סְלִיחוֹת "thou art a God of pardons;" Dan. ix., 9: לַאדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ הָרַחֲמִים וְהַסְּלִחוֹת כִּי מָרַדְנוּ בּוֹ: "To the Lord our God *belong* mercies and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against him."

[8] Cf. Isa. viii., 17: וְקִוֵּיתִי לוֹ "I look for him;" Prov. xx., 22 קַוֵּה לַיהוָה וְיֹשַׁע לָךְ "Wait on the Lord and he shall save thee."

[9] Cf. Ps. cxi., 9: פְּדוּת שָׁלַח לְעַמּוֹ "He sent redemption unto his people;" Isa. l., 2: הֲקָצוֹר קְצָרָה יָדִי מִפְּדוּת וְאִם־אֵין־בִּי כֹחַ לְהַצִּיל "Is my hand shortened at all that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver?"

Digitized by Google

כא והוא יפדה את-ישראל
מכל עונותיו
יַחֵל ישראל אל-יהוה
מֵעתה ועד-עולם

This *Prayer for the Forgiveness of Sins on Atonement-day*, as Rev. Robert Weber[1] has appropriately superscribed the poem, I translate as follows:—

Out of the depths[2] I have cried unto thee, Yahweh.
O Lord! hearken unto my voice;
Let thine ears be attentive
To the voice of my supplications.

If thou shouldest keep[3] iniquities, Yah,
O Lord! who *then* shall endure?— —[4]
For with thee is forgiveness
For the sake of the Religion.[5]

---

[1] See *Die poetischen Buecher des Alten Testaments* uebersetzt und erklaert von Robert Weber, evang. reform. Pfarrer. Stuttgart: *C. P. Scheitlin*, 1853, p. 323. According to Adolf Kamphausen (*Die Psalmen*, Leipzig: *Brockhaus*, 1863, p. 253, reprinted from Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*) only verses 7 and 8 treat of the people of Israel; otherwise, he says, the Psalm appears to be entirely personal. Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, Vol. II. Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1865, p. 386), on the other hand, remarks, that the Psalmist appears here as interceder for the sins of the people. E. W. Hengstenberg (*Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, Vol. IV., 2d ed. Berlin, 1852, p. 401) is right in saying, "Out of the depths of misfortune the *congregation* cries unto the Lord, praying that, according to his compassion, he may forgive their sins through which they have been cast into distress." It is also possible that only strophes 1, 3 and 5 were said by the congregation, and strophes 2 and 4 by the priest. Rosenmueller's conjecture (*Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*) that the Psalm was first sung at the general penitential day, Ezra ix., 5, cannot be proved.

[2] This does not mean "Out of the deep abyss of sin" (Geier, Weber), but "sunk in the deep waves of distress" which have come over us in consequence of our sins. Cf. Ps. lxix., 2 and 3, and *ibid.*, 14 and 15. As is well known, Luther begins his beautiful penitential song, which closely follows this Psalm: "*Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu Dir.*"

[3] If thou shouldest keep *in memory*, that is, cherish against, put to the account of. According to Ewald (*Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, I., 1, 3d ed. Goettingen, 1866, p. 373) = if thou dost not overlook, condone, forgive. The meaning is nearly the same.

[4] Supply: But thou wilt not deal with us after our sins; nor reward us according to our iniquities; Ps. ciii., 10: לא כחטאינו תעשה לנו ולא כעונתינו תגמל עלינו. German: *Aber Du wirst Gnade fuer Recht ergehn lassen.*

[5] That is: We in our sins are unworthy of thy grace, but do forgive us for the sake of the true Religion revealed by thee, of which we are the only though unworthy representatives. In spite of all our misdeeds, we are still thy people and the sheep of thy pasture. Therefore, deliver us and purge away our sins, for thy name's sake. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name. Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God? Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name. But show mercy to us that fear thee, to such as keep thy covenant, and to

Digitized by Google

I hope for Yahweh,
And for his word[1] hopeth my soul;
My soul waiteth for the Lord
More than they that[2] watch for the morning.

Ye that watch for the morning![3]
Wait, Israel, for Yahweh!
For with Yahweh is grace,
And in abundance[4] is with him redemption.

And He will redeem Israel
From all his iniquities.[5]
Wait, *therefore*, Israel for Yahweh
From now and for evermore!

The reading תִּירָא, with י instead of ן at the end of the second strophe, is authenticated by Saint Jerome.[6] Graetz, in his critical commentary to the Psalms,[7] remarks for this passage: "לְמַעַן תּוֹרָא[8] is quite incomprehensible, the reading being uncertain. Symmachus and Theodotion render it by *νόμος* or *νόμος σου*,[9] LXX. by *ὀνόματος σου*,[10] probably misread for *νόμος*. Worthy of note is Jerome's

---

those that remember thy commandments to do them. Ps. lxxix., 13, 9, 10, 6; Ps. ciii., 17, 18: אנהנו עַמֶּךָ וצאן מרעיתך הצילנו וכפר על-חטאתינו למען עָזְרֵנוּ אלהי יִשְׁעֵנוּ על-דבר כבוד-שמך לְמַעַן יאמרו הגוים איה אלהיהם שפך חמתך אל-הגוים אשר לא-ידעוך ועל-ממלכות אשר בשמך לא קראו עשה חסד עם-יראיך לשמרי בריתך ולזכרי פְּקֻדֶיךָ לעשותם

[1] Cf. Exod. xx., 6: לְמַעַן אנכי יהוה אלהיך עשה חסד לאלפים לאהבי ולשמרי מִצְוֹתָי *I, Yahweh, thy God .....will show mercy unto the thousandth generation of them that love me and keep my commandments.*—According to Ewald, "the everlasting word of God through all time, the word of salvation and redemption."

[2] After a night's vigil.

[3] For the morning glow of his grace, with which a new day breaks after the night of sins.

[4] For many, and even for the greatest distress.

[5] And the *sufferings* that follow them. Cf. הֲעֲוֹן, Isa. v., 18, and my remarks in my article *Wateh-ben-Hazael*, p. 3 (HEBRAICA, Vol. I., No. 4).

[6] I should like to call attention here to the useful little book by Wilhelm Nowack (now Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Strassburg), *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus fuer die alttestamentliche Textkritik untersucht*, Goettingen, 1875.

[7] *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung.* Von Dr. H. Graetz, Vol. II., p. 651. Breslau: *Schottlaender*, 1883.

[8] The Syriac Version and the Arabic Version of the פשיטתא Psalms, published in the Libanon at Quzhayya in 1610, omit these two words entirely.

[9] In the Vulgate: propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine. The *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi* (e recognitione Pauli de Lagarde, Lipsiae, 1874, p. 136) has: cum terribilis sis; cf. Ps. lxxvi., 8: cum terribilis es, et quis stabit adversum te? Heb.: אתה נורא אתה ומי-יעמד לפניך

[10] Ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου seems to me simply guessed at by reference to passages like Ps. lxxix., 9; xxiii., 3, etc.

Digitized by Google

tradition on this point (*Epistola ad Sun[niam] et Fret[elam]*, No. 78): "Pro nomine sive lege apud eos (Hebraeos) legitur *Thira*, quod....Symmachus et Theodotion *νόμον* interpretati sunt...., putantes *Thora*, propter literarum similitudinem Jod et Vau, quae tantum magnitudine distinguuntur." According to this, the text contained תירא, not תורא or תורה.[1]

The תרגום כתובים,[2] too, seems to have read תירא, erroneously regarding it as scriptio plena of the imperfectum apocopatum Niphal from יָרֵא : ראה = תֵּרָא = תֵּרָאֶה.[3] We find there as the translation of our verse: ארום גבך שביקותא מן בגלל דתתחמי *for with thee is forgiveness that thou mayest be seen.*[4]

I read תִּירָא, and consider it a rare synonym of יִרְאָה. It seems to be a form with prefixed ת from יָרֵא *to fear*, like תֵּימָן[5] *south*, properly *the right side*, from ימן. The word תירא here must have the same meaning as יראה in Ps. XIX., 10:

יראת יהוה טהורה עומדת לָעַד משפטי-יהוה אמת צדקו יחדו

The Yahweh religion is pure, enduring forever;

Yahweh's ordinances are truth and righteous altogether.

For the use of יראה without the following יהוה cf. Job IV., 6:

הלא-יראתך כִּסְלָתך[6] ותקותך תם דרכיך

Is not thy piety thy confidence; thy hope[7] *the uprightness of thy ways?*

In the third strophe I have changed הולחתי to הוחילה, and transposed ולדברו. These emendations are confirmed by the Ancient Versions.

The LXX. translate: *ὑπέμεινά σε, κύριε, ὑπέμεινεν ἡ ψυχή μου εἰς τὸν λόγον σου· ἤλπισεν ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον . . .*

The Vulgate:[8] sustinui te, Domine, sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus; speravit anima mea in Domino, etc.

The פשיטתא:[9] ܠܡܶܐܡܪ ܕܫܡܥ : ܢܦܫܝ ܠܡܶܐܡܪ ܕܫܡܥ ܒܗ ܢܦܫܝ ܣܒܪ ܒܡܪܝܐ

---

1 That the choice of the rare word תירא is an intended assonance to תורה *law* is not excluded.

2 *Hagiographa Chaldaice.* Paulus de Lagarde edidit. Lipsiae, 1873, p. 77.

3 Cf. תיעשה Exod. xxv., 31, for תֵּעָשֶׂה; יידע Ps. cxxxviii., 6, for יֵדַע; אילכה for אֵלְכָה Mich. i., 8.

4 Cf. also the rendering of the *Sexta*: *ἑνεκεν τοῦ γνωσθῆναι λόγον σου*, on the strength of which Graetz proposes to read למען תודע דברך, or simply למען תודע.

5 Cf. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebraeischen Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 399; Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, §261 *a*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, §85, 51. If we prefer to vocalize תִּירָא we must compare forms like תִּדְהָר, Isa. xli., 19; lx., 13; תִּמְנָע, etc. (Olshausen, 399), or the feminine forms תִּקְוָה *hope*, תִּגְרָה *strife*, Ps. xxxix., 11; תִּכְלָה *perfection*, Ps. cxix., 96.

6 In the Massoretic text the ו is placed before the following תם. ותם דרכיך תקותך as Umbreit (*Das Buch Hiob*, 2d. ed., Heidelberg, 1832, p. 34) proposes to read, would destroy the rhythm.

7 Observe the *chiasmus*. For the pre-position of the predicate cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §145. 1. b.

8 In the *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, on the other hand, we read in accordance with the Massoretic text: sustinui dominum, sustinuit anima mea, et verbum ejus expectavi; anima mea ad dominum, etc. The תרגום כתובים has: אמתנית יהוה מתינת נפשי ולאיקריה אוריכית אוריכא ליהוה.... (cf. Job vi., 11) נפשי.

9 For the name of the chief Syriac version of the Bible see Professor Isaac H. Hall's remarks in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XI., No. II., p. CXXIII (*Proceedings at New*

Digitized by Google

in Hebrew transcription: ..סַבְּרַת בְּמָרְיָא וְסַכְּיַת נַפְשִׁי לְמִלְּתֵהּ סַכְּיַת לְמָרְיָא

So we read also in the four Arabic Versions edited by Paul de Lagarde:[1]

يا رب ترجيت
ولكلمتك رجت نفسى
نفسى توكلت على الرب

يا رب رجوتك
لزمت نفسى ناموسك
نفسى توكلت على الرب

ارتجيت بالرب
وانتظرت نفسى لكلمته
ترجيت الرب

صبرت لك يا رب
صبرت نفسى فى قولك
توكلت نفسى على الرب

Yâ rabbi tarajjaitu
wa-likálimatika rájat nafsî
nafsî tawákkalat 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

Yâ rabbi rajaútuka
lázimat nafsî nâmûsaka
nafsî tawákkalat 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

Irtajaitu bi-'r-rabbi
wá-'ntaẓarat nafsî likálimatihi
tarajjaitu-'r-rabba, etc.

Ṣabartu laka[2] yâ rabbi
ṣábarat nafsî fî qaulika
tawákkalat nafsî 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

York, October, 1882). Cf. also Friedrich Baethgen, *Untersuchungen ueber die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, Kiel, 1878, p. 7, and Noeldeke, *Syr. Grammar*, § 26, B.

[1] *Psalterium Job Proverbia Arabice.* Paulus de Lagarde edidit. Goettingen, 1876, pp. 214/5. No. 1 is the Versio *Romana* of 1614, No. 2 the *Parisina* (in the Paris Polyglot), No. 3 the *Quzhayyensis* (cf. p. 101, n. 8), No. 4 the *Beræensis* (Abulfath's Version, after the Aleppo edition of 1706). Cf. Lagarde, *Symmicta*, II., Goettingen, 1880, p. 10.

[2] Sabartu laka *I wait for thee* (cf. אוריכא נפש, p. 102, n. 8) is modern Arabic, sabarat nafsi, on the other hand, is used also in the classical language; cf. لو حبس الرجل نفسه على شيء يريده قال صبرت نفسى

Digitized by Google

In Aramaic, the form הוחילה would be אוחלת or הוחלת, and to the third pers. fem. sing. perf. there is attached sometimes in Syriac a parasitic ' as a diacritical mark, e.g., ܩܛܠܬ *she has killed*, for ܩܛܠܬ qiṭlath.[1] That the change of הוחילה to הוחלתי has any connection with this fact is difficult to assume.

The repetition of the שמרים לבקר in the beginning of the fourth strophe has heretofore been commonly misunderstood, since no one perceived that the words, with a delicate turn of the figure, are used as accosting the congregation. The vocative construction is implied in the following imperative יחל ישראל, which is by no means to be altered to a jussive יחל or ייחל.

Bickell[2] in his metrical[3] translation of the Psalms, entirely omits this significant repetition. De Wette[4] considers the second שמרים לבקר merely "*Wiederholung im Geiste des Stufen-rhythmus;*" so, too, Olshausen[5] says, it has a significance only for the outward form of the recitation. Graetz thinks, the repetition might be intended as an *antiphony* of the chorus. Hengstenberg remarks: The night seems long to the watchers and so to the suffering the night of affliction. "*Schmerzliche Sehnsucht liebt die Wiederholung.*" According to Delitzsch[6]

---

[1] Cf. Noeldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1880. p. 35. The ' was perhaps added by analogy to the second person: ܩܛܠܬ, fem. ܩܛܠܬ. The ܝ in ܢܩܛܠ *she* may also have had some influence. Similarly, in the third pers. fem. impf., e. g., ܬܩܛܠ. Duval's theory (*Traite de Grammaire Syriaque* par Rubens Duval, Paris, 1881, p. 173) that "le youdh quiescent de la troisieme personne du feminin sing. vient sans doute d'une ancienne voyelle *i*, *ou* qui formait la desinence de l'imparfait," like the Arabic yaqtulu, taqtulu, seems to me untenable. I do not believe that this ܝ was ever pronounced.

[2] See *Dichtungen der Hebraeer*, Zum ersten Male nach dem Versmasse des Urtextes [?] uebersetzt von Gustav Bickell. III. *Der Psalter*, Innsbruck, 1883, p. 250. Bickell renders the passage: "Ich hoff' auf Gott, auf Sein Wort | Harrt meine Seele. | Mehr als auf Fruehrot Waechter, | Harr', Israel, Sein!" Cf. also Johann David Michaelis *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen fuer Ungelehrte.* Part VI., 2d ed., Goettingen, 1782, p. 206: "Meine Begierde sieht nach dem Herrn aus, | Mehr als einer, der zur Nachtzeit reiset, auf den Morgen wartet. | Israel hoffe auf Jehova," etc. In the notes, however, on p. 276, he gives the correct translation: "more than they that watch for the morning." Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Buecher des alten Testaments uebersetzt und erlaeutert*, Part II., *Die Psalmen*, Stuttgart, 1850, p. 156, translates: "[Es hofft] meine Seele | Auf den Herrn, | Mehr als Waechter | Auf den Morgen. || Israel, harre," etc.

[3] Bickell is right in assuming, in his translation of our Psalm, strophes of four lines. Olshausen, in his commentary on the Psalms (Leipzig, 1853), deemed it proper to arrange this psalm in four strophes of two verses each. Also Julius Ley (*Grundzuege des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebraeischen Poesie*, Halle, 1875, p. 148) says that the division of this poem into distiches was recognized by the ancient interpreters. His metrical analysis is: first, three strophes of two *hexameters*, then a fourth of one *octameter* and an *octametric hemi-stich*=two *hexameters*.

[4] *Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, 5th ed., ed. by Gustav Baur. Heidelberg, 1856, p. 591 below.

[5] *Die Psalmen* erklaert von Justus Olshausen. Leipzig, 1853, p. 463. On Olshausen compare Eberhard Schrader's *Gedaechtnissrede auf Justus Olshausen* (Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences), Berlin, 1883.

[6] Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1883, p. 806.

Digitized by Google

the repetition gives the impression "*des langhin sich dehnenden schmerzlichen Wartens.*" Likewise the Ancient Versions fail to find the point. Jerome translates in his *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos:* anima mea ad dominum a vigilia matutina[1] usque ad vigiliam matutinam; Symmachus: ἀπὸ φυλακῆς πρωϊνῆς ἐως φυλακῆς πρωϊνῆς; the LXX. even: ἀπὸ φυλακῆς πρωίας καὶ μέχρι νύκτος, and following this the Vulgate: anima mea in Domino a custodia matutina usque ad noctem. Rabbi Saadia,[2] also, says that for the sake of the sense the first "morning" must denote the day, the second the night!

In the last strophe I have added the final verse of the following Psalm. In Psalm CXXXI., which I regard as the fragment of an *Epitaph* on the first post-exilic High-priest Jeshua,[3] these words are out of place and without connection with what precedes. That Psalm CXXXII. already in the time of the Chronicler was placed near CXXX. is shown by 2 Chron. VI., 40–42.[4] Accordingly we may safely assume that Psalm CXXXI. followed Psalm CXXX. at that time, and there is no difficulty in supposing that, even at that early period, the end of Psalm CXXX. was added to the Fragment Psalm CXXXI., 1 and 2, in order to give it a proper conclusion.

Further explanatory remarks I reserve for a future article.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is only to-day that I was able to look up, in the original, the passage cited by Graetz from St. Jerome's *Epistola CVI. ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, § 78; and I found that the remarks omitted by Graetz are the very ones that confirm my conjecture לִמְעַן תִּירָא *for the sake of the religion.* It might be well, therefore, to add the entire passage, together with the foot-note in the Paris[5] edition:

"78. Centesimo vigesimo nono, *Propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine* (Ps. CXXIX., 4). Dicitis vos in Graeco invenisse: *Propter nomen tuum*, et nos confite-

---

[1] *Vigilia matutina* is אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר. I take this opportunity of calling attention to Friedrich Delitzsch's essay on *Die drei Nachtwachen*, No. III. of his *Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testament* in Dr. Bezold's *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*, Vol. II., Part III., July, 1885.

[2] See Ewald, *Ueber die arabisch geschriebenen Werke juedischer Sprachgelehrten.* Stuttgart, 1844, p. 70. On Saadia's translation of the Psalms cf. also Samuel Hirsch Margulies, *Saadia Alfayumi's arabische Psalmenuebersetzung* (Leipzig Inaugural-Dissertation). Breslau, 1884.

[3] Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, II., 388), to be sure, thinks that Ps. CXXXI. was written about September 18th, 141 B. C.! In the פשיטתא superscription of this Psalm we find: מתאמר על ישוע בר יוזדק כהנא רבא. Cf. Graetz, l. c., p. 652.

[4] See Carl Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters zur Pruefung der Frage nach Makka. baerpsalmen.* Leipzig, 1869, p. 72; Delitzsch, l. c., p. 804 below; Riehm in Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, 2d ed. Vol. IV. Gotha, 1871, p. 330.

[5] *Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, Tom. I., Paris, 1864, col. 865/6 = pp. 674/5 of Vallarsi's edition, Tom. prim., Pars prima, editio altera, Venetiis MDCCLXVI.

Digitized by Google

mur plura exemplaria sic reperiri. Sed quia veritati studemus, quid in Hebraeo sit, simpliciter debemus dicere. Pro, *nomine*, sive, *lege*, apud eos legitur THIRA, quod Aquila interpretatus est *φόβον*, *timorem*:[1] Symmachus, et Theodotion[2] *νόμον*, id est, *legem*, putantes THORA, propter litterarum similitudinem *Jod*, et *Vau*, quae tantum magnitudine distinguuntur. Quinta[3] Editio, *terrorem*, interpretata est, Sexta,[3] *verbum*."

PAUL HAUPT.

Baltimore, Md., Dec. 24, '85.

---

[1] Cf. Origenis *Hexaplorum* quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta, ed. Fridericus Field, Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCLXXV, p. 285: Α. *ἕνεκεν φόβου ὑπέμεινα κύριον*.—Sic *ἄλλος* apud Chrysost.—Theodoret.: *ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὁ μὲν* Α. *καὶ ὁ* Θ. *φόβον ἡρμήνευσαν, ὁ δὲ* Σ. *νόμον*. Aliter Hieronym. in Epist. ad Sun. et Fret. 78: "Dicitis," etc., etc.—Cf. also ibid., p. 287, n. 4: Montef. sine auctore affert: Ε'. *ἐπὶ φόβου*.

[2] Obstat Theodoretus, qui *ἕνεκεν τοῦ φόβου*, juxta Aquilam etiam Theodotionem interpretatum fuisse asserit. Quoad Hebraeam vocem *Thira*, textus hodiernum habet Thora, תורא, quod tamen vocabulum, quod cum *Aleph* scribatur, non *He*, *Lex* verti Latine, aut *νόμος* Graece, non debuit. Itaque hallucinationis occasio non ex similitudine ו et י oritur, quae litterae sola magnitudine differant, sed ex sono postremae litterae א scilicet aut ה qui fere idem est, et potuit Symmachus et Theodotion in ea voce תורא censere ה cum א fuisse permutatum; quamquam istud, quod Breitingerus animadvertit, לטעון תורה in Hebraismo insolentius.

[3] Cf. Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, p. 36.

Digitized by Google

DRIVER ON THE HEBREW TENSES.*

By Prof. James Strong, S. T. D., LL. D.,
Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

After a careful examination of this work, and a protracted comparison in the course of my Hebrew reading, I am unable to acquiesce in its conclusions, and I beg leave to state briefly, for the consideration of scholars, my reasons for dissent.

The main position of the book is that the primary and essential distinction between the so-called Præter and Future tenses in Hebrew, is that the former denotes a fully *completed* act or condition, and the latter an *inceptive* or incomplete one. This point the author elucidates by a detailed application to the various uses and constructions of these forms of the Hebrew verb, including an attempt to solve thereby the mystery of the "vav conversive." Much of the reasoning is very indirect and intricate. I take room to examine only the main point, and that in relation chiefly to the use of the so-called "Future tense;" which is the most difficult and peculiar. I give the author's doctrine in his own words: "One [form] is calculated to describe an action as incipient and so as imperfect; the other to describe it as completed and so as perfect" (p. 6).

In the first place, I suppose no one will deny that in a very large proportion, probably a majority, of instances the so-called "Future tense" actually does denote a *future* event. It is not an adequate explanation of this fact to say that the event is "preparing to take place, or developing" (p. 24). There are usually no signs whatever of its occurrence; it is not merely or properly incomplete; it is not yet even *begun*, except in the mind of the writer. Surely the fundamental import of the form in question cannot be so disguised or varied, in this very common use of it, as not to be distinctly recognizable. The attempt to translate the verb, in these exceedingly numerous instances, as an incipient act would be preposterous, and the author accordingly passes over this very important usage with a few general and vague remarks (p. 25); not even illustrating it by a single example! This seems a notable failure at the very threshold of the discussion.

Many of the distinctions made by the author in the subsequent portion of his disquisition are clear and sound, such as the use of the Future for the *Imperative* (§ 23), the *uncertain* (§ 24), the *potential* or *Subjunctive* (§ 24); but there is nothing novel in all this, nor does it at all support his main position. None of these are incipient acts, nor in any legitimate sense incomplete; they are simply contingent or conceptual. In fact, the use of the tense in question as a proper Imperfect, to

* A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in the Hebrew. By S. R. Driver, M. A., Fellow of New College. Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press.* 1884. 12mo, pp. xviii and 356. Price, $1.95

Digitized by Google

denote an uncompleted act, is quite rare in Hebrew, and the author himself adduces but few examples (§ 27), nor are they very clear. Most or all of them are more readily explainable on the usual theory of the tense. Perhaps I cannot do better than to examine these very passages, in order to show the fallacy and inadequacy of Mr. Driver's chief point.

In Deut. XXXII., 18, תְּשִׁי is not "*Thou begannest to forget* the Rock that had borne thee," but is a *relative*, dependent upon the preceding Præter (יְלָדֶךָ), as the Future following with *vav conversive* shows (וַתִּשְׁכַּח); and the whole should be rendered thus: "A Rock bore thee, *whom thou neglectest;* and thou hast forgotten God thy former." In Job III., 8, יוֹם אִוָּלֵד בּוֹ is not to be rendered "The day *I was being born in*" [sic]; but evidently as a relative clause, "The day on which *I was born*"—(*dies quo natus fuerim*, not *nascerer*, nor *natus fuissem*). In Ps. VII., 16, יִפְעָל is not "The pit *he is* (or *was*) making," but again as a relative clause, "The pit *which he had just made;*" for he could not fall into it until it had been completed. In Gen. II., 10, מִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד does not mean "from there it *began to divide*," nor in XXXVII., 6, does תְּסֻבֶּינָה mean that the other sheaves "*began to move round*" Joseph's; but only that the division and the surrounding were *apparent acts*, the objects "seemed" to do so; like the יַעֲלֶה or apparent ascent of the mist, and the other Futures in II., 5, 6.* In Num. XXIV., 17, to render אֶרְאֶנּוּ "*I see him*, but not now," is a clear contradiction in terms. In Jer. VI., 4, יִנָּטוּ is not to be rendered "The shadows of evening *are beginning to lengthen*," but "*will* (soon) *be lengthened.*" In like manner, the instances of an alleged *frequentative* use of the Future (p. 32) may more naturally be resolved as acts depending upon the *will* of the parties, and not necessarily repeated.

I conclude that, while the "Future" in Hebrew evidently denotes a *qualified* or dependent act or condition, it does not contain or represent the form of limitation selected by Mr. Driver, namely inchoation or incompletion.

---

* This last verb may perhaps be explained on the same principle as the above, namely the equivalent of the Latin rule that *a relative clause requires the Subjunctive* ("There was a mist that went up"); to which however, in Hebrew at least, must be added the proviso *that it is intended to express a subordinate thought*, and not a principal or independent fact. In such cases the subject properly precedes the verb, because the main emphasis is thrown upon the former, and the latter is merely suppletive to the general idea. The relative אֲשֶׁר is suppressed for terseness, as in English, "the money (which) I earned I spent."

Digitized by Google

THE DIVINE NAMES AS THEY OCCUR IN THE PROPHETS.

By Barnard C. Taylor,

Professor in Crozer Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa.

In the Book of Isaiah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 341 times; יהוה צבאות, 60 times; אלהים, 63 times; אל, 14 times; יהוה אלהים, 20 times; אדני, 36 times; אדני יהוה, 15 times; קדש, 25 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 436 times; אלהים and אל, 97 times; אדני, 51 times.

In the Book of Jeremiah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 574 times; יהוה צבאות, 76 times; יהוה אלהים צבאות, 6 times; אלהים, 52 times; יהוה אלהים, 53 times; אדני, 6 times; אדני יהוה, 8 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 717 times; אלהים, 105 times.

It will be noticed that, in most cases where אלהים occurs in Jeremiah, it is with some suffix, and is in apposition with יהוה.

In the Book of Ezekiel יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 215 times; אדני, 5 times; אדני יהוה, 215 times; אלהים, 37 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 430 times; אדני, 220 times; יהוה צבאות does not occur.

In Hosea יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 44 times; אלהים, 26 times.

In Joel יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 33 times; אלהים, 11 times.

In Amos יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 52 times; אלהים, 3 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 79 times; אלהים, 8 times.

In Obadiah יהוה occurs, in all, 7 times.

In Jonah יהוה occurs, in all, 26 times; אלהים, 13 times.

In Micah יהוה occurs, in all, 36 times; אלהים, 9 times.

In Nahum יהוה occurs 11 times; אלהים, 1 time; יהוה צבאות, 2 times.

In Habakkuk יהוה occurs 13 times; אלהים, 3 times.

In Zephaniah יהוה occurs 34 times; אלהים, 4 times.

In Haggai יהוה occurs 21 times; יהוה צבאות, 14 times; אלהים, 3 times.

In Zechariah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 79 times; יהוה צבאות, 52 times; אלהים, 11 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 131 times.

In Malachi יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 21 times; יהוה צבאות, 24 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 45 times; אלהים, 6 times.

It will be of interest to compare these results with the use of the names for God in the Psalms, to see if the date of any Psalm can be determined by the name that prevails.

These prophetic writings cover quite completely the period from 880 (cir.) to the close of the 5th century B. C. At least they belong to the periods when Psalms were produced. If these books do not show that there were periods when

Digitized by Google

one or the other name was exclusively employed (and they do not) it certainly cannot be claimed that the one or the other name occurs in a particular Psalm or collection of Psalms, because that name was the prevailing one at that period.

The predominance of the name יהוה throughout can be accounted for by the fact that this name distinguished God from the idols of other nations. It would be especially appropriate in the mouths of the Prophets in times of idolatry, and of hostilities with other nations.

In Ezekiel the name יהוה צבאות does not occur. He does not speak of God as the warrior, leading his people in their battles. But in his book אדני יהוה occurs 215 times. With him יהוה is the "Lord of all the earth."

It is most natural that, in the poetry of the Psalms, the more general, the more universal name for God, should be more often used. The ideas, the views of the poet, often regarded God as the אלהים, the Mighty, the Adorable One, without further distinction from the idols of the nations.

Without attempting here even to suggest reasons why in some Psalms יהוה prevails, while in others אלהים prevails, it is maintained, in view of the facts given above in reference to the use of the different names in the Prophets, that the reason is not a chronological one. It is not determined by the *date* of the Psalm.

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD.

By Ira M. Price, M. A.,

Leipzig, Germany.

In the Universities of Germany the following lectures are delivered in the Old Testament and Semitic departments during the present Semester:—

Berlin: *Dillmann*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) History of the Text of the Old Testament, 3) Psalms. *Kleinert*, Genesis. *Strack*, 1) Job, 2) Proverbs, 3) Hebrew Grammar, with exercises, 4) Institutum Judaicum.———* *Barth*, 1) Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy of Derenbourg, 2) The Syriac Apocrypha, 3) The Annals of Tabarî, with Introduction to the oldest Arabic historical writings. *Dieterici*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Poems of Mutanabbi with the Commentary of Wahidi, 3) Exposition of "Thier und Mensch." *Jahn*, 1) Arabic Syntax in Comparison with the other Semitic Languages, especially Hebrew, 2) Arabic Authors. *Sochau*, 1) Syriac Grammar, with Introduction to the Aramaic Dialects, 2) Old Semitic Epigraphy, 3) Arabic Poems of Magaṭṭalijjat, 4) Beidhâwî, 5) Exercises in Reading and Explaining Arabic MSS. *Schrader*, 1) Elements of Assyrian Writing and Language, 2) Reading of selected Assyrian Inscriptions, 3) Grammar of the Chaldee Language and exposition of the same in Daniel and Ezra, 4) Assyrio-Babylonian Archæology. *Erman*, 1) Elements of Egyptian Writings and Language, 2) Coptic Grammar, 3) The neighboring lands of Old Egypt.

Bonn: *Kamphausen*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Old Testament Seminar. *Budde*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Exercises in Hebrew.———*Gildemeister*, 1) Arabic Grammar, Müller's Caspari, 2) Syriac Reading, 3) Arabic Reading, 4) Hamâza.

Breslau: *Rābiger*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Job, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Schultz*, 1) Biblical Theology of Old Testament, 2) Prophecies of Isaiah.———*Praetorius*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Arabic Grammar, 3) Hariri's Dura, 4) Ethiopic. *Fränkel*, 1) Elements of Syriac, 2) Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, 3) Annals of Tabarî.

Erlangen: *Köhler*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Genesis, 3) In Seminar, Ecclesiastes.——— *Spiegel*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Modern Persian Grammar.

Freiburg: *König*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Biblical Archæology.

Giessen: *Stade*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Isaiah, 3) In Old Testament Seminar, Jeremiah with written productions.

Goettingen: *Bertheau*, 1) Psalms, 2) Old Testament Seminar, 3) Syriac. *Duhm*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis. *de Lagarde*, 1) Psalms, 2) Syriac or Arabic. *Shultz*, Isaiah.———*Wuestenfeld*, Arabic Grammar.

Greifswald: *Giesebrecht*, 1) Psalms, 2) Minor Prophets. *Meinhold*, Old Testament Introduction.———*Ahlwardt*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Persian Grammar, 3) Muallakât.

Halle: *Riehm*, 1) History of Text of Old Testament, and the critical and hermeneutical methods pertaining to it, 2) Isaiah I.–XXXIX., 3) Introduction to the

* Long dashes stand between Theological and Philosophical Faculties.

Digitized by Google

canonical Books of the Old Testament, 4) Old Testament Seminar. *Schlottmann*, 1) Messianic Prophecies of Old Testament, 2) Genesis, 3) Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments, 4) Exegetical Exercises.——*Gosche*, 1) Connection between the Oriental and Occidental Culture, 2) Elements of Arabic compared with Hebrew, 3) Hamâza, 4) History of the literature of Islam.

HEIDELBERG: *Merx*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 2) Isaiah, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Kneucker*, Genesis.——*Weil*, 1) Muallakât of Lebid, with exercises in reading Arabic MSS. 2) Exposition of "Thousand and one Nights" with exercises in modern-Arabic conversation, 3) Persian, 4) Gesellschaft devoted to Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages and Literature. *Eisenlohr*, 1) Egyptian Texts, 2) Topographical description of Egypt.

JENA: *Hilgenfeld*, Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments. *Siegfried*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Isaiah, 3) Exercises in Old Testament Seminar. *Schmiedel*, 1) Old Testament Exercises, 2) Elementary Exercises in Hebrew.——*Stickel*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) Chaldee, 3) Syriac, 4) Arabic Grammar and Writings.

KIEL: *Klostermann*, 1) Job, 2) Minor Prophets, 3) Exercises in Old Testament Seminar. *Baethgen*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) History of the Jews from Cyrus to Hadrian.——*Hoffmann*, 1) Hebrew Syntax, 2) Isaiah, 3) Syriac or Arabic, 4) Modern Persian.

KOENIGSBERG: *Sommer*, 1) Genesis, 2) Psalms, 3) The political and civil Antiquity of Israel.——*Mueller*, 1) Chaldee Portions of the Old Testament with outlines of Chaldee Grammar, 3) Hebrew Grammar with exercises, 3) Arabic Grammar.

LEIPZIG: *Delitzsch, Franz*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis, 3) In Predigergesellschaft I., The History in the last of Genesis and first of Exodus, 4) In Institutum Judaicum, Biblical Chaldee and Targum, 5) In Anglo-American Exegetical Gesellschaft, "Volksreligion und Weltreligion" of Kuenen. *Baur*, Pre-exilic Minor Prophets. *Guthe*, 1) Psalms, 2) Topography and History of Jerusalem, 3) Modern Palestine, its inhabitants, religion and culture, 4) In Old Testament Gesellschaft, the most important Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament. *Ryssel*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Isaiah LIII., and the History of its Interpretation. *König*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament. 2) In Society of Old Testament Exegesis and Biblical Theology, Interpretation of the Old Testament Passages quoted in the New Testament.——*Fleischer*, The Koran according to Beidhâwi. *Krehl*, 1) Arabic Grammar of Socin, with exercises in translating easy passages, 2) Muallakât, edition of Arnold, 3) Dillmann's Ethiopic Chrestomathy. *Ebers*, 1) The Writings and Grammar of the Language of Egypt, 2) History of the Pharaonic Kingdom down to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. *Delitzsch, Frdr.* 1) Koran, 2) Introduction into the whole realm of investigation in the cuneiform inscriptions, together with Inscription of 3d ed. of the "*Assyrische Lesestuecke*," 3) Cursory reading of the Old Testament with a brief explanation of the Books of Kings and Psalms I.–XLI., 4) Persian Grammar, with Interpretation of Gulistan.

MARBURG: *Graf von Baudissin*, 1) Geography of Palestine, 2) Biblical Theology of Old Testament, 3) In Theological Seminar, Interpretation of Isa. XV. sq.

Digitized by Google

Cornill, Old Testament Introduction. *Kessler*, 1) Genesis, 2) Chaldee Grammar of Bible and Targum, with reading of Daniel. *Ranke*, Messianic Prophecies of the Prophets.——*Wellhausen*, 1) Elements of Arabic, Socin's Grammar, 2) Syriac, Rödiger's Chrestomathy, 3) Ethiopic, Dillmann's Chrestomathy, 4) Ibn Hischam's Sira interpreted.

MUNICH: *Schönfelder*, 1) Genesis, 2) Old Testament Introduction, 3) Hebrew, with exercises, 4) Syriac, with exercises.——*Hommel*, 1) Continuation of Persian, reading of selected portions of Nizami and Anvari Sohaili, 2) Reading of Muallakât continued, 3) The cultivated plants and domestic animals among the Semitic peoples. *Lauth*, 1) History of Egyptology, 2) The more difficult chapters of the Book of the Dead, 3) Papyrus Anastasi I. *Bezold*, 1) Syriac for beginners, 2) Assyrian, 3) Arabic continued, Houtsma's Ja'qûbî, Part II.

ROSTOCK: *Bachmann*, 1) Isaiah, 2) History of the Old Covenant.——*Phillippi*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Chaldee portions of the Old Testament and selected portions of the Targum of the Prophets, 3) Arabic Grammar, with exercises in translation.

STRASSBURG: *Nowack*, 1) Genesis, 2) Hebrew Seminar for beginners, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Reuss*, Selected portions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.——*Duemichen*, 1) Egyptian Grammar, with translation of hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Course I., 2) Selected hieroglyphic and hieratic Texts, Course II., 3) Geography of old Egypt according to the monuments. *Noeldeke*, 1) Arabic for beginners, 2) Ibn Hischam, Life of Mohammed, 3) Mutanabbi, 4) Syriac. *Euting*, 1) Semitic Inscriptions, first half, 2) Oriental Calligraphy.

TUEBINGEN: *Kautzsch*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 2) Job, 3) Kimchi's Mikhlol.——*Socin*, 1) Arabic Authors, 2) Syriac, 3) Genesis.

WUERZBURG: *Scholz*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) Hebrew Grammar, with exercises in translation.

Perhaps of no less moment or interest may be the Old Testament and Semitic lectures as given in the Universities of Switzerland during the winter. They are as follows:—

BASEL: *Smend*, 1) General and special Introduction into the Old Testament, 2) Prophecies of Isaiah, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Orelli*, 1) 1 Samuel, 2) Arabic, 3) Old Testament Conservator.

BERNE: *Oettli*, 1) Job, 2) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 3) Syriac. *Steck*, Arabic.

GENEVA: *X*, 1) Psalms I.–XLII., 3, 2) Old Testament Introduction, 3) History of the Old Testament Text and critical helps thereto, 4) Hebrew Grammar, 5) Genesis XVI.–XVIII.——*Montet*, 1) Arabic, 2) History of Arabic Literature.

LAUSANNE: *Vuilleumier*, 1) Selected Messianic Passages, 2) Selected Psalms, 3) History of the Text and the most important translations of the Old Testament, 4) Biblical History of the Old Testament, 5) Hebrew Grammar: Weak Verbs, 6) Hebrew Syntax with written exercises, 7) Reading and Interpretation of Judg. XVII.–XVIII., and 1 Sam. IV.–VII.

NEUCHATEL: *Ladame*, 1) History of Israel from earliest times down to the establishment of the kingdom, 2) Biblical Archæology, social and religious life of Israel. *Perrochet*, 1) Pentateuch Criticism, 2) 2 Sam. XIV.–XXIV. and Isa. XLIX.–LVII., 3) Hebrew Grammar, 4) Hebrew, reading and exercises.

Digitized by Google

ZURICH: *Steiner*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis, 3) Theological Seminar: Exegetical exercises in 1 Sam., 4) Arabic, Course I., 5) Arabic, Course II., Arnold's Chrestomathy. *Egli*, 1) The Alexandrian Version of the Pentateuch, 2) Exercises in Old Testament Interpretation. *Heidenheim*, 1) Biblical Archæology. 2) Syriac.

Compare the two lists given above. The Lectures of the six Universities of Switzerland are certainly few as compared with those of the twenty Universities of Germany. But the variety of subjects treated is almost as great as in Germany. The range of topics, however, does not follow entirely the beaten path of Germany. We find in the Swiss Universities a course of lectures on Pentateuch Criticism, a subject not handled in any German University lecture; also one on History of Israel and another on Biblical History, important and much neglected topics.

The beaten path of exegesis in Germany is very plain from a careful reading of its lectures. The three favorite and principal books almost always appear,—Genesis, Psalms and Isaiah, while now and then Job, Proverbs and the Minor Prophets receive attention. But where are Ezekiel and Jeremiah and Deuteronomy? Jeremiah is treated in *one* Gesellschaft, and some selections of it and Ezekiel are taken up at Strassburg. That is the extent of work on these books represented in lectures. Messianic Prophecy, as such, is treated in two institutions. Biblical Archæology appears just once in German and twice in Swiss institutions. The History of the Text, a sadly neglected subject, appears in two German and in as many Swiss Universities. Old Testament Introduction occupies a large place in both countries, being found in twelve German and three Swiss Universities. Likewise, Old Testament Theology is a large claimant, being found in seven German Universities and but one Swiss institution. Biblical Hermeneutics appears but *once*, and that in Halle in connection with History of text of the Old Testament. Whether the grounds of German exegesis are so firmly established that they need no repairing, or whether the condition of the criticism question has so disarranged the old "order of things" that an attempt to repair at present would not be advisable, does not at once appear. At least, the number of exegetes does not seem to diminish, nor does the apperance of the usual number of new exegetical works wane.

From a careful comparison and study of the lectures as given, one can see exactly the trend of study in Germany, if the lectures represent the work done. But this latter could scarcely be otherwise, as most of the progressive Old Testament workers are members of one or the other University faculties.

For students of the Old Testament will shortly appear in Freiburg, among a lot of theological works: "Old Testament Introduction" by Prof. Budde in Bonn, and "Old Testament Theology" by Prof. Smend in Basel.

In the public library at St. Petersburg there has lately been discovered a manuscript of the Pentateuch with the Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon. It probably belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century.

A few prominent promotions and one change have taken place among the faculties connected with Old Testament and Semitic study.

Dr. Heinrich Thorbecke, Prof. extraordinay of Arabic in Heidelberg, has been called to Halle.

Privatdocent Hommel of Munich has been made Prof. extraordinary, to fill the chair of Oriental Languages and Literature made vacant by the death of Prof. Trumpp.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Ferd. Mühlau, Prof. ordinary of exegetical Theology in Dorpat, has received the degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Leipzig.

Privatdocenten Guthe, Ryssel and König have been made Professors extraordinary in the Old Testament department of the Theological faculty of the University of Leipzig.

Dr. Frdr. Delitzsch, Prof. extraordinary of Assyriology, has been made Prof. ordinary honorary, in the University of Leipzig.

Leipzig, December 5th, 1885.

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Qamḥi.—In an article in the HEBRAICA for October, 1884, I wrote the name of the celebrated grammarian as Qamḥi, not Qimḥi, basing it upon three MSS. of the מכלול, in the *Bibliotheque Imperiale*, in which the name was vocalized קַמְחִי, and referring (p. 82, note 2) to the discussion in the London *Athenæum*, of March 22d, 1884. In a "Notiz" in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, for November, Dr. M. Steinschneider says that he has found the name קמחי in Arabic (vol. II. of the Catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 568) in the Arabic form אלקמחי, and that this is vocalized by Uri and Pusey as *Alcamahi*. Dr. Steinschneider is, however, seemingly unconvinced. At all events, he continues to write the name "Kimchi."

CYRUS ADLER,
Johns Hopkins University.

On Genesis I., 1-3.—A friend has pointed out to me that, in the Note published in HEBRAICA, October, 1885, p. 49, I have made no reference to Wellhausen's theory, described in *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883) p. 411. In fact, the Note was in substance written before the star of this acute critic had risen upon the horizon. Wellhausen bluntly calls the Ewaldian view of the construction "verzweifelt;" it is certainly out of character with the rest of the narrative. The difficulty about the omission of the article in בְּרֵאשִׁית (if we choose to retain that punctuation) does not strike me as a very serious one. (Delitzsch, I observe, renders ἐν ἀρχῇ John I., 1, by בְּרֵאשִׁית). I have referred already to מֵרֵאשִׁית in Isa. XLVI., 10. And if this be designated poetry, why is Gen. I. to be called prose? Doubtless in plain narrative style we should expect ——בְּ, though rather בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה than בָּרֵאשִׁית (as Dr. A. McCaul long ago observed): the latter indeed might have suggested wrongly that the creation mentioned in the verse was the first in a series of creative acts. Wellhausen's remark, so ingenious, so plausible, in *Geschichte Israels* (1878) I., 399, that the temporal sense of רֵאשִׁית is borrowed from Aramaic, has been justly criticized by Prof. Driver (*Journal of Philology*, XI., 232, note), who also maintains,—and he is probably right,—that ר' in the temporal sense occurs as early as Hosea (IX., 10). The difference in form between the parallel passages in Wellhausen is very interesting; it shows how carefully he revised his work.

PROF. T. K. CHEYNE,
Oxford, England.

A Prayer in Hebrew.—It occurred to Mr. Benjamin Douglass, of Chicago, one of the Lecturers during the session of the Summer School, that it might stimulate some of the students to the more earnest study of the Holy Tongue if he should offer the usual opening prayer in Hebrew: and he accordingly thought out and spoke the prayer which follows. As a further incitement he has added the accents.

Digitized by Google

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שׁוֹמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד לְכָל־
אֹהֲבֶיךָ הוֹדִינוּ לָךְ : אַתָּה הוּא הָאָב הַבֵּן וְרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ יְהוָה אֶחָד :
קָדוֹשׁ ׀ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹד יִמָּלֵא כְבוֹדֶךָ אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ :
אֲנַחְנוּ חַטָּאִים נוֹלַדְנוּ וְגַם־חָטָאנוּ וְעָוִינוּ הִרְשַׁעְנוּ וּמָרַדְנוּ וּמִכַּף־רֶגֶל
וְעַד־רֹאשׁ אֵין־מְתוֹם לָנוּ : אֲבָל הִשְׂמַחְתָּנוּ כִּי אֲהַבְתָּנוּ וַתִּשְׁלַח בְּנְךָ יְחִידְךָ
וַיָּמָת בַּעֲבוּרֵינוּ : בַּדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְשׁוּעַ הַמָּשִׁיחַ הָאָרוֹן לְתַלְמִידָיו
נִתְפַּלֵּל : אָבִינוּ אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִתְקַדֵּשׁ שִׁמְךָ : תָּבֹא מַלְכוּתֶךָ יְהִי רְצוֹנְךָ
כַּאֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׁמַיִם כֵּן גַּם בָּאָרֶץ : לַחֵם חֻקֵּנוּ תֵּן לָנוּ הַיּוֹם : וּסְלַח לָנוּ אֶת־
חוֹבֹתֵינוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר אֲנַחְנוּ סוֹלְחִים לְכָל־בַּעֲלֵי חוֹבֵינוּ : וְאַל תְּבִיאֵנוּ לִמַּסָּה כִּי
אִם־הַצִּילֵנוּ מִן־הָרָע כִּי לְךָ הַמַּמְלָכָה וְהַגְּבוּרָה וְהַתִּפְאֶרֶת עוֹלְמֵי עֹלָמִים
אָמֵן :

A Note on the Relative (אֲשֶׁר).—It might easily be inferred from a note by Professor Sayce, in HEBRAICA, October, 1885, that to that distinguished author must be referred the suggestion that אֲשֶׁר originally meant "place," corresponding to the Semitic words which contain this meaning. A few quotations will correct this impression :—

Says Professor Sayce in his *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872), "Sa must not be connected with אֲשֶׁר (= אתר, ašaru, like So *place*, *which*, in Chinese) while the Phœnician אש (ys) is probably אִישׁ" (pp. 45, 46).

Mühlau did not make his similar comparison for the first time in 1878, when the 8th ed. of Gesenius's Lexicon appeared, but, at that time, simply added "Ass. ašar" (which, however, Norris had connected with אֲתַר in his Assyrian Dict., published in 1868) to the number of related words which he had named twelve years before. He had said, in his edition of Böttcher (1866), "Anders verhält es sich, wenn man, was mir das Wahrscheinlichste, אשר mit Chald. אֲתַר, Syr. ܐܬܪ *Ort*, Arab. اثر *vestigium*, *Spur* combinirt. אשר wäre dann ein ursprüngliches Nomen im allgemeinen Sinne von *Ort*, vgl. unser vulgäres relatives *wo*;" and he does not claim to be the first to say so.

Indeed Tsepregi had furnished a pretty strong hint in the same direction. Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus* (1835) says : "Tsepregi in diss. Lugd. p. 171, relationis notionem ducit a signo et vestigio, coll. عثر et اثر vestigium, signum, hinc على اثر post." (p. 165).

Whether the last was the earliest suggestion which has been published, the present writer cannot say. Nor was it suited to his purpose, in HEBRAICA, April, 1885, to use any of the passages here quoted. It seemed best to select Hommel as the representative of an opposing view, because the latter had said more than any one known to him in argument for that view, and had attempted

Digitized by Google

to show, from Semitic usage, that such a view was tenable. Similarly, Kautzsch speaks in 1885: "Nach F. Hommel in ZDMG., Bd. 32, S. 708 ff. ist אֲשֶׁר als ursprüngl. Subst. zu trennen von ־ שְׁ und ־ שֶׁ als ursprüngl. Pronominalstamm," etc. (Heb. Gram., p. 309).

For the opinion that אֲ is prosthetic, good names may be cited. So Böttcher (*Lehrbuch* I., p. 79); Schröder (*Phoen. Sprache*, p. 90); König (*Lehrgebäude*, p. 140). Schröder speaks also of אשר as "eine jüngere Weiterbildung aus dem ursprünglicheren אש," etc. (p. 162), of "das noch primitivere ש," etc. (p. 163), and of *ys* Relativ bei Plautus aus ursprüngl. אַשׁ" (p. 128). For the final *r*, may be compared the Coptic equivalents, musar and mus, štufar and štuf,* where the first noun of each of the pairs can hardly be regarded as compound.

The difficulty of supposing that אשר is to be connected with אתר and its cognates is well stated by König, p. 140: "Es scheint mir demnach zu sehr der Analogie zu entbehren, wenn man אֲשֶׁר mit Aram. אֲתַר (*Ort*), Arab. أثر (*Spur*) identificirt. Und obschon die oftmalige Verbindung von מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, מקום אשר sich bei dem Erlöschen jedes Bewusstseins von diesem Ursprunge des אשר verstehen liesse; so wäre es doch zu auffallend, dass die Hebräer bald dasjenige Wort (אשר) zum Relativum selbst gemacht hätten, dessen Aram. Aequivalent אתר so oft vor dem Relativpronomen erscheint."

CHARLES R. BROWN,
Newton Centre, Mass.

* These words are selected upon the authority of Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, p. 53, Leipzig, 1880.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Study of the Hebrew Vowel-System.—American students have given far too little attention to the Hebrew vowel-system. Until the appearance of Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar** in an English translation and of Davidson's *Elementary Hebrew Grammar*,† there was really nothing in the English language from which one could obtain a clear idea of the relative value of the Hebrew vowel-sounds. Bickell's *Outlines*, however, is too advanced for a beginner, while Davidson's *Elements*, although an elementary treatise, is often obscure and not well arranged. Gesenius' grammar in its present form‡ is perhaps the best in use. With successive editions, however, it has become a conglomerate mass of material,—a mine from which much that is of value may be obtained, but only by *digging*.

Although Gesenius and Davidson have been studied in America for so many years, the impression produced upon the minds of their students, at least so far as concerns the vowel-system, have been very indefinite. The ordinary student, who has given attention during three years to the Hebrew language, knows almost nothing of the vowel-system. The chief practical result of a greater part of the Hebrew instruction given in this country, has been to create the feeling that the vowel-signs and points of the Hebrew Bible are a complete jumble; and consequently the mass of our students, discouraged and hopeless, have thrown aside the study, although a sufficient amount of time had been devoted to it to enable them to master the language.

Many students, and not a few teachers, have endeavored to justify their neglect of this important part of the work upon the ground that the vowel-system, as we have it, is wholly the work of the Massorites, and is uncertain, artificial, arbitrary. We may remark briefly:—

1. However unreliable the Massoretic system may be in its application to given words, as between two or more pointings for that word, the particular pointing in question is consistent with the general laws of the vowel-system. E. g., the Massorites may have pointed the consonants דבר, דָּבָר, when it should have been דֹּבֵר, or דָּבָר, or דִּבֵּר; but their mistake, if it is a mistake, is one of interpretation, not necessarily one of grammatical form. So far as the language is concerned, any one of these forms is, in itself, correct. The pointing was in no sense an arbitrary one. They may have been entirely wrong in their division of

---

* OUTLINES OF HEBREW GRAMMAR, by Gustavus Bickell, D. D., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck, revised by the author, and annotated by the translator, Samuel Ives Curtiss, Jr. Leipzig: *F. A. Brockhaus*.. 1877.

† AN INTRODUCTORY HEBREW GRAMMAR with progressive exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. Davidson, M. A., LL. D., Prof. of Hebrew, etc., in the New College Edinburgh. 7th ed. Edinburgh: *T. & T. Clark*. 1885.

‡ That is, the last edition issued under Prof. Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., published (in 1884) by W. F. Draper, Andover. Not all Hebrew students in this country seem to be aware of the fact that in this edition pp. 203–210 are entirely new pages. The treatment of noun-formation here given us is vastly superior to the old treatment.

Digitized by Google

words and in their choice of vowel-points, but a hundred thousand such mistakes would not in the least affect the scientific value of the vowel-points in reproducing the words as they were spoken. However corrupt, therefore, the results of scientific research may show the Massoretic *text* to be, the Massoretic *system* of punctuation, as a system, will remain, in general, *untouched*.

2. The Massoretic vowel-system is the starting-point. He who would learn Hebrew must master the principles in accordance with which this system is used. When one comes to look into it he finds, instead of confusion, the most wonderful order; instead of arbitrariness, the most marked scientific regularity. The study of the system soon reduces itself to the study of phonetics, and the laws of human speech which hold good every-where. The beginner soon discovers that a given original sound, placed under certain conditions, suffers certain changes. The study of the Hebrew vowel-system becomes, in short, a mathematical study. It is no longer a matter of memory, but a thing to be reasoned out. Is it not worth our while, in view of this, to teach and to study the vowel-system until we shall have mastered it, in its details and in the great principles which regulate these details? Here, and only here, is the basis for all efficient work in the study of Hebrew. WILLIAM R. HARPER.

To Hebrew Students.—The constituency of HEBRAICA includes two classes: 1) Hebrew professors and scholars; 2) Hebrew students. For the latter class, which includes a large number of persons who are endeavoring, in the midst of other pressing duties, to acquire a living knowledge of Hebrew, this note is written.

HEBRAICA is intended to furnish help to you as well as to those who have become professional scholars. The managing editor acknowledges, however, that the Journal has not in the past furnished altogether that kind of material from which you could gain most profit. Scholars write, more easily, for scholars than for students. The present number, containing, as it does, a fair proportion of both kinds of articles, will serve, it is hoped, as a stepping-stone to future numbers which we shall try to make even more satisfactory to you.

In this number the *student*, as distinguished from the scholar, even if he has been a student for but a short time, will surely find much that is of interest in the articles of Professor Briggs, Dr. Ward, and Professor Haupt; while in the shorter articles and notes, particularly in Professor Gardiner's suggestions, Prof. Taylor's resumé, Prof. Brown's note on אִישׁ, and in the Hebrew prayer of Mr. Douglass, a large portion of which will be found quite familiar, there is valuable and stimulating matter for those even who are beginners. The attention of *students* is especially invited to the notice of Prof. Strack's new Hebrew grammar.

Matters stand thus. Unless the *students* of Hebrew will aid in supporting HEBRAICA, and their aid cannot be expected if the Journal does not contain material which will help them, the Journal cannot continue. It is a sad fact, yet a true one, that America has not a sufficient number of Semitic *scholars* to support a distinctively linguistic journal. We trust, therefore, that in our effort, the *students* will render excellent aid. In turn, we shall do every thing possible to repay them for their sympathy and co-operation. WILLIAM R. HARPER.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

[Any publication noticed in these pages may be obtained of the AMERICAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF HEBREW, Morgan Park, Ill.]

A CRITICISM OF DRIVER'S HEBREW TENSES.*

This brochure is from the pen of a layman, a gentleman who, amid the demands of large business interests, has made the study of Hebrew and of prophecy the employment of his leisure, and has acquired a very wide knowledge of his subjects.

Mr. Douglass is among those who hold that the primary distinction of the Hebrew tenses is that of past and present time, and not of complete and incomplete action, as is maintained by a discussion of the passages used by Driver in illustrating the use of the tenses as he holds them. It is held that the frequentative use of the Future (Imperfect) expresses the use of the tenses in many of the cases where it has been rendered by a simple past. F. J. GURNEY.

AN UNPOINTED TEXT OF GENESIS.†

Many teachers have felt the need of an unpointed text of at least one book of the Old Testament. Genesis, being the Hebrew "first reader," may be most appropriately chosen for this purpose. To one who has not practised reading the unpointed text, the work may seem unimportant, and the results of small consequence. There is, however, no better way of teaching Hebrew grammar, no better way of teaching the language, than to require of the student the pronunciation of the Massoretic text, with only the unpointed text before his eyes. Professor Haupt's suggestion in this number (p. 99) that difficult words be pointed, or partially pointed, is a good one. The book has no distinctive features. The type is good; the paper, fair. It is especially a class-room book.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.‡

The discussion in Old Testament criticism started by Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* is still carried on in Germany, and the interest in the Pentateuch shows no sign of abatement. If any one topic might seem to be worn threadbare, it would be the composition of the Book of Genesis, especially its early chapters; for these chapters have been more closely scrutinized than others, be-

* A LETTER TO PROFESSORS, SCHOLARS, AND FRIENDS OF THE HOLY TONGUE; criticising Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, etc. By Benjamin Douglass. Chicago: Published by the author, 1885. Pp. 12.

† LIBER GENESIS. Sine punctis exscriptus. Curaverunt Ferdinandus Muehlau, et Aemilius Kautzsch, editio altera. Lipsiae: impensis *Joannis Ambrosii Barth*. 1885. Pp. 78. M. 1.80.

‡ DIE BIBLISCHE URGESCHICHTE (Gen. i.-xii., 5) untersucht von Lic. Karl Budde. Giessen 1883. Pages xii and 539, 8vo.

Digitized by Google

cause they, more than almost any others, show the distinct phenomena on which the documentary hypothesis is based. Nevertheless, the volume before us shows that these chapters still afford a field for new and ingenious speculation, if nothing more. The present reviewer confesses that he took up the book with the impression that it could not say any thing new, and at the same time valuable, on its theme. In this he has been agreeably disappointed; and while the minuteness of the analysis often leads one to question its certainty, there is much in the book that is not only interesting but profitable.

The problems of Old Testament criticism are two,—first, to separate as clearly as possible the different documents; secondly, to determine their relation in general, and their order of time in particular. All who concede the right of literary analysis of the Pentateuch must admit further discussion of both these problems. Whatever danger to the "views commonly received among us" arises from such analysis can hardly be greater for one succession of documents (for one order of time, that is) than for another. Professor Budde argues for the later date of the Elohist (A of Dillman, Q of Wellhausen). That fact, in itself, does not render his book more suspicious than Dillmann's (for example) who prefers the reverse order.

Instead of giving a running commentary on this section of Genesis, our author gives us twelve topical discussions, with the following titles: (1) the Marriages of the Sons of God, (2) the Tree of Life, (3) the Sethite Genealogy, (4) the Cainite Genealogy, (5) Jahvistic Fragments in the Sethite Genealogy, (6) Cain's Fratricide, (7) Conclusion of this section, (8) the Flood, (9) Noah and Canaan, (10) Babel and Nimrod, (11) Home and Migration of Abraham, (12) Relation of the Documents to each other. In the whole inquiry, his eye is mainly directed to the Jehovistic document, on the supposition that the Elohistic narrative is already tolerably well settled. As an appendix, he gives the Hebrew Text of the oldest part of the Jehovistic document (J^1 he calls it, with Wellhausen), as he supposes himself able to restore it. It includes Gen. II., 4*b*, to IV., 2; IV., 16-24; VI., 1-4; X., 9; XI., 1-9; IX., 20-27, arranged in this order; and the author proposes to transfer the difficult verse VI., 3 from its present location, inserting it after III., 21.

The analysis can hardly count on universal acceptance, in the present divided state of opinion. No one, however, can follow the investigation without feeling that the author has carefully studied his text, with an earnest desire to solve the literary problem it presents. Many of his observations are of real value, aside from his critical theory. For example, the following on the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil:

"It is constantly made evident how heaven-wide the biblical narratives (steeped as they are in Israel's knowledge of God) are removed from the myths of Assyria, however like they may superficially seem to be.... The Tree of Life is found among many peoples.... and we may believe that it occurs in the Assyrian literature. But the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil has never yet been discovered there, and we may well believe that it never will be discovered. The cylinder published in Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, and now in Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies*, may be briefly examined here."

The description and argument that follow are too long to quote. They show convincingly that there is no evidence for the identification of the Assyrian tree with the biblical; and the conclusion is that the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is original to the biblical account; and this means that the biblical account is distinguished by the *ethical* element.

Digitized by Google

The author's exegesis seems in general sound, and his occasional proposals to alter the text are called forth by real difficulties. He supposes, for example, that the verse Gen. VI., 7, is corrupt. It now reads, "And Jehovah said: I will wipe out man which I have created from the face of the ground, *from man to cattle, to reptile and to bird of the heavens;* for I repent that I made them." The words in italics are not in accordance with the rest of the verse. They are probably not a part of the original narrative therefore.

Another difficult verse is Gen. IX., 26, though the difficulty is of another kind. We now read:

"And he said: Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants may he be to his brethren.
And he said: Blessed be Jehovah God of Shem, and Canaan shall be servant to him.
May God prosper Japhet, and may he dwell in the tents of Shem, and may Canaan be servant to him."

The grammar seems to be right, but the thought is not so clear. In the first place we expect Shem, the ancestor of Israel, to receive a blessing, but he receives none. In the second member we read only "Blessed be Jehovah." In this same verse, "Canaan shall be servant to him" would naturally mean Canaan shall be servant to Jehovah, who is the main subject. In view of these facts, Dr. Budde proposes to omit one word, and with a slight change of pointing to read:

"The Blessed of Jehovah is Shem,
And let Canaan be servant to him."

This would certainly meet all the requirements, and may be called at least plausible.

Enough has been said to prove our assertion that there is room for new and ingenious speculation in the territory under discussion. That the ingenuity is sometimes too ingenious will be readily discovered. The paragraph (p. 184 sq.) in which our author accounts for the story of Cain's fratricide is a striking example. Readers will, therefore, exercise a healthy scepticism in regard to many passages; and such a scepticism is what the author himself would desire. He himself exercises it in regard to many assertions of his teacher Wellhausen. He declines, for example, to accept Wellhausen's hypothesis that the original narrative of the Creation made God's work cover seven days, leaving no Sabbath. So with the current tendency to derive the primeval history of the Bible from Assyrian (Assyro-Babylonian) sources. We have already noted one example of this in regard to the Tree of Knowledge. Another concerns the first chapter of Genesis, in regard to which he decidedly rejects "the neck-breaking conjecture that the biblical account was borrowed [from the Babylonians] during the Exile" (p. 292).

Dr. Budde closes his book with a protest against the accusation that the Higher Criticism aims at "a barren naturalistic construction of history, arranged according to the principles of an infidel philosophy which allows the possibility of raw evolution processes only." For his own part, he adds "that the results of this inquiry cannot harm the Christian faith is my firm conviction, because I have not dropped 'the anchor of my faith and hope in the sandy shallows of theory' or of any traditional view of the *aetas patriarchalis et Mosaica*, but have learned, and am minded to cast it elsewhere." "The Revelation of God in Israel shows itself in our inquiry at every step.... in the purifying power which Israel's knowledge of God demonstrates on all the material which is appropriated thereby."

PROF. H. P. SMITH,
Cincinnati, O.

Digitized by Google

PROFESSOR STRACK'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.*

A review of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, published in *The Hebrew Student*, Vol. II., pp. 126, 127, closed with these words: "These hand-books have received deservedly the highest commendations of linguistic critics. They supply a demand which exists and which is all the while increasing. Our only wish is that a translation of these, or a similar series, might be published in English." With this we compare the publisher's announcement: "To meet many wishes, the parts which appear from the year 1885 either altogether new, or in a new edition, will be published at the same time in two languages, German and English, or German and Latin, the Latin being employed only in special cases."

Thus far only two English versions have appeared: (1) an Arabic Grammar, from the pen of one of the greatest living Arabic authorities, Professor A. Socin, and (2) the Hebrew Grammar of Professor H. L. Strack, which lies before us. The series was at first edited by Prof. J. H. Petermann (died in 1876), but is now under the editorial charge of Prof. Strack.

The grammar is intended for students wishing to prepare themselves in the shortest possible time for attendance upon the easier exegetical lectures.

The peculiar features of the volume are (1) the taking of the vocabulary from Genesis and the Psalms; (2) the allowing in the grammar only those forms which actually occur in the Bible; (3) the transcribing in italics of hypothetical forms adduced to explain the origin of forms in use, and (4) the peculiar arrangement of the paradigms of weak verbs in order to prevent a mechanical learning by rote. These features must certainly commend themselves to students. The great bane of grammatical study is the mechanical memorizing of a paradigm.

Besides the grammar proper (pp. 1–150) there are 67 pp. of paradigms, literature and exercises. The "literature" is very valuable.

While the treatment accorded the various points as they come up is, of necessity, very brief, it is surprising to see that so much material of an advanced character, fundamental in its nature, could have been included in so small a space. Many interesting statements occur which one does not meet in the grammars ordinarily used. We refer briefly to a few of these statements which will be of interest to many who do not have access to the book:

1) ֵ is also used to indicate the open *e*-sound è or ā arising by vocalic modification (*Umlautung*) out of *a*, e. g., זֵרַע zèra' (from zar', § 28*d*), רְאֵינָה r'èna (§ 74*g*γ).

2) Instead of the long and involved statement concerning the occurrence of ֵ at the end of a word, generally in use, Prof. Strack sums up the matter by saying that it occurs at the end of a word "when the word ends in ך or in two consonants."

3) Syllables are (*a*) open, (*b*) shut, (*c*) *opened* (i. e., syllables whose originally double close has been removed by a helping vowel), (*d*) *loosely shut* (i. e., those which were originally followed by a vowel which has been dropped). Examples of *opened* syllables are קֹדֶשׁ and all Segholates, נַעֲרוֹ (= nă'ă-rô); of loosely shut

* PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM: HEBREW GRAMMAR with Exercises, Literature and Vocabulary, by Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D., Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the Second German Edition. Carlsruhe and Leipzig: *H. Reuther*. New York: *B. Westermann & Co.* 1885. Pp. 150, 67.

Digitized by Google

syllables, the first in כַּנַּפְיהֶם (kăn-phê-hĕm), the S'wâ under נ being treated as *silent*. Professor Strack's theory of the syllable was published, in detail, in HEBRAICA, Vol. I., pp. 73–75.

4) The D. l. in שִׁשִּׁים is explained on the ground that the punctuation presupposed the pronunciation ĕštăyĭm.

5) When the Hē Interrogative is written הַ before gutturals, the guttural is said to have D. f. implied.

6) The Inseparable prepositions before מה are said to be pointed with Păthăḥ and D. f., as in בַּמֶּה, לָמָּה.

7) Section 46 B., on the use of Waw Conjunctive, is especially good, though of course condensed.

8) Instead of "tenses," the word "moods" is used, as being a more suitable term. The terms "Perfect" and "Imperfect" are used rather than "Past" and "Future." "Voice" is used instead of "stem," "species," "conjugation."

9) "The Hebrew verb had its origin in the combination of a noun with the personal pronoun." "The different position of the pronoun (at the end of the Perfect, at the beginning of the Imperfect), is easily intelligible, psychologically; in the completed action we are more particularly interested in the fact; in an action which is not yet completed, we take more interest in the person of the agent."

10) Verbs Middle E and O are termed respectively "verbs with simple intransitive vocalization," and "verbs with strong intransitive vocalization." The passive is indicated (in Pŭ'ăl and Hŏph'ăl) by the "*dark* vowel (ŭ or ŏ)."

11) The î of the HΥph. Impf., Inf. and Part., is thought to be lengthened from an original ΐ after the analogy of the vowel in יָקִים; while the î of the HΥph. Perf. is thought to have arisen through the influence of that of the Impf. The ן of ע"ן HΥph'îl is said to be completely thrust out by the heterogeneous î.

12) The change of ă to é is called (p. 5) a vocalic modification, on p. 114, a half-lengthening (*umlautung*). The peculiar character of this é, as distinct from ĕ, is thus clearly recognized.

13) Baer's policy of inserting D. l. in consonants other than aspirates is criticized as indefensible and, as carried out, inconsistent. The repetition by Baer of the accents S'ghōltā, Zărqā and the T'lîšās is claimed to be without authority. Instead of Q'rî, Q'rê is used as the only correct form.

These are only a few of the items of peculiar interest to which we might call attention. The book is exceedingly free from error. While not all the views presented are entirely acceptable, we find very much that is new and, at the same time, well taken. A few of the questions which have suggested themselves are these: Why is the letter *j* used every-where, in a book for English readers, to represent י? Could not a more judicious use of italic type, e. g., in the printing of the English equivalents of Hebrew phrases have been used to advantage? Why is the spelling "genetive" adopted throughout? Is not the change of ΐ to ē or of ŭ to ō better expressed by the term "heighten" than by the indefinite term "lengthen" which applies more particularly to the change of ΐ to î or of ŭ to û? When a full vowel becomes Š'wâ (vocal) is it, strictly speaking, (p. 20) *dropped?* If there is still a sound, is it not merely the change from one sound to another? Not shortening, but volatilization? Is it best to regard אַחַר occurring before מִן

Digitized by Google

as a real construct? Even in an elementary treatise, should not the old and ridiculous doctrine of a *union-vowel* be discarded? Is the *e* of the Pî'ēl (sometimes), Hŷph., Hŏph. and Hŷthp. Inf. abs., ē or ê?

In this work, Dr. Strack has given an indication of the Hebrew learning for which he is so well-known, not only in Europe, but also in America. But more than this, he has indicated his ability as a practical teacher. The book is fresh, vigorous, scientific. There is no student of Hebrew who would not receive great profit from a thorough reading of it. It is a mistake to confine our work to any one grammar. Every author will throw new light on some points. For this work, as well as for the other important services of Prof. Strack, all biblical students are greatly indebted to him. WILLIAM R. HARPER.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ABARBANEL, ISAAC. Le principe de la foi, ou la discussion des croyances fondamentales du judaïsme. Traduit par M. le grand rabbin Mossé. Avignon: *Gros.* 8vo, pp. iii, 235.....10 fr.

ADAMY, R. Architektonik d. muhamedanischen u. romanischen Stils. 1. Hälfte. Hannover: *Helwing*.....M.6

ALLEN, F. D. Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Palestine. *American Journal of Philology*, VI., 2, '85, pp. 190–216.

Ancient Arabian Poetry, chiefly præ-Islamic. Translations, with an Introduction and Notes, by Charles Jas. Lyall. London: *Williams & Norgate.* Fcap. 4to.....10s. 6d.

A School of Oriental Studies at Oxford. *Academy*, Dec. 26, '85.

BACHER, WILH. Die hebräisch-neuhebräische u. hebräisch-aramäische Sprachvergleichung d. Abulwalîd Merwân Ibn Ganâḥ. Wien: *Gerold's Sohn.* Lex.-8vo, 40 S.....M.0.60

BENAMOZEGH, E. Israel et humanité. Démonstration de cosmopolitisme dans les dogmes, les lois, le culte, la vocation, l'histoire et l'idéal de l'hébraisme. Introduction. Livourne: *chez l'auteur.* 8vo. pp. 75.

Bibliothek, assyriologische, hrsg. v. F. Delitzsch u. P. Haupt. VI. Babylonische Busspsalmen. Umschrieben, übers. u. erklärt v. H. Zimmern. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*.....M.30

BROWN, FRANCIS. The Wolfe Exploring Expedition to Babylonia. *Presbyterian Review*, Jan., '86.

BRUGSCH, H., et J. DUEMICHEN. Recueil de monuments égyptiens. 6 Partie. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*.....M.60

CAVEN, WILLIAM. The Revised Version of the Bible as a whole. *Presbyterian Review*, Jan., '86.

Das tironische Psalterium der Wolfenbütteler Bibliothek. *Indep.*, Dec. 17, '85.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDR. Assyr. Notizen zum Alten Testament IV. Das Schwertlied Ezech. XXI., 13-22. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Nov., '85.

DEUTSCH, H. Die Sprüche Salomo's, nach der Auffassung im Talmud u. Midrasch dargestellt u. kritisch untersucht. 1. Thl.: Einleitendes. Berlin: *Mampe.* Large 8vo, pp. 108.....M.1.50

DIETERICI, F. Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ in Auswahl. Zum ersten Mal aus arab. Handschriften hrsg. 3. Hft. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*.....M.8

DOUGLASS, BENJAMIN. A Letter to Professors, Scholars and Friends of the Holy Tongue, criticizing "Driver's Hebrew Tenses." Chicago: Published by the author. 12mo, paper, pp. 12.

DRACHMAN, B. Die Stellung u. Bedeutung des Jehuda Hajjug in der Geschichte der hebräischen Grammatik. Inaug.-Diss. [Heidelberg.] Breslau. 8vo, pp. 80.

EUTING, JULIUS. Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien. Twenty-nine Photogr. Plates. Berlin: *Reimer.* London: *Williams & Norgate.* Boards, 4to...21s.

FRIEDRICH, PAUL. Die hebräischen Conditionalsätze. Inaugural-Dissertation. Leipzig: *Fock.* Large 8vo.....M.1.50

Digitized by Google

HARPER, WM. R. Elements of Hebrew by an Inductive Method. *Independent*, Dec. 31, '85.

HORN, PAUL. Die Nominalflexion im Avesta u. den altpersischen Keilinschriften. 1. Thl.: Die Stämme auf Spiranten. Inaugural-Dissertation. Leipzig: *Stauffer*. Large 8vo.....M.1

JAPHET, J. M. Hebräische Sprachlehre m. praktischen Aufgaben. 1. Abthlg., nebst e. Vorkursus u. Vocabularium. 5., sehr verb. u. verm. Aufl. Frankfurt-a.-M.: *Kauffmann*. Large 8vo.....M.1.80

JENNINGS, A. C., LOWE, W. H. The Revised Version of the Old Testament. A Critical Estimate. Conclusion. *Expositor*, Dec., '85.

JENSEN, P. II Rawl. 51, b, 1-31. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Nov., '85.

KARPELES, G. Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur. (In 15 Lfgn.) 1. Lfg. Berlin: *Oppenheim*. Large 8vo, pp. 64.....M.1

KIHN, H., u. D. SCHILLING. Praktische Methode zur Erlernung d. hebräischen Sprache. Grammatik m. Uebungsstücken, Anthologie und Wortregister f. Gymnasien u. theolog. Lehranstalten. Tübingen: *Laupp*. Large 8vo,..M.2

LATRILLE, JOH. Der Nabonidcylinder V Rawl. 64 umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt II. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Nov., '85.

LEHMANN, C. F. Der babylonische Königsname Saosduchin. *Ibid.*

Le Talmud de Jérusalem traduit pour la première fois par M. Schwab. Tome VIII. Traités Kethouboth, Nedarim, Guittin. Paris: *Maisonneuve et Leclerc*. 8vo, pp. iv, 300 .....10 fr.

Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie. II. Band, No. 4. Leipzig: *Otto Schulze*. Per volume of four numbers.....M.15

Pentateuchus Samaritanus. Edidit, etc., H. Petermann. Fasc. 4. Numeri. Ex rec. C. Vollers. Berlin: *Moeser*.....M.15

PINCHES, THEO. G. Two Texts from Sippara of the Sungod; Additions and Corrections to the Fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia V. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Nov., '85.

RAHMER, M. Hebräisches Gebetbüchlein f. die israelitische Jugend. Frankfurt-a.-M.; *Kauffmann*. 8vo, pp. 44.....M.0.65

ROSENTHAL, F. Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akiba's. Leipzig: *O. Schulze*. Large 8vo, pp. ix, 150.....M.4

SCHRADER, EB. Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte d. Sebeneh-Zu. Mit 1 (Lichtdr.-) Taf. Berlin: *Duemmler*. Gr. 4.....M.3

SCHRADER, EB. Die Namen Hadad, Hadadezer, Benhadad u. ihre keilinschriftlichen Aequivalente. *Ztschr. f. Keilschriftforschg.*, Nov., '85.

STRACK, H. L. Hebräische Grammatik mit Uebungsstücken, Litteratur und Vokabular. 2. Aufl. Karlsruhe: *Reuther*. 8vo.....M.3

Tanchuma ben Rabbi Abba, Midrasch Tanchuma. Ein agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch. Hrsg. v. S. Buber, Wilna.....M.9

The Talmud of Jerusalem. Translated, for the first time into English, by Dr. Moses Schwab, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Vol. I. The Treatise of Berakhoth (Blessings). London: *Williams & Norgate*. Fcap. 4to.....9s.

VIGOUROUX, F. Die Bibel u. d. neueren Entdeckungen in Palästina, in Aegypten u. in Assyrien. II. Bd. Mainz: *Kirchheim*. 8vo, pp. 544.....M.6.60

WUENSCHE, AUG. Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen. Wortgetreu übersetzt u. durch Noten erläutert. Leipzig: *O. Schulze*. Large 8vo, pp. xvi, 552.....M.11

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. II. APRIL, 1886. NO. 3.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D.,

Allegheny City, Pa.

II.

PSALMS.

II., 7. "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

When the time of the advent of Messiah will be near, then the blessed God will say to him: With him I will make a new covenant. And this is the time when he will acknowledge him as his son, saying "This day have I begotten thee."—*Midrash Tillim*, fol. 3, col. 4.

II., 8. "Ask of me, and I shall give thee," etc.

Rabbi Jonathan said, there are three who used the word "ask" (שאל), viz., Solomon, Ahaz and the King Messiah. Solomon, for it is written, "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said: Ask what I shall give thee" (1 Kgs. III., 5). Ahaz, for it is written: "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God" (Isa. VII., 11). King Messiah, for it is written: "Ask of me," etc.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 44.

II., 12. "Kiss the son, lest he be angry."

A king was angry with his subjects. They appeal to his son requesting him to intercede on their behalf before his father. When their wish was complied with, they sang songs of praise to the king. But he rebuked them, saying: Not unto me, but unto my son belongs your thankfulness; for were it not for his sake, my wrath would have destroyed you.—*Midrash Tillim*, fol. 4, col. 2.[1]

[1] Not only the ancient Synagogue, but also the rabbis of the middle ages interpreted the second Psalm of the Messiah. Thus *Rashi* († 1105) said: "Our rabbis have explained this psalm with respect to King Messiah." *David Kimchi* († about 1240) says: "Some interpret this psalm of Gog and Magog, and the Messiah is the King Messiah; thus our forefathers have explained this psalm.....The Christians interpret it of Jesus, and for this they refer to 'The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son.'" *Aben Ezra* († 1167), who gives a double interpretation, applying either to David or to the Messiah, evidently prefers the Messianic application, and says, "but if it be interpreted of the Messiah, the matter is much clearer."

Digitized by Google

XVIII., 50. "Great deliverance giveth he to his king; and sheweth mercy to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore."

Rabbi Jehuda, the son of Simeon, said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, the son of Rabbi Isaac, The King Messiah, whether he belong to the living or to the dead, his name is to be David. Rabbi Tanchuma said, I give the reason: it is not written "great deliverance giveth he to his king, and sheweth mercy to his anointed and David," but "to David, and to his seed for evermore."—*Midrash Echa or Lamentations* I., 16.

The rabbis say, The King Messiah, whether he belong to the living or to the dead, his name is to be David. Rabbi Tanchuma proves this from Ps. XVIII., 50. Rabbi Joshua said, Tsemach (i. e., branch) will be his name; Rabbi Judan, the son of Rabbi Ibu, said, Menachem (i. e., comforter) will be his name. Rabbi Hanina, the son of Abahu, said, One must not think that they contradict each other, since both names are one and the same thing. The following, narrated by Rabbi Judan, the son of Rabbi Ibu, will prove it: A certain Jew was engaged in ploughing. His ox bellowed. An Arab passing, and hearing the ox bellow, said, Son of a Jew, son of a Jew, loose thy oxen, and loose thy ploughs, for the temple is laid waste. The ox bellowed a second time. The Arab said to him, Yoke thine oxen, and fit thy ploughs, for King Messiah has just been born. The Jew said, What is his name? Menachem (i. e. comforter). He asked further, What is the name of his father? Hezekiah, replied the other. Whence is he? asked the Jew. From the royal palace of Bethlehem-Judah, replied the Arab. At this the Jew sold his oxen and his ploughs, and became a seller of infants' swaddling-clothes. And he went about from town to town till he reached Bethlehem. All women bought of him; but the mother of Menachem bought nothing. When the other women said to her, Mother of Menachem! mother of Menachem! come and buy something for thy son, she replied, I would rather strangle the enemy of Israel, for on that same day on which my son was born, the temple was destroyed. They replied, We hope that as the temple was destroyed for his sake, it will also be rebuilt for his sake. The mother said, I have no money. The Jew replied, What matters it? Buy bargains for him, and if you have no money to-day, after some days I will come back and receive it. When he came back and inquired of the mother after the welfare of the child, she replied: After the time you saw me last, winds and tempests came and snatched him away from me.—*Jerus. Berachoth*, fol. 5, col. 1.[1]

XX., 7 (AV. verse 6). "Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed."

Targum: Now I know that the Lord redeemeth his Messiah.

XXI., 2 (AV. verse 1). "The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord."

Targum: The King Messiah shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord.

[1] A parallel passage is in *Midrash on Lamentations* i., 16, which see further on.

Digitized by Google

XXI., 3. "Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head."

An earthly king does not suffer another to use his crown. But in the future God will set his own crown on King Messiah, as it is said: "His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven" (Song of Sol. v., 11), and "thou settest a crown," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus*, sec. 8.

XXI., 5. "Honor and majesty thou hast laid upon him."

God covers the King Messiah with his garment.—*Bemidbar Rabba*, or *Midrash on Numbers*, sec. 15.

XXI., 7. "For the King trusteth in the Lord."

Targum: For the King Messiah trusteth in the Lord.[1]

XXII., 7. "All they that see me laugh me to scorn, they shoot out the lip, they shake the head."

Our rabbis have handed down: At the time when Messiah comes, he will stand on the roof of the temple and will call to the Israelites, saying: Ye pious sufferers, the time of your redemption is at hand, and if you believe, rejoice over my light, which rises upon you, for it is said: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee" (Isa. LX., 1). And upon you alone it rises, for it is said: "For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people" (verse 2). In that same hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! will make rise his light, which is the light of the Messiah and of the Israelites, and all will walk to the light of King Messiah and of Israel, as it is said: "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising" (verse 3). They will come also and lick up the dust under the feet of King Messiah, as it is said: "And lick up the dust of thy feet" (Isa. XLIX., 23). They will come and fall upon their faces before Messiah and before Israel and exclaim: We will be thine and Israel's servants, and each Israelite will have 2800 servants, as it is said: "In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you" (Zech. VIII., 23). Rabbi Simeon ben Pasi said: In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! lifts up the Messiah to the highest heavens and spreads over him the splendor of his glory before the nations of the world and before the impious Persians. The Holy One then said to him: Ephraim,—Messiah, our righteousness! judge them and do as thy soul pleaseth; for were it not for my compassion which I have shown unto thee in such a degree, they would have soon killed thee at once, as it is said: "Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he a pleasant child? For since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord" (Jer. XXXI., 20). Why

[1] That this Psalm was interpreted by the rabbis of the Messiah, is also admitted by Kimchi in his commentary on verse 1.

Digitized by Google

does he say: I will surely have mercy? It is written: "I will have mercy," because at the time when he was bound in prison they gnashed with their teeth and twinkled with their eyes and shook their heads and opened their mouths, as it is said: "All they that see me laugh me to scorn, they shoot out the lip, they shake the head," etc. (Ps. XXII., 7). It is written, "I will surely have mercy" because at the time when he goes forth from prison, not only one kingdom or two kingdoms will surround him, but one hundred and forty kingdoms. But the Holy One, blessed be he! says to him: Ephraim, Messiah, my righteousness! be not afraid of them, for all they will die by the breath of thy lips, as it is said, "And with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked" (Isa. XI., 4). The Holy One, blessed be his name! at once made seven baldachins of precious stones, pearls and emeralds, and through each baldachin flow four streams of wine, milk, honey, and pure balm. The Holy One, blessed be he! embraces him then in the presence of the righteous, and leads him to the baldachin, and all the righteous see him. The Holy One, blessed be he! then speaks to them: Righteous ones of the world! Ephraim, the Messiah, my Righteousness, has not received half of his pains, there is yet *one* measure which belongs to him, and which no eye in the world has seen, as it is said: "An eye hath not seen, O God, beside thee" (Isa. LXIV., 4). In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! calls the North and South and says to them: Accumulate and gather before Ephraim the Messiah, my Righteousness, all kinds of spices of the garden Eden, as it is said: "Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out," etc. (Song of Sol. IV., 16), and "Arise, shine, for thy light is come" (Isa. LX., 1). In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! says to Zion: Arise. It answered before him: Lord of the Universe! Stand thou at the head, and I behind thee! He said: Thou hast spoken very well, for it is said: "Now will I rise, saith the Lord; now will I be exalted; now will I lift up myself" (Isa. XXXIII., 10).—*Yalkut on Isa.* LX., fol. 56, col. 4.

XXII., 15. "My strength is dried up like a potsherd."

When the Son of David will come, they will bring iron sticks and place them on his neck, till his stature is pressed down and he cries and weeps and, lifting up his voice, says: Lord of the Universe! how much strength have I still! how much spirit have I yet! how much breath is still in me, and how many members are there yet! Am I not of flesh and blood? At that hour the son of David weeps and says: "My strength is dried up like a potsherd." The Holy One, blessed be he! then says to him: Ephraim, Messiah, my Righteousness! Thou hast already taken upon thee this (suffering) since the days of creation; let thy suffering be like mine which I felt at the time when Nebuchadnezzar, the impious, went up and destroyed my house, and burned the temple, and has banished me and my children among the nations of the world.

Digitized by Google

By thy life and the life of my head! ever since I have not returned to my throne. And if thou wilt not believe this, behold the dew which is upon my head, as it is said: "For my head is filled with dew" (Song of Sol. v., 2). In that hour Messiah says to him: Lord of the Universe! now my mind has become easier within me, for it is sufficient for the servant to be like his master. —*Yalkut on Isa.* LX., fol. 56, col. 4.

XXIII., 5. "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies." God said to the Israelites: In the days of the Messiah, I will prepare before you a table, and the Gentiles, by seeing this, will be confused, as the psalmist says: "Thou preparest," etc., and as the prophet says: "Behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty" (Isa. LXV., 13).—*Midrash on Numbers*, sec. 21.

XXXVI., 9. "In thy light shall we see light."

What is meant here? No other light than the light of the Messiah.—*Yalkut* II., fol. 56, col. 3.

XLV., 2. "Thou art fairer than the children of man."

Targum: Thy beauty, O King Messiah, is superior to that of the sons of men.

L., 2. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined."

There are four appearances. The first in Egypt, for it is said: "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth (Ps. LXXX., 2). The second, at the giving of the law, for it is said: "He shined forth from Mount Paran" (Deut. XXXIII., 2). The third is in the time of Gog and Magog, for it is said: "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself" (Ps. XCIV., 1); and the fourth is in the time of the Messiah, for it is said: "Out of Zion," etc.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann) p. 143*a*.

LXI., 6. "Thou wilt prolong the king's life."

Targum: Thou wilt prolong the days of King Messiah.

In *Pirke Elieser*, c. 19, Adam is thus introduced: God shewed to me David, the son of Jesse, who was to rule in the future; at this I took seventy years of my years of life and gave it to him, as it is said: "Thou wilt prolong the king's life."

LXI., 8. "That I may daily perform my vows."

Targum: And in the day when the King Messiah will be magnified to reign as a King.

LXVIII., 31. "Princes shall come out of Egypt."

Egypt will bring presents to the Messiah. Lest it be thought that he (Messiah) would not accept them from them, the Holy One, blessed be he! said to Messiah "Accept them, for they prepared a reception to my children in Egypt."—*Talmud Pesachim*, fol. 118, col. 2.[1]

[1] A similar statement is given in the Midrash on Exodus, sec. 36.

Digitized by Google

LXXII., 1. "Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son."

Targum: O God, give the decrees of thy judgments to the King Messiah, and thy righteousness to the Son of David the king.

The Midrash on the Psalms refers this to the Messiah, with reference to Isa. XI., 1. 5 (fol. 27, col. 4).

LXXII., 10. "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents," etc.

One of the common people said to Rabbi Hoshaya: In case I tell you a nice thing, would you repeat it in the college in my name? What is it? All the presents which our father Jacob gave to Esau the nations of the world will once return to the King Messiah, as it is said: "The kings of Tarshish," etc. It is not written "they shall bring" (יביאו), but "they shall return" (ישובו). Truly, said Rabbi Hoshaya, Thou hast said a nice thing, and I will publicly repeat it in thy name.—*Midrash on Genesis* or *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 78.

LXXII., 16. "And there shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains."

When will this be? In the days of the Messiah.—*Tanchuma*, fol. 79, col. 4.

As the first redeemer fed the people with manna (cf. Exod. XVI., 4), so too will the last Redeemer send manna down, as it is said: "And there shall be," etc.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* I., 9.

The Talmud refers to our passage in the following manner: Rabban Gamaliel was sitting one day explaining to his disciples that in the future (i. e., Messianic days) a woman will give birth every day; for it is said: "She travails and brings forth at once" (Jer. XXXI., 8). A certain disciple sneeringly said, "There is no new thing under the sun" (Eccles. I., 9). "Come," said the rabbi, "and I will show thee something similar, even in this world;" and he showed him a hen which laid eggs every day. Again Gamaliel sat and expounded that in the future world the trees will bear fruit every day; for it is said: "And it shall bring forth boughs and bear fruit" (Ezek. XVII., 23). As the boughs grow every day, so will the fruit grow every day. The same disciple sneeringly said: "There is nothing new under the sun." "Come," said the rabbi, "and I will show thee something like it even now, in this age;" and he directed him to a caper-berry which bears fruit and leaves at all seasons of the year. Again, as Gamaliel was sitting and expounding to his disciples that the land of Israel in the Messianic age would produce cakes and clothes of the finest wool, for it is said: "There shall be an handful of corn[1] in the earth." That disciple again sneeringly remarked: "There is nothing new under the sun."[2]—*Talm. Shabbath*, fol. 30, col. 2.

---

[1] He translates פסת *clothes* from פסים in Gen. xxxvii., 3, 23, and בר he takes to mean food, cake.

[2] A parallel passage is found *Kethuboth*, fol. 111, col. 2

Digitized by Google

LXXII., 17. "His name shall endure for ever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun."

The application of this verse to the Messiah is very often found in the Talmud. Besides the passage already quoted to Gen. XLIX., 10, we read: Seven things were created before the world. These are the Law, for it is said "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before his works of old" (Prov. VIII., 22). Repentance, for it is said: "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world....thou saidst: Return, ye children of men" (Ps. XC., 2, 3). The garden of Eden, for it is said: "And the Lord God planted the garden before (מִקֶּדֶם)" (Gen. II., 8). Hell, for it is said: "For Tophet is ordained of old" (Isa. XXX., 33). The glorious throne, and the site of the sanctuary, for it is said: "The glorious throne called from the beginning, and the place of our sanctuary" (Jer. XVII., 12). The name of the Messiah, for it is said: "His name shall endure for ever, before the sun (existed) his name was Yinnon."[1]—*Talm. Pesachim*, fol. 54, col. 1; *Nedarim*, fol. 39, col. 2.

LXXX., 17. "And upon the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself."

Targum: And upon King Messiah whom thou hast strengthened for thee.

LXXXIV., 9, "And look upon the face of thine anointed."

Targum: And look upon the face of thy Messiah.

LXXXIX., 27. "And I will make him my first-born."

I will make the King Messiah my first-born, for it is written "And I will," etc.

LXXXIX., 51. "Wherewith they have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed."

Rabbi Jannai said: If you see one generation after another blaspheming, expect the feet of the King Messiah, as it is written, "Wherewith they have," etc.—*Midrash on the Song of Solomon* II., 13.

XC., 15. "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil."

This passage is quoted twice in *Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1, with refer-

---

[1] In one of the prayers for the day of atonement we read the following concerning *Yinnon*, showing that the Synagogue always regarded Yinnon as the Messiah: "Before He created anything, He established His dwelling and Yinnon the lofty armory He established from the beginning, before any people or language. He counselled to suffer His divine presence to rest there, that those who err might be guided into the path of rectitude. Though their wickedness be flagrant, yet hath He caused repentance to precede it when He said: "Wash ye, cleanse yourselves." Though He should be exceedingly angry with His people, yet will the Holy One not awaken all His wrath. We have hitherto been cut off through our evil deeds, yet hast thou, O our Rock! not brought consummation on us. Messiah our Righteousness is departed from us; horror has seized us, and we have none to justify us. He hath borne the yoke of our iniquities, and our transgression, and is wounded because of our transgression, He beareth our sins on His shoulder, that He may find pardon for our iniquities. We shall be healed by His wound, at the time that the Eternal will create Him as a new creature. O bring Him up from the circle of the earth, raise him up from Seir, to assemble us a second time on Mount Lebanon, by the hand of Yinnon."

Digitized by Google

ence to the Messianic age, in the following manner: A certain Sadducee came to Rabbi Abahu: When will the Messiah come? He replied: When darkness covers this people. He said to him: Will you curse me? He replied: The Scripture writes "For behold the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee" (Isa. LX., 2). Rabbi Elieser says: The days of the Messiah are forty years, because it is said: "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation" (Ps. XCV., 10). Rabbi Eleasar, the son of Asariah, said, Seventy years, for it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of a king" (Isa. XXIII., 15). Who is that strange king? Answer, It is the Messiah. Rabbi says, Three generations, as it is said: "They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, from generation to generation" (Ps. LXXII., 5). Rabbi Hillel said: There will be no Messiah for Israel, because they have enjoyed him already in the days of Hezekiah. Said Rav Joseph: May God pardon Rabbi Hillel. When was Hezekiah? During the first temple; and Zechariah prophesied during the second temple, and said: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass" (Zech. IX., 9). We have the tradition that Rabbi Elieser said: The days of the Messiah will be forty years. It is written in one place: "And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna" (Deut. VIII., 3), and in another place: "Make us glad according to the days" etc. (—showing that the blessedness under the Messiah must be in exact compensation for previous misery). Rabbi Dosa said, Four hundred years, because in one place it is written: "They shall afflict them four hundred years" (Gen. XV., 3), and in another place: "Make us glad according to the days," etc.

Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Hiya: The days of the Messiah will be six hundred years, for it is said: "For as the days of a tree are the days of my people" (Isa. LXV., 22). The root of a tree lasts 600 years. Rabbi Elieser says, One thousand years, because it is said: "The day of vengeance is in my heart" (Isa. LXIII., 4). A day of the blessed God is a thousand years. Rabbi Joshua says, Two thousand years, because the Scripture teaches: "Make us glad according to the days," etc. The word "days" signifies at least two days of God.—*Yalkut on Psalm* LXXII., 5.

XCV., 7. "To-day if ye will hear his voice."

Rabbi Acha said in the name of Rabbi Tanchum, the son of Rabbi Hiya: If the Israelites would only repent one day, the son of David would soon come; this is the explanation of "To-day if ye will hear," etc.—*Jerus. Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1.

Digitized by Google

Rabbi Jochanan said: God said to the Israelites, Though I have fixed a certain time for the coming of the Son of David, he will come at that time, whether they repent or do not repent. But when they repent only one day, I will bring him even before that time. This is the meaning of the words: "To-day, if you will hear," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus*, sec. 25.

Rabbi Levi said: If the Israelites would only repent one day, they would be redeemed and the Son of David would immediately come. Why? "For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To-day if ye will hear his voice."—*Midrash on Song of Solomon* v., 2.

Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, once found Elijah standing at the door of the cave of Rabbi Simon, the son of Yochai, and said to him: Shall I attain the world to come? Elijah replied: If it pleaseth to thee, Lord. Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, said: I see two, but I hear the voice of three. He also asked: When will Messiah come? Elijah replied: Go and ask himself. And where does he abide? At the gate of the city. And how is he to be known? He is sitting among the poor and sick, and they open their wounds and bind them up again all at once; but he opens only one, and then he opens another, for he thinks, perhaps I may be wanted, and then I must not be delayed. Rabbi Joshua went to him and said: Peace be upon thee, my master and my Lord. He replied, Peace be upon thee, son of Levi. The rabbi then asked him: When will my Lord come? He replied, To-day. Rabbi Joshua went back to Elijah, who asked him: What did he (Messiah) say to thee? He replied, Peace be upon thee, son of Levi; to which Elijah said: By this he has assured thee and thy father of the world to come. Rabbi Joshua said: He has deceived me, for he said to me that he will come to-day, and yet he did not come. Elijah said to him: He said to thee "to-day," that is "to-day if ye will hear his voice."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

CX., 1. "Sit thou at my right hand."

In the future God will seat the King Messiah at his right, for it is said: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand," and Abraham will be seated at the left. And Abraham's face will become pallid and he will say: The son of my son sits at the right and I sit at the left. But the Holy One, blessed be he! will appease him, saying: The son of thy son sits at my right, and I sit at your right hand.—*Midrash on Psalm* XVIII., 35 (36 in Hebrew).

CX., 2. "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion, rule thou in the midst of thine enemies."

In a very curious and mystic interpretation of the pledges which Tamar had, according to Rabbi Hunya, by the Holy Ghost, asked of Judah, our passage and Isa. XI., 1 is referred to. Thus the "seal" is interpreted as signifying the kingdom, as it is said, "Set me as a seal upon thy heart" (Song of Sol. VIII., 6), and "Though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, were the

Digitized by Google

signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence" (Jer. XXII., 24). The "bracelets" denote the Sanhedrim, which is marked by a lace of blue, as it is said: "A lace of blue" (Exod. XXXIX., 31), and "thy staff;" this denotes the King Messiah, for it is said: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse" (Isa. XI., 1), and "The rod of thy strength shall the Lord send out of Zion."—*Midrash Bereshith* or *on Genesis*, sec. 85 (on chapter XXXVIII., 18).

On Num. XVII., 6, 8, the Midrash remarks that Aaron's rod was in the hands of every king till the destruction of the temple, when it was hid. This same rod will in the future be again in the hands of the Messiah, as it is said: "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength," etc.—*Midrash Bemidbar* or *on Numbers*, sec. 18.

CXVI., 9. "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living."

Why did all the fathers wish to be buried in the land of Israel? Rabbi Eleazar said: There is some mystery about it. Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi referred to "I will walk before the Lord," etc. Our rabbis said in the name of Rabbi Chelbo: There are two reasons why the fathers wished to be buried in the Holy Land, 1) because the dead of this land will rise first to a new life in the days of the Messiah, and 2) because they enjoy the years of the Messiah.—*Midrash Bereshith Rabba* or *on Genesis*, sec. 96 (on chapter XLVII., 29).

CXVI., 13. "I will take the cup of salvation."

In the future God will give the Israelites to drink from four cups, as it is said: "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup" (Ps. XVI., 5); "I will take the cup of salvation," and "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence.... my cup runneth over" (Ps. XXIII., 5). It is not written (Ps. CXVI., 13) "cup of salvation," but "cup of salvations,"[1] which means one cup in the day of Messiah and one in the day of Gog and Magog. —*Midrash Bereshith Rabba* or *on Genesis*, sec. 88 (on chapter XL., 9 seq.).[2]

CXXXII., 17. "There will I make the horn of David to bud; I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed."

---

[1] In the Hebrew the word "salvation" is in the plural.

[2] The Talmud quotes our passage in the following manner: "The Holy One, blessed be He! will make a banquet for the righteous, on the day when He will accomplish His loving kindness to the seed of Isaac. At the close of the banquet, they will give the cup of blessing to Abraham to bless. No, he will say, I begat Ishmael. They will hand it to Isaac saying, Take and bless it. No, he will say, I begat Esau. Take and bless it, they will say to Jacob. No, he will say to them, because I married two sisters simultaneously, which the law will afterwards prohibit. Take and bless it, they will say to Moses. No, he will say, I was not found worthy to enter the land of Israel either alive or dead. Take and bless it, they will say to Joshua. No, he will say, I was not found worthy to leave behind a son, as it is written: "Nun his son, Joshua his son" (1 Chron. vii., 27). Take and bless it, they will say to David. I will do so, he will say, and it becomes me to do so, for it is said: "I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord." The same we also find in the *Yalkut* on our passage, fol. 959, col. 1.—*Pesachim*, fol. 119, col. 2.

Digitized by Google

Rabbi Hanina said: Since you keep a continual lamp, you will be found worthy to receive the light of the Messiah, as it is said: "There will I make the horn," etc.—*Vayikra Rabba* or *Midrash on Leviticus*, sec. 31 (on chapter XXIV., 3).

CXLII., 5. "I cried unto thee, O Lord; I said, Thou art my refuge and my portion in the land of the living."

It is written "I cried unto the Lord," etc., but is there another land of the living besides Tyre and her surroundings, because there is every thing in abundance, and you (David) say: "My portion is in the land of the living?" But the meaning is, there is a land whose dead will rise at first in the days of the Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba* or *Midrash on Genesis*, sec. 74 (on chapter XXXI., 3).

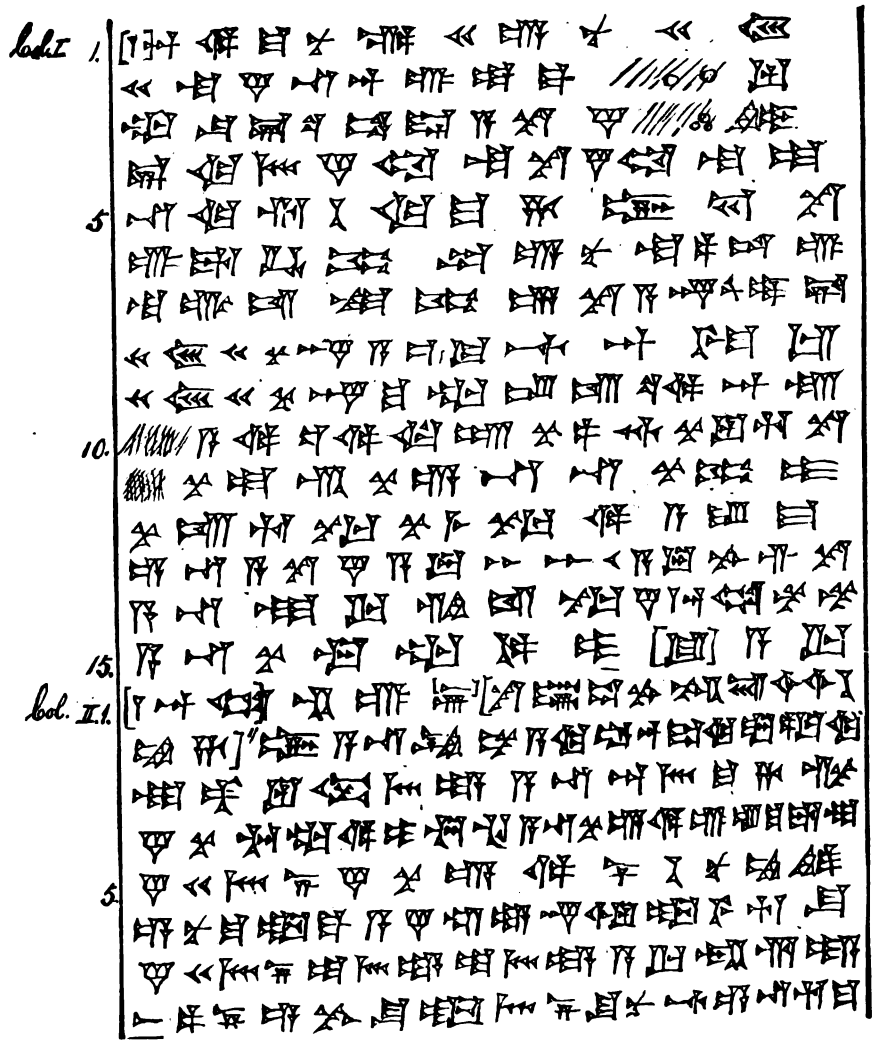
Digitized by Google

THRONE-INSCRIPTION OF SALMANASSAR II.

(860-824 B. C.)

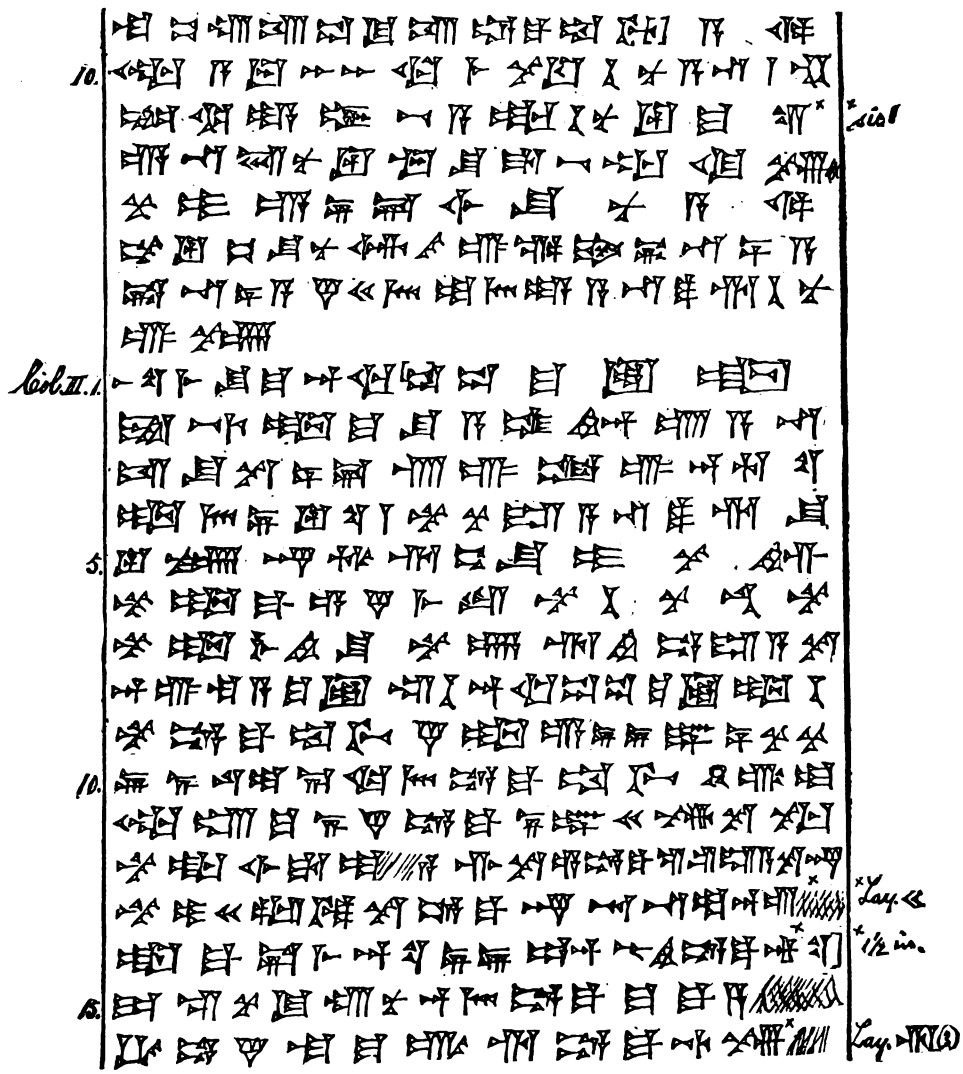
LAYARD: PL 76:77.

By J. A. Craig, Leipzig, Germany.



[1] Restored by comparison with Salm. Ob. l. 74 and Salm. Mon. obv. 22.

Digitized by Google



TRANSLITERATION.

Col. I. 1. *m.* Šulmân-ašârid šarru dan-nu šar kiššati
šarru lâ ša-na-an ú-šum-gal-lu
ka-ba-nit-tú kib-ra-a-tê ša-bir
mal-kê ša kul-la-tê ša kul-la-at
5. na-ki-ri-šu ki-ma ḫa-aṣ-ba-tê
u-da-ki-ku zikaru dan-nu lâ pa-du-ú

AMIAUD ET SCHEIL
INSCRIPTIONS DE SAL-
MANASAR II
DELITZSCH Beit. zur
Assyr. VI. (1908)
p. 151—155

Digitized by Google

lâ ga-mil tu-ḳu-un-tê mâr Ašûr-naṣir-apal
šar kiššati šar *mat*[1] Aššûr mâr Tukulti-Adar
šar kiššati šar *mat* Aššur-ma ka-šid ištu tam-di êlit
10. a-di tam-di šaplit *mat* Ḥat-ti *mal* Lu-ḫu-tê
mat Ad-ri *mal* Lab-na-na *mat* Ḳu-i
mat Ta-ḫu-li *mal* Mê-li-di a-lak-ma
ê-na-a-tê ša *nar* Idiglat u *naru* Pu-rat-tê
a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li ša *m.* Marduk-šum-iddin
15. a-na *mat* Ak-ka-di-i lu a-lik
Col. II. 1. [*m.* Marduk]-bêl-u-sa[-tê âḫû du-bu-us-su abikta-šu
am-ḫa]aṣ a-na Kûtu *ki* Bâbîlu *ki* Bar-sip *ki*
êru-ub *immeru* nikê-ja a-na ilânê ma-ḫa-zi
ša *mat* Ak-ka-di-i aḳ-ḳi a-na *mat* Kal-di ú-rid ma-da-tu
5. ša šarrâ-ni ša *mat* Kal-di kâli-šu-nu am-ḫur
ê-nu-ma dûru rab-a ša âli-ja Ašur ŭ dûru šal-ḫu-šú
ša šarrâ-ni âbê-ja âbê-ja a-lik maḫ-ri-ja
ina pa-ni ê-pu-šu dûrâ-ni šu-nu-ti ê-na-ḫu-ma
la-bi-ru-ta illi-ku ištu abulli êri....a-di
10. êlî *naru* Idiglat kî mê-li-šu-nu a-na êšt-ên
ni-ki-ja aṣ-bat a-šar-šu-nu lu-ma-si
dan-na-su-nu lu ak-šú-da ina êlî ḳi-ṣir
šad-i dan-ni uš-ši-šú-nu a-di
taḫ-lu-bi-šu-nu ar-ṣip ú-šak-lil narâ
15. narâ ša šarrâni abê-ja a-na aš-ri-šu-nu ú-tir
Col. III. 1. ina um-mê-šu-ma *ilu* Ki-du-du ma-ṣar dûri
it-ti dûri-ma šú-a-tu 'a-a-bit a-na
êš-šu-tê êpu-uš rubu-u arku-u an-ḫu-ut
dûrâ-ni lu-ud-diš šuma šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šú
5. lu-tir Ašur iḳ-ri-bi-šú i-šê-im
šum dûri rabi-ê ša mê-lam-mu-šu mâta kat-mu
šum dûru šal-ḫi-šu Mu-nir-ri-ṭi—kib-ra-a-tê
ilu U-la-a ma-ṣar âli-šu *ilu* Ki-du-du ma-ṣar abulli-šu
šum abulli êri....ša dûri dan-ni ni-rab kâl mâtâtê
10. sa-ni-ḳa-at mal-kê abulli êri....(?) ga-at
êli um-ma-ni ša abulli ni-rab šarru muš-tê-šir
mu-šar-ši-da....rat-tê-ê abulli si-kur-ra-a-tê Ašur
mu-i-niš šab-ṣu-tê abulli Ašur ba-na-at.....
dûru rabû uš-šib Šamaš ni-ir mul-tar-ḫi abulli Šamaš
15. ra(?)-si-mat ku-ru-nu ilâni abulli ma-gal-a.....
ik-kib-ša lâ ma-ga-ri abulli ti-sir(ṣir(?))

[1] In all the italicized words *a* and *e* stand for â and ê.

Digitized by Google

TRANSLATION.

Col. I. 1. Salmaneser, the powerful king, the king of multitudes,
the king without a rival, the monarch (?)
the subduer (?) of the four regions, who breaks (the might)
of princes, who crushed the totality of all his enemies like vessels,
6. the manly, the mighty, who neither spares
nor favors in battle, the son of Asurnazirpal,
king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria, son of Tiglathadar,
king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria. The con-
10. queror from the upper sea to the lower sea. The lands of Chatti, Luḫuti
Adri, Lebanon, Ḳui
Taḫuli, Mytelene I traversed, and
to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.
To the help of (or, to avenge) Merodach-sum-iddin
15. to the land of Akkad I went.

Col. II. 1. Merodach-bêl-usate, his step-brother (?), I
defeated. Into Cutha, Babylon, Borsippa
I entered. Sacrifices to the gods of the cities of
Akkad I sacrificed. To the land of Chaldea
I descended. Tribute from all the princes of the land
5. of Chaldea I received.——At that time
the great wall of my city Ašur and its (outer) wall, which
the kings, my forefathers, who preceded me, formerly
had built—these walls were fallen down and
had become old. From the bronze....(?) gate of the city
10. as far as to the river Tigris, during high water, for the first time,
I brought my sacrifices. Their places I cleansed,
their foundations I reached. With huge mountain stones
from their foundation to their top
I built them. I prepared a tablet.
15. The tablets of the kings, my fathers, I restored to their place.

Col. III. 1. In those days the god Kidudu, the guardian of the wall,
together with the wall itself, had become ruined. I made it
anew.——May a future prince renew the walls
(when) fallen, (and) return the inscription to its place.
5. Ašur shall hear his prayer.
The name of the great wall (is) Ša-Melammušu-Mata-Katmu
The name of its (outer) wall, Munirriṭi-Kibrâtê [gate
The god Ulâ (is) the guardian of its city, the god Kidudu the guardian of its
The name of the bronze gate of the city which belonged to the great wall is
Nirab-Kâl-Mâtâtê-Sanikat-Malkê.

Digitized by Google

The doubtfulness of the signs so indicated in the remaining lines makes the translation difficult, inasmuch as the construction in itself is peculiar. I shall, therefore, offer only a few notes by way of explanation.

NOTES.

For convenience sake I have denominated the above inscription the Throne-Inscription of Salmaneser II., the name being suggested by the throne-like seat upon which a life-size figure of the king is sculptured. The stone, which is of dark granular basalt, in consequence of which the writing is somewhat indistinct, was found by Sir A. H. Layard about fifty miles below Nimroud on the Tigris in the great mound of Chalah-Shergat, which is supposed to have been the site of the Aššur, the primitive capital of Assyria. It is now in the British Museum, where, during my visit in the summer of '85, I made the above copy, which may be compared with that published in Layard's "Cuneiform Inscriptions," pp. 76, 77.

COL. I.

1. The remaining traces of the last sign in Salmaneser are of šak, riš, not bar, maš, as in Layard.

2. usumgallu.—I have translated this word "monarch (?)," regarding it as the same word which occurs in S*b* 125 (Del. AL. 3) where the sign tak, šum is written, and the whole equated with the non-Semitic ušumgal. The ideogram equals bul (pul)+gal. Now gal equals rabû *great*, and bul equals u-šum = êdiššu, S*b* 171, cf. Sc 17. The word would, according to this, mean "the one great (one)" = "monarch," "supreme ruler," etc. In Asurnaz. I. 19, we find, ušumgallu êkdu kâšid âlâni u ḫuršâni, i. e., "the powerful ušumgallu the conqueror of cities and mountains." Lhotzky, "Inaugural Dissertation," translates without remark "eine jugendkräftige Hyäne (?)" etc. This meaning seems to agree better with the passage II R. 19. 62. *b:* kakku ša kîma ušumgalli šalamta ikkalu, i. e., "the weapon which, like an usumgallu, devours the dead body." In view of this passage, the latter sign of the ideogram may be better explained through S*b* 172, where, in the non-Semitic column, pur is given, and in the Assyrian column pašaru *set loose, free*, the original idea being doubtless that of the Aramaic פשר *divide, separate*.

3. ka-ba-nit-tu.—Unknown. I have translated "subduer (?)," the context requiring some word like "overcome" or "crush."

4. kullâtê ša kullât.—For this double construction cf. I R. 68, col. I., l. 29: šar ilâni ilâni ša ilani equals "the king of all the gods."

5. Cf. Khorsabad Inscription, l. 14: mâtâlê nakirê kâlišun karpanis uḫappî *all hostile lands like pots I broke to pieces.* Oppert translates karpaniš uḫappî by "terrore implevi," which is altogether wrong. Cf. also Sargon I R. 36. 9: mâtâtê kališina kîma haṣ-bat-ti (= haṣbâtê) udakkiku. Cf. further Botta 164. 10, and see Lyon's Sargon, p. 60. Cf. Aram. חַצְבָּא *tub, pot*, and Syriac ܚܨܒܐ.

Digitized by Google

6. udakkiku.—II, from dakâku = Heb. and Aram. דקק *to break to pieces.* From this stem comes the abstract noun dukkakûtu, a syn. of siḫḫiritu, etc., explained through the Sum. tur+tur = *small small* or *very small.* See Del. in Lotz Tig. p. 149.

10. Luḫutê.—This country, or rather mountainous district, is also mentioned by Asurnazirpal in connection with Lebanon, he having sacked the country and harvested its crops: Šê'am u šinnu ša *mat* Luḫuti êṣidi, I R. 25. 82.; l. c. 83, âlâni ša *mat* Luḫuti aktašad. Norris, Dic., p. 664, referring to this passage, says it is "a district upon the Orontes;" but he reads it falsely Laḫuti.

11. Kui.—In south-east of Cilicia.

COL. II.

Marduk-bel-usate.—According to the "synchronous history," etc. (II R. 65; II. 50 seq., and Salm. Ob. 74 seq., etc.), after Merodakšumiddin, the king of Kardunias (i. e., Babylon), had ascended the throne of his father, Mardukbêlusatê (i. e., Merodak is the lord of help) revolted against him. Salmaneser descended from the north to the assistance of Merodakšumiddin, and put to death his rival brother and those who rebelled with him.

5. šarrâni....kâlišunu.—Cf. the Heb. construction with כֹּל, e. g., Ps. VIII., 8: צֹנֶה וַאֲלָפִים כֻּלָּם.

9. abulli êri(?).—The sign following abulli is rendered, S*b* 114, by êrû *bronze;* but whether it is to be taken alone here, and the following sign likewise to be regarded independently as an additional defining word, perhaps equal to rapšu (šal = rapašu, e. g., V R. 30, 73, a. o., and the sign in question is evidently composed of šal+u) *wide*, or whether both signs form one ideogram, is not certain. They are, however, usually combined. Cf. V R. 33; II. 24, and further, l. c., IV. 88, and VI. 39.

COL. III.

1. *ilu* Kidudu.—Otherwise unknown in the Assyrian Pantheon. Likewise *ilu* Ulâ (l. 8).

6. ša-melammušu-mata-katmu—i. e., "the one whose splendor covers the land."

7. dûru.—Here determinative before šalḫu. The dûru proper was the wall inside of the moat; šalḫu, the one on the outside. See Lyon's Sargon, p. 77.

Munirriṭi-kibrâtê *the one who causes the (four) regions to tremble.*—narâṭu means "to wage war," V R. III. 58; VI. 72; also "to waver," "give way:" Sm. Asurb. 125, 19, ul iniruṭa šêpaka *thy feet shall not give way, shake.* Lay. 33. 9, etc.

9, 10. nirab-kâl-mâtâtê-sanikat-malkê *the entrance of all lands, the oppressor of princes.*

11. ummânu.—There are *two* words: 1) "army," "host;" 2) "skill," "art."

muš-tê-šir.—Part. III2 from ישר *direct, be right,* III2, *rule.*

Digitized by Google

13. muiniš-sabṣûtê *the one who weakens the powerful.*—muiniš II, from anâšu *to be weak;* II, *weaken;* root אָנַשׁ. šabṣu, syn. of dannu *strong;* cf. Asurn. II. 106; Del. Lotz Tig. 224; cf. also II R. 29, 10, c, d; V R. 20; Rev. 14, 6; V R. 28, 12, e, f; II R. 29, 10, c, d; V R. 9, 106, etc., etc.

14. uššib.—Probably a Pʻēl form from יָשַׁב *sit, dwell.*

nîr multarḫi *the subjugator of the powerful.*—Equals mustarḫi.

16. ikkibša lâ magari *the merciless punishment.*

It is to be noted further, that, in the last three lines, the names of the gates occur, though the usually accompanying šumu *name* is omitted:—

14. abulli Šamaš *door of the Sun-god.*

15. abulli Magal nâri(?) *door of the river Magal.*

16. abulli ti-sir(?) (Lay. ri(??)) *door of ti-sir(?).*

Digitized by Google

"THE SEMITES."

By Professor W. Volck,

University of Dorpat.

[Translated from Herzog's Real-Encyklopædie, by Prof. D. M. Welton, D. D., Toronto Baptist College, Toronto, Ont.]

We first meet with this name in the table of nations in Gen. x. While this table traces the totality of the nations existing at the time of the author to the sons of Noah, in verse 22 it designates Sem (see art. Noah, vol. X., page 618) as the progenitor of the nations called Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Conformable to the interpretation of eastern nations and to the biblical use of words, as also to the geographical situation of the countries, Elam is the people and land east of the lower Tigris, south of Assyria and Media, answering nearly to the later Susiana and Elymaïs; Asshur the province of Assyria, in the original sense the province situated east of the Tigris with its capital Nineveh opposite to the modern Mosul; Arphaxad Ἀρφαχσίτ (?), according to Schrader, Babylonia. But according to the table of nations, Hebrews and Arabians are also to be considered as descendants of Arphaxad. For Eber, from whom Joktan and Peleg spring, is represented as a grandson of Arphaxad. The Joktanites are Arabians, although by Arabian genealogists Joktan is regarded as the ancestor of the pure Arabians in Arabia proper under the name قحطان; from Peleg, however, Terah springs, the father of Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrews in the stricter sense of the word, and of the Arabians sprung from Ishmael and Keturah. The name Aram designates, according to the Old Testament use of terms, the peoples dwelling in Syria, in Mesopotamia as far as the plains of the Upper Tigris and in the valley districts within the Taurus, the Aramæans or Syrians; finally under Lud, judging from the resemblance between the names, from the geographical situation and the old authorities, we generally think of the Lydians of Asia Minor.

These nations comprehended under the name Sem, whose enumeration begins, as we see, in the south-east extends northwards, then turns from the North to the West, in order to terminate south of this Northern range, are regarded according to the table of nations as genealogically related. Is now this genealogical relationship confirmed by a lingual affinity? A certain group of languages, closely related by their rich stock of words and by their grammar, is called *Semitic*. What languages are thus designated?

The Semitic stock of languages branches out in two main divisions: the North Semitic and the South. To the first belongs (1) the Aramaic, which again divides into East and West Aramaic. (The language of the Babylonian Talmud,

Digitized by Google

the so-called Syrian written language, the Mandaic and certain still spoken dialects are to be reckoned as East Aramaic; on the other hand, the Biblical Aramaic, commonly (yet improperly) called Chaldee, the language of the Targums and of the Jerusalem Gemara, the Samaritan language and that of the Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions pertain to the West Aramaic.) (2) The Canaanitish, namely, the Phœnician (and Punic) and the Hebrew of the Old Testament which agrees with it, with unimportant exceptions. (3) The Assyro-Babylonian, which forms by its grammatical peculiarity the bridge between the North Semitic languages and the South. To the South Semitic belong (1) the Arabic, that is, the Koranic dialect, the language of the Koran, the Arabic written language; (2) the Southern Arabic (Sabaïtic and Himyaritic); (3) the Ge'ez or Æthiopic and the Amharitic. Thus the languages of the Hebrews and Phœnicians, of the Aramæans, of the Babylonians and Assyrians in the North and North-east, of the Central and Northern Arabians, of the Southern Arabians and of the Abyssinians in the South, are designated Semitic. But though the statement of the table of nations in regard to the relationship of Assyrians, Babylonians, Aramæans (?), Hebrews and Arabians is also confirmed by their language, the case is different with the Elamites and Lydians on the one hand, and with the Phœnicians on the other. From a very ancient time, as the inscriptions which have been discovered show, the Elamites have spoken a language related neither to the Semitic idiom nor to the Indo-Germanic, but to the Sumero-Akkadian; and as to the Lydian language, on both ethnographical and geographical grounds it is highly improbable that it was Semitic. Moreover, the Phœnicians, who spoke a Semitic language and, as already remarked, a language nearly related to the Hebrew, are according to the table of nations as Canaanites descendants of Ham, and on other grounds were not certainly of Semitic nationality. Here an exchange of languages took place; whether also in the case of the Elamites and Lydians, who, if of Semitic origin, exchanged their language for a non-Semitic one, we leave undecided. How unfitting in this state of the case is the term *Semitic* languages, which came into use after the time of Eichhorn and Schlözer, and from deference to them became so general that, so far as was then known, the nations desending according to Gen. x., 21 seq. from Sem were regarded as speaking languages resembling the Hebrew, will now appear. Other designations have been proposed. Renan would call this group of languages Syro-Arabic. But that this name is better than the other may be considered doubtful.

That all these languages termed Semitic by us and also the nations speaking them formed at one time a unity and then first through emigration began to divide themselves into new families with new dialects, in order finally to become new nations with new languages, appears from a comparison of these languages in respect of the copiousness of their words and their grammar. They all exhibit

Digitized by Google

the same type,* and are perceived to be daughters of one mother, of one primitive Semitic language. We understand by this term the language of the Semites in the last stage of its division. For in the form in which the Semitic languages lie before us in various literatures, no single one can claim to represent the primitive Semitic, to constitute the Semitic language from which all the others could have been developed, not even the Arabic which some would identify with the original Semitic. But there exists no doubt, that in the Arabic the type of the Semitic standing nearest of all to the primitive Semitic is to be sought. But if the case stands thus with the Arabic, the conclusion is obvious that Arabia was the original seat of Semiticism; that from this place it diverged ray-like North, East, South, and West. Only the ancient purity of the Arabic language—it has been justly replied—points no more to this conclusion, than the fact that the language of the Greeks and Indians from being most closely related to the Indo-Germanic primitive language, warrants the conclusion that India or Greece was the original seat of the Indo-German. If the part of the Semites called the later Arabians immigrated into Arabia not till after the Semitic division of language, this alone—the entrance into this wonderful land, closed on three sides by water and on one by the desert for thousands of years from all intercourse with the nations—would determine the character of the language to all later times, and it would maintain itself as pure and unchanged as possible. The old Hebrew tradition points to Mesopotamia—the land of the two rivers—as the starting-point of all the Semites. And, indeed, that their original seat in the stage immediately preceding their division is to be sought, not in Arabia, but in the deep Mesopotamian plain, is confirmed on unassailable grounds. A. von Kremer and recently Fritz Hommel have the merit of pointing out these grounds. They indicate them from a comparison of the different names of animals and plants in connection with the study of the fauna and flora of the lands under consideration and of their historical development in the same. The existence of animals for the early Semitic fauna has been shown, which appear not at all in Arabia, or at least only sparsely. Thus there is wanting in ancient Arabic (1) the early Semitic word dubbu "bear." That this word is really primitive Semitic, is shown by the Æthiopic debb, the Hebrew דֹּב, the Aramaic dabba, and the Assyrian dabu, with which agrees the real appearance of the bear in Habeseh, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, while by the natural condition of Arabia the appearance of this animal is excluded. The word دُبّ "bear," which the Arabic lexicons give, appears first in Moslem authors and poets, when long since the intellectual centre of gravity no longer lay in Arabia. (2) There is wanting in Arabic the primitive Semitic word ri'mu (Heb. רְאֵם, Assyrian rîmu) signifying in Northern Semitic "the wild

* Stade has given in his compendium of Hebrew grammar the peculiarities of the family of Semitic languages (Part I. Leipzig, 1879).

Digitized by Google

ox," whose real appearance in the Northern Semitic lands is confirmed by the symbolical representations of the Assyrian Monuments, while wild oxen were never in Arabia and are not to be found there at the present time. The Arabians have indeed this word also, but they designate thereby the Antilope leucoryx, to which they have transferred the term. (3) Hommel calls attention to the very seldom appearance of the early Semitic word for panther (Æthiopic namr, Heb. נָמֵר, Aramaic nemra and Assyrian nimru) in the ante-Mohammedan poetry: an animal seldom found at the present time in Arabia, though it must have been there in early times. On the other hand there are names of animals which are alone peculiar to the Arabian fauna, and for which the various other Semitic languages have either no names at all, or no modern ones. This second kind of proof serves to confirm the first named conclusion, that the abode of the primitive Semites is not to be sought in Arabia. It shows by lingual evidence that before the division and formation of dialects the Semites had knowledge of the camel but not of the ostrich. They abode thus not in Arabia, where the ostrich is indigenous, and Arabia cannot consequently be regarded as the original place of the camel. The statement of Kremer, that before the formation of dialects the Semites could not have known the palm-tree and its fruit, that the oldest true expression for the date-tree is found in the language used by the Aramaic peoples inhabiting the Babylonian valleys—this statement Hommel feels compelled to question, and affirms that the tree must certainly have been known to the Semites, although its artificial fructification and production took place first only in historic times and indeed in Babylonia, the true seat of Semitic husbandry, in the Assyrian as also later in the Aramaic time. We conclude, then, that the abode of the primitive Semites shortly before their division cannot possibly be located outside the later Northern Semitic provinces; for in the old time the district in which the date-palm spread itself did not extend beyond the chain of mountains terminating the Semitic lands in the North and North-east. And since the oldest native soil of the date-palm is the region of the middle and lower Euphrates and Tigris, and moreover since the tradition of the Semites from time immemorial has placed it there, we find ourselves referred again to that part of the land of the two rivers lying between Assyria and Babylonia. There the last station of the Semites before the division should be sought. The common primitive home of the Semitic as well as of the Aryan peoples is assigned by Kremer to High Asia. In the High Turan, west of Bolartag and of the high plain of Pamir, the primitive Semites could have dwelt in close contact with the Aryans, whence, following the course of the great water-courses, especially of the Oxus, the migration of the Semites might have taken place first towards the West and then round the southern shore of the Caspian sea and ever further towards the South-west. Thence they might have pressed their way through one of the Elburz-passes into the mountainous coun-

Digitized by Google

try of Media, and then through those old invasions from and towards Media, through the rocky defile of Holman, the entry in the deep basin of the Assyro-Mesopotamian low country might have taken place. We pursue these conjectures of Kremer no further. We content ourselves with the result, that the Mesopotamian plain was the abode of the Semites before that last migration which resulted in the form of the Semitic group of nations known to us and meeting us from the beginning of history. According to Hommel's conjecture, already before Media and Elam a part of the still united Semites (namely, those who afterwards became Babylonians) could have separated in order to migrate through the narrow Holman pass into the land of the Euphrates, while the remainder on and past the southern shore of the Caspian sea and then more northerly from above down over Mesopotamia could have occupied the later Semitic lands, then dwelling together here still a long time, they could have become one after another by further migrations and separations the different Semitic nations (Aramæans, Hebrews, Arabians). Again, there are lingual grounds which favor this view, just as there are lingual grounds which necessitate the conclusion, that the Semites who afterwards broke up into Northern and Southern Arabians (Sabæans), from which last again the Abyssinians branched off, must have been after their separation from the rest, and even in Central Arabia, somewhat longer together. On good grounds we are admonished against further attempts at reconstructing from the greater or less number of affinities between these or those of the Semitic languages the succession of the divisions and particular migrations of the Semitic peoples.

In the earliest historical time, to which we now turn, the eastern spurs of the Taurus mountains form the boundary of the Semitic nations on the North, the Zagros chain (from Lake Urmiah southerly to the Persian Gulf) on the Northeast, the Persian Gulf on the East, the Arabian Sea on the South, the Red Sea, the Isthmus of Suez and the Mediterranean Sea on the West. With the individual nations dwelling in ancient times within these bounds in mind, we direct our attention in the first place to Babylonia, the mother-land not only of the Babylonio-Assyrian, but also of the whole Northern Asiatic civilization in general. By Babylonia we understand the country on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the place where the two streams approach each other to the Persian Gulf. When in the cuneiform inscriptions the kings of Babylon bear the title "king of Sumir and Akkad," these names designate South and North Babylonia, in the latter of which the city of Babylon lay. The cuneiform inscriptions enable us to discern in the Sumero-Akkadians the original (not Semitic) inhabitants of the land and the real founders of its civilization. Their language on account of its agglutinated character is counted to the so-called Turanian family. They were also the inventors of the cuneated letters. These, originally hieroglyphics, were gradually transformed into a writing by syllables, only without

Digitized by Google

ever losing their hieroglyphical character. With that non-Semitic element the Semitic element coming in by immigration now associated itself, which, first establishing itself in Northern Babylonia and then in South, contended a long time with the former for the mastery, until by degrees it triumphed and more and more impressed its stamp upon the country, only without being able ever completely to efface the traces of the non-Semitic element. From the Sumero-Akkadians the Semitic Babylonians obtained writing, religion and other elements of civilization which deeply impressed their national life, and which they themselves still further improved. As to Babylon, as a city, it is indeed a beginning of the Semites. Its history begins towards the last third of the third thousand years before Christ. Over a thousand years it was the metropolis of the country. Then it falls behind the newly flourishing daughter-city of Nineveh, which for over half a thousand years (from Tiglath-pileser I. to Assurbani-pal) maintains the ascendancy, till for Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar a last and indeed only short continuing prosperity begins, when it becomes "the capital city not only of Babylonia with Assyria but also so to speak of half the world." In 538 B. C. Cyrus brought the Babylonian kingdom to an end. The Babylonio-Assyrian language yielded to the Aramaic. (See art. Babylonia, vol. II., p. 42.) In regard to the Assyro-Babylonian religion, different articles of this work deal with the same, to which we must here refer. We remark only here—and this is of the highest importance in forming a judgment of Semiticism—that most of the gods supposed till now to be of purely Semitic origin, are not of Semitic, but, as can be shown, of Sumero-Akkadian origin. But not only religious considerations, but, as already remarked, other elements of civilization carried the Babylonians over in part from the Sumero-Akkadians, such as we perceive in the accurate astronomical annotations which we meet with in the old clay-tablets found in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, in the strict regulations for money, measure and weight in Babylon, and in the habitable structures and other things. We possess a number of epic and lyric poems which were translated from the Akkado-Sumerian into the Semitic idiom, together with poetic productions of Semitic origin. As to the Assyro-Babylonian literary works held by us, three epochs are to be distinguished: (1) The Old-Babylonian (from about 2000 to 1500 years B. C.) to which pertain the oldest Semitico-Babylonian royal inscriptions, the so-called legends of Izdubar, the great national epic of the Babylonians, which celebrates the deeds of King Izdubar of Erech, etc.; (2) the Assyrian, with the longer historical royal inscriptions (from about 1200 to 600 years B. C.); (3) the New-Babylonian, to which the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, then the Assyrian translation of the tri-lingual Achæmenidæan inscriptions are to be assigned. If it is asked finally, what place is occupied among the Semitic languages by the Assyro-Babylonian, which has disclosed to us the cuneiform inscriptions, we reply, as already remarked, that it forms the bridge between the Northern Semitic and the Southern.

Digitized by Google

If the Arabic, in the antiquity and primitiveness of its forms, stands in the first place, the Assyro-Babylonian stands in the second. While the Assyrian strongly reminds us of the Hebrew in the sounds of its consonants, its pronouns are of the nature of the Hebrew, its numerals with their *istin* (comp. עַשְׂתֵּי) and *ihit* show a near relation of the Hebrew to the Assyro-Babylonian, just as the Niphal structure, closely joined on the other side with the Aramaic, shows such near relation through its predilection for reflexive forms, for the absence of an article, and the paraphrastic expression of the genitive through the relative pronoun and otherwise. Again the Assyrian shares with the Northern Arabic as well as with the Southern the vocalic termination of the nouns, the nasalizing of the pronunciation at the end of the same, especially with the Southern Arabic (Æthiopian) in the forms terminating in â for expressing tense, and in the form for expressing person in the Imperfect, etc. The Assyrian has conformed its reflexive forms to those found otherwise only in the Arabic and marked by an inserted *t* (iktatala).

We have above particularly indicated the districts of country which the Aramæans possessed in early times. If קִיר occurring in Amos IX., 5 is the region on the river Kur, the Κῦρος of the Greeks, which flows between the Black and Caspian seas and, uniting with the Araxes, discharges itself with the latter, then we get the idea that the immigration of the Aramæans to the territory afterwards occupied by them was from the country lying north of Armenia. Though considerable objections stand in the way of this supposition. (See art. Aram, vol. I., p. 600.) Looked at from the passage in Gen. X., 22 seq. (see vol. V., p. 601) אֲרָם is never used in the Old Testament as a collective name, but for designating particular races, provinces and kingdoms; consequently, when it is more accurately read, an appositional word is added, as אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק 2 Sam. VIII., 5 seq.; 1 Chron. XVIII., 5 seq., as by the Israelites before the Exile by far the greatest part of the Aramaic district is often simply called אֲרָם. Under Tiglath-pileser Aram, especially Damascus, whose last prince was Rezin, who combined with Pekah of Israel against the kingdom of Judah, was conquered by the Assyrians and made a dependent province. Later it was under Babylonian, then under Persian rule, till after the death of Alexander the Great it constituted a kingdom of Syria under the Sileucidæ and thus embraced Judea also. After Pompey (B. C. 64) it came under Roman sway. The religion of the old Aramæans has its roots in Babylonia. As to the language, the Aramaic dialects referred to above stand as far from that which we call primitive Semitic, as the Arabic stands near to it. Concerning the peculiarities of Aramaic see vol. I., p. 603.

Finally, the Aramaic language and writing were really long ago the commercial language and writing of anterior Asia, and filled nearly the place which possibly the English or French fills at the present time. After the fifth century B. C. not only the Assyro-Babylonian in Babylonia, but also the Hebrew in Palestine

Digitized by Google

yields to it. To the Aramaic pertain the "Chaldaic" portions of the Old Testament, which are better known as West or Biblical Aramaic. The principal part of Aramaic literature possessed by us begins, however, with the Syro-Christian literature, which embraces Biblical Interpretation, Dogmatics and Polemics, Martyrology and Liturgies. The oldest Syrian document still extant is the translation of the Old and New Testaments, which belongs probably to the last part of the second century after Christ. In the old Aramaic districts dialects of the East-Aramaic are still spoken, as in Tûr Abdîn on the upper Tigris. The so-called New Syrian is the present written language of the Nestorian Christians near Lake Urmiah and in Kurdistan (see art. "Aram").

Passing to the Hebrews in a narrower sense we take our starting-point again from the ethnological table of Genesis X., as supplemented by chapter XI. In Gen. X. we see the genealogy which, in the enumeration of the descendants of Japheth and Ham, gave names to most of the races and countries, as they were seen at the time of the narrator, with Arphaxad, the ancestor of the Abrahamites and Joktanites who appear as persons. For the names Arphaxad, Salah, Eber and the sons of Eber are names of persons. Then the younger branch of Eber's posterity diverges and is continued (Gen. X.) in the great number of peoples which sprang from him, while the other branch (Gen. XI.) proceeds in the patriarchal line till it comes to the sons of Terah: Abram, Nahor and Haran. For the history is intended to be a record of the descendants of Abram. The house of Terah was still a family when Abram was born, and not a tribe, but a family with numerous servants. It lived among growing and extending clans, which became nations which warred with one another, so that slaves came of prisoners of war. The place where the family of Terah lived is called in Gen. XI., 28 אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים, Ur of the Chaldees, the present El-Mugheir, south of Babylon on the right bank of the Euphrates. Terah left his native country after the death of his son Haran and migrated further north with Abram and with his grandson Lot. The termination of his wandering is called the land of Canaan. But the course his journeying took appears from the circumstance that Terah remained on the way in Haran, the subseqent Κάῤῥαι, and thus in the neigborhood of the later Edessa. We see that Terah ascended the Euphrates, in order to come to a place where he might more easily cross over. That he really had such place before him, appears from the fact that in the direction in which he approached the Euphrates, the later Thapsacus (Heb. תִּפְסַח = passage, ford) lay. What could now induce him to journey to the land of Canaan, lying between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea? He went thither in order to widen the sphere in which up to this time the descendants of Sem had spread abroad. From the land in which the Semitic races had already extended themselves, he went forth into one not yet Semitic, perhaps into one not yet generally occupied. It is worthy of notice, as appears from Gen. X., 18, how the narrative proceeds after speaking of

Digitized by Google

the descendants of Canaan: afterwards the families of the Canaanites were spread abroad, and even southwards to Gaza and even to Lasha, which probably lay at the entrance into the vale of Sodom, and thus in the Jordan valley. Could now this spreading abroad of the Canaanites, since it is expressly indicated as occurring afterwards, not have taken place at the time when Terah left his home, so that he might seek out a yet uninhabited land? Then would Gen. XII., 6 be more intelligible, where it expressly declares that at that time, when Abram came into Canaan, the Canaanite was in the land. Terah himself, however, abandoned his project of continuing his journey to Canaan, and remained on the other side of the Euphrates, probably because he perceived that in the mean time the Canaanites had spread themselves abroad from the Sidonian coast over the land into which he would migrate. Then Abram would be drawn to Canaan under altogether different circumstances from those under which his father Terah formed the purpose of migrating thither. The latter had himself chosen the land to which he would go, and then of his own accord gave up the design of going thither. Abram received a divine revelation, which summoned him to finish the migration which his father had given up. According to the representation of Genesis, great importance attaches to the fact that it was not Abram's own decision, but a divine manifestation made directly to him, which lead him to leave his father's house and, accompanied only by the son of his deceased brother, further to journey into the country which was already occupied by strangers. In a country where, severed from connection with the Semitic race, he ran the risk of losing his own and his nephew's posterity among a strange people, he should—so ran the promise—become a great nation. His descendants, and he in and through them, should become a blessing to all the nations of the earth, that is, should be the medium of the realization of that salvation which, according to Genesis, had been revealed from the beginning to mankind as the goal of their history. Abram, believing the promises which had been spoken to him, obeys the divine command and journeys to Canaan. With this act of obedient faith on his part begins the history of that people of Semitic lineage, whom we call the people of the history of salvation, because to them was made the revelation of the living God touching the salvation of the world,—the revelation which issued in the coming of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Israel and of the world. In this place we pursue no further the history of this people, which, as appears from its own testimony, is not to be placed on the same line with the history of the other Semitic nations. Nor as we here combat the modern view of the history of Israel as it is set forth in the Reuss-Wellhausen criticism of the Pentateuch. The newly deciphered Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian monuments lend substantial support to the credibility of that history, not only as it pertains to a later period, as the time of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, but also to the time of the patriarchs, especially the time of Abram. Recently an attempt has been made to show traces also of a non-Semitic

Digitized by Google

(Sumero-Akkadian) influence in the language and civilization of the Hebrews. Such traces are indisputably present. Since the Assyro-Babylonian antiquity has been disclosed, an agreement has been pointed out between its traditions and the history contained in the Sacred Scriptures. We call to mind among others an account of the flood in the cuneiform inscriptions forming an episode in the so-called Izdubar-legends, which strikingly reminds us of the biblical account. Here manifestly we have a common tradition. But as with every thing that is common, we must not forget the distinction, which is perceptible here and there in the estimate of such traditions, and we must especially guard against extending in a manner to the Semitic generation generally that which constitutes Israel's religious peculiarity, and thus consider a development which characterizes Israel as a development peculiarly Semitic. The Old Testament religion is unique, in that it rests upon the revelation of the living God and demands as such an unique history —a history not to be estimated in the same manner as profane history. As opposed to the conclusions of the negative criticism, which certain Assyriologists have attempted to draw from the close connection of the Mosaic with the Babylonian ancient traditions, the high age and the original and significant character of the tradition of the creation, of paradise, of the fall, and of the deluge, have been pointed out and defended, so that instead of seeing in them a later plagiarism, we may rather see an old monotheistic parallel to the succeeding polytheistic Izdubar-legends of the Babylonian literature. Here, however, we pursue these thoughts no further; but this is the place to consider the influence which Egypt has had upon the development of Semiticism. Manifold relations always existed between Egypt and the Semites. The Old Testament tells us of a journey to Egypt twice made by Abram, and of Israel's sojourn in Egypt of four hundred years; and we know of the expeditions of the Pharaohs to Syria and Mesopotamia for plunder, made two thousand years before Christ. Semites, the so-called Hyksos, ruled a long time in the eastern part of the land of the Delta, adopted the manners and customs, the language and writing of the subdued Egyptians, but impressed their own stamp—a stamp never more to be entirely effaced—upon the entire civilization, the religion and art, and even upon the language of the Nile Land. The time of the Hyksos was the occasion of the influence of that Egyptian civilization upon Phœnician antiquity, whose first and most important expression was the borrowing of the Phœnician writing from the Sacerdotal, which became the mother of all the Semitic alphabets.

In regard to the language spoken by the descendants of Abram, the Hebrew, much may be said for the opinion that it was first received from immigrants to Canaan coming from an old Aramaic land, from western Mesopotamia, and thus originally speaking Aramaic. In Isa. XIX., 18, the Hebrew is designated as שִׂפַת כְּנַעַן. That the Canaanites spoke a language related to the Hebrew, appears from the names of races, provinces and places in Canaan, which for the most part

Digitized by Google

are older than the Israelitish migration; moreover the old Canaanites stood in close relationship to the Phœnicians; and that their language was closely related to the Hebrew has already been remarked. But how came these peoples with a Semitic language, if they, as the ethnological table declares, belonged to the Hamitic race? In the first place there is the assumption of an exchange of languages. The only question is, whether such exchange took place. Have we to assume an original Semitic population in Canaan, from whom the Semitic idiom passed over to the immigrating Canaanites, or had there been a long and close living together of the Hamites and Semites in the southern districts of the Euphrates and Tigris, before the former journeyed westward? For the latter supposition there are weighty reasons. In its favor it may be said, that the Sacred Record indicates a future important position to the Hamitic race on the Euphrates, since it (Gen. x., 8 seq.) refers the founding of the Babylonian empire to the Hamitic Nimrod; that otherwise an ascendancy of the Hamites in the land of the Euphrates, before the Semites came upon the scene, would be out of the question; that the manifold contact of the civilization and religion of the Phœnicians, among others, with those of the Babylonians proclaim also the eastern descent of the former. Be this, however, as it may: that an exchange of language took place with the Terahites in their migration, is evident from the testimony of Gen. xxxi., 48. Jacob and Laban have each the same family origin, and still the latter called the heap of stones, which they erected, שַׂהֲדוּתָא (Aramaic), and the former גַּל עֵד (Hebrew). The only explanation of this is the supposition that Abram adopted the dominant language of the country, into which by divine command, he journeyed. While we refer the reader for information concerning the Hebrew language and its history to the article of this work which deals with the subject, we only remark further, that the Old Testament exhibits dialectical differences of the Old Hebrew, especially a Northern Hebrew, influenced by the neighboring Aramaic, in distinction from the pure Judean Hebrew, whose classic representatives appear in Micha and Isaiah; perhaps also a Southern or Eastern Hebrew which approaches the Arabic. The old Hebrew was spoken not only in Canaan, but also in the country east of the Jordan, particularly in Moab, with unimportant dialectical deviations. This last has been shown by the successful finding in 1868 of the Moabite stone among the ruins of old Diban. After the fifth century before Christ the Hebrew in Palestine yields to the Aramaic. The Phœnician, according to all those inscriptions and particular words, which have been correctly read, agrees, with unimportant exceptions, with the Hebrew; only as correctly written it has this peculiarity, that in it the vowel-letters (ו and י) are usually omitted where they quiesce, which may be regarded as a remnant of the old orthography. Finally, the greater number of existing monuments are not really old. Comparatively speaking the more important inscriptions belong to the time immediately before Christ, the coins to the period of the Seleucidæ and

Digitized by Google

the Romans, the inscription of Marseilles made known in 1846 to the fourth century before Christ, while the Phœnicians of Ipsambul are considerably older. Upon the soil of North Africa the Phœnician got its peculiar character. The Pœnulus of Plautus and Inscriptions make us acquainted with the New Punic.

Touching the Arabic group of languages, of which it can be said that they are strongly marked by the genuine Semitic type, we would refer our readers for a discussion of most questions which here come under consideration to the article "Arabien" (vol. I., p. 589), where also an explanation is given of the words of Holy Writ concerning the descent and ramification of the Arabians. We confine ourselves to the following observations. We distinguish between the Central and Northern Arabians, usually simply called Arabians, and the Southern Arabians or Sabæans (Himjarites). (Heb. שְׁבָא); also the Abyssinians who wandered from Southern Arabia into the mountainous regions of Africa. While the Northern Arabians were only first at a late date, indeed only first by Mahomet formed into one great, well arranged commonwealth, the Southern Arabians had already in a more ancient time distinguished themselves not only by the building of great cities, but also by the founding of great States, and generally by a stable civilization. According to the Old Testament the Sabæans were celebrated for their wealth in frankincense, spices, gold, and precious stones (1 Kgs. x., 1 sq.; 2 Chron. ix., 1 sq.; Isa. lx., 6; Ezek. xvii., 22 sq.; xxxviii., 13; Ps. lxxii., 14), and at the same time greatly by their trade (Ps. lxxii., 10; Job vi., 19). Indeed in early times they were, next to the Phœnicians, the most important commercial people of anterior Asia. According to the tradition of the Arabians, the great grandson of Kachtan, the ancestor of the Southern Arabians, built Abd-Schams, equivalent to Saba, the capital of Sabæa, which the ancients called sometimes Saba (since they applied the name of the people to the city), and sometimes Mareb (upon inscriptions Marjab, by Arabian geographers مَأْرِب), and which was discovered again in 1843, east of the present San'â. In the first century before Christ, Harith, a descendant of Himjar, gained the ascendancy over the kingdom of the Sabæans. Since then the Himjarites have been the ruling people in Yemen. In Gen. x., 28; 1 Chron. i., 22, the שְׁבָא appear as the sons of Joktan, a descendant of Eber, as also in the Arabic traditions; in Gen. xxv., 3; 1 Chron. i., 32, as a descendant of Abraham by Keturah, in both cases thus as Semites; whereas in Gen. x., 7; 1 Chron. i., 9, the שְׁבָא are Cushites, and thus Hamites, like the סְבָא, with whom they are named in Isa. xliii, 3; xlv., 14; Ps. lxxii., 10. By סְבָא we are to understand according to Josephus (Ant. 2, 10, 2), Meroe, a province of Æthiopia enclosed by the White and Blue Nile (the present Sennâr) with a similarly named capital. If we assume—and we have seen above that much may be said in favor of the supposition—that the Hamites, crowded from the lands of the Euphrates to the south-west, mingled with the Semites in Southern Arabia, whence then followed their migration to Habesh, it becomes clear on the

Digitized by Google

one hand that the table of nations recognizes Cushites also in Arabia (שְׁבָא and דְּדָן), on the other hand that the same races are represented as Abrahamitic, doubtfully Joktanitic, and thus as Semites, just as the table of nations names the Havilæans and Sabæans (Gen. x., 7, 28 seq.) as Cushitic and thus as African, also as Joktanitic and thus as Semitic. That the African Sabæans are fundamentally identical with Arabians, cannot be doubted. The Æthiopians stood in close contact with the Sabæans. The commercial relations of the two peoples are old, their languages strongly resemble each other; the Æthiopic writing originated in the Sabæan. We know the Southern Arabic from numerous Himjaritic and Sabæan inscriptions, some of which date back even to the 8th century before Christ. The Æthiopic or Ge'ez (that is, the language of the free) exhibits a literature from the time when the Æthiopians went over to Christianity (third century after Christ). It is closely related to the Northern Arabic as well as to the Southern, is not less rich and improved than the latter, and has moreover a considerable number of words common to the Hebrew and Aramaic, which are not found in the Arabic. It differs also still further from the latter, for example, in the formation of the Imperfect and case-endings (excepting the accusative). In many respects it has preserved an ancient type as have all the Semitic languages, among which it stands alone and peculiar through the development of the *u* having the guttural and palatal sound.

In the fourteenth century after Christ this language, by a change of dynasty, was displaced by the Amharic dialect which is still spoken in Habesh, while the Ge'ez language remained only for sacred and ecclesiastical uses. The present dialects, the Tigre and Tigrina, are to be regarded as a dialectical development of the Ge'ez, with which the Amharic stands in remote relationship.

The Arabic, which has most faithfully preserved the Semitic type, is one of the richest and most polished and, by its diffusion and importance for literary and historical purposes, one of the most remarkable languages of the world. What we call the Arabic is the northern—the chief dialect spoken at Mecca, the language of the Koran, and which was made by Mohammed the language of literature and general intercourse. The Arabic literature and, of course, our knowledge of the language begins shortly before Mohammed with numerous poems of diverse character, followed by the Koran. After the first Abbasides and the building of Bagdad (in the ninth century), besides being used in the national literature, it flourished also indeed on foreign soil and was employed in treating of scientific subjects, as philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The true national literature of the Arabians consists in an important succession of poets, grammarians and rhetoricians, historians and geographers, which closes only with the fourteenth century after Christ. A language like the Arabic could hardly be wanting in dialectical variations, and it is worthy of note that many of its dialectical peculiarities agree more with the Hebrew than does the common

Digitized by Google

written Arabic language. This is true especially of the so-called vulgar Arabic. This exhibits again various dialects, as at the present time an Algerian, an Egyptian, a Maltesian, and a Syrian.

We have already remarked that in the fifth century before Christ the Babylonio-Assyrian and the Hebrew yielded to the Aramaic. With the advent and diffusion of Islamism the Arabic became the dominant language not only in the old Semitic lands, but also beyond these, not only in Middle and Northern Arabia, in Palestine, Syria and the Euphrates region, but also from the north-west of Africa along the entire northern coast to Egypt inclusive, small tracts of country excepted, where at the present time the Aramaic still prevails, or where, as in Abyssinia the Amharic, or, as in Southern Arabia, a daughter-language of the Sabæan —the Machri, is spoken.

If we consider the age of the literary works preserved to us in the different Semitic languages, we meet with this peculiar phenomenon, that the literature of that Semitic people whose language is marked by the greatest antiquity of forms, namely, of the Arabian people, is in respect of age the youngest. After this, going backwards, we should first meet the Æthiopic, then the Aramaic, then the Phœnician monuments which have been preserved to us. Then would follow the New Babylonian and the oldest Southern Arabic inscriptions, then the Assyrian. Next following would be the oldest portions of Old Testament literature, as the song of Deborah, parts of the Pentateuch, etc. The highest age would be adjudged to the Old Babylonian monuments, to the oldest Semitico-Babylonian royal inscriptions, to the so-called Izdubar-legends, etc. There lies then between the oldest assignable date of the Assyro-Babylonian literature and that of the oldest Arabic a period of more than 2000 years.

We have now, having attempted a survey of the Semitic races and languages, to pass to the question of the character of the Semites, and to point out what part they have accomplished in the general work of civilization as in contradistinction from the Indo-Germans. In the first place, the keen dialectics of the understanding, the aiming above every thing at logical separation and analysis, has been pointed out as characteristic of the Semites in contrast with the comprehensive intuition and thought of the Indo-Germans. With the latter there is a tendency from the particular to the general under which it is comprehended, while with the former it is from the general to the particular into which it is analyzed. Accordingly the Semite, especially the Hebrew, has no word for world. He designates the same—and we find this in the first verse of the Old Testament—by the twofold name of Heaven and Earth. And as illustrative of the peculiarities of Semitic grammar as contrasted with the Indo-German: the blending into unity of the diverse elements of the latter, is wanting in the former. The Semitic, with the exception of proper names, knows nothing of compounding, nothing of arranging matter in periods; the thoughts follow each other without connection.

Digitized by Google

If now we must concede to the Semites greater gifts of reasoning, greater consistency of thought, and also greater energy of action and feeling than those which characterize the Indo-Germans, on the other hand we must grant to the latter greater diversity of talent, greater originality, which has fitted them for performances in which they stand incomparably higher than the Semites, with whom at the same time the undiminished merit will ever remain, that they—we speak here of the civilization derived from Babylon—mediately transmitted the elements of civilization, important to the Indo-Germans and first borrowed indeed by other nations, and that later, as this was done through the Arabians, they then appropriated for half a thousand years the culture created by the Indo-Germans, and so saved the western lands.

A natural disposition for monotheism has been ascribed to the Semites, and it has been asserted that this is the original form of religion with all the Semites. But proof of this assertion has not yet been produced. The religion of the people passing for the oldest civilized Semitic nation, is in its first and oldest phase polytheistic. As regards the Israelitish nation, we find indeed monotheism with them; but this was not developed in a natural way from their history. There is no stronger argument against the assumption of a natural disposition to monotheism on the part of this people, than is furnished in their own history, which shows us what sorrows befel them, till they learned, immovably to hold by one God, who had revealed himself as their Redeemer. Finally, in regard to the Arabians, the religion of the old pre-Islamitish Arabians is fundamentally a star-worship, and the monotheism introduced by Mahomet is no product of an Arabian Semiticism, but flowed from the two monotheistic religions, the Jewish and the Christian, which already at the time of Mohamet had gained a strong footing on the Arabian peninsula.

Digitized by Google

THE HEBREW SYNONYMS בִּקֵּשׁ AND דָּרַשׁ.

By Rev. Philip A. Nordell,

New London, Conn.

The difference in meaning in these verbs is so slight that they are generally used indiscriminately to express the idea of seeking or searching. The primary meaning of בקש seems to be *to cleave*, with the purpose of penetrating a thing to ascertain its contents. It does not designate a searching with the hands, i. e., a *feeling*, *groping* after something, as the habit of the blind is, which idea is expressed by גָּשַׁשׁ, מָשַׁשׁ, or חָפַשׁ (ψηλαφάω). On the contrary, it presupposes the power and use of vision, viz., *to look into* a thing, or *to look after* something not in sight, hence to seek. דרש reaches a similar idea of seeking from the primary meaning of *rubbing*, or wearing off the surface, and so of penetrating, breaking in, for the purpose of finding something.

From their common relation to material things ("The asses which thou wentest to seek," לבקש, 1 Sam. x., 2; "And Moses diligently sought, דָּרַשׁ דָּרַשׁ, the goat," Lev. x., 16), both words pass into higher spiritual relationships; but, while still almost parallel in meaning, we perceive a tendency to differentiation. דרש develops a spiritual meaning more frequently and profoundly than בקש. The latter even in its higher application to prayer or supplication, whether offered to an earthly monarch (Esther iv., 8; Neh. ii., 4), or to God (Ezra viii., 23), looks more to the external act, while the former looks more to the internal state or attitude of the suppliant. בקש, accordingly, is used in the common phrase *to seek the face of Jehovah*, a theocratic expression for appearing before him in his temple, the place where his "face" or presence is revealed, and where he enters into intercourse with his people (Ps. xxiv., 6; xxvii., 8, etc.). In the simpler phrase, לבקש את־יהוה *to seek the Lord*, this term still preserves its outward, theocratic aspect toward the worship centering in Jerusalem, as in 2 Chron. xi., 16, "Such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel came to Jerusalem to sacrifice;" xx., 4, "Out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the Lord;" Zach. viii., 22, "Many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem." But when, on the contrary, Jehovah is approached, not for the purposes of ordinary worship, but with an anxious desire to obtain his help in some personal (Gen. xxv., 22), or national (2 Chron. xxxiv., 21) danger, or to ascertain his will in respect to any contemplated enterprise (1 Kgs. xxii., 5), דרש is invariably used, for this directs attention to the inner condition of the mind or heart, rather than to the mere outward act. This distinction is very apparent in such a passage as Deut. iv., 29, "If from thence ye shall seek, בקשתם, the Lord

Digitized by Google

thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search, תִּדְרְשֶׁנּוּ, for him with all thy heart and all thy soul." That the condition implied in בִּקַּשְׁתֶּם was regarded as literally as circumstances permitted after the people had been carried into captivity, we learn from Dan. IX., 3. The exiled prophet could not present himself before Jehovah in the temple, for it lay in ruins. But he who habitually prayed with his windows "open toward Jerusalem," would certainly not neglect to do so when on an occasion of supreme importance, he "set his face unto the Lord God, to seek, לְבַקֵּשׁ, prayer and supplications, in fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes." Here the preponderating reference in the word plainly is to the external, elaborately formal aspect of the seeking, while the burdened spirit of the suppliant is sufficiently indicated in the prayer itself.

Far more than בקש, דרש points to a real trouble or concern of the soul that exhibits itself in an active striving after the person or thing which is sought. Hence it becomes the most appropriate, as it certainly is the most frequent, term used to denote the soul's seeking after God. When used in connection with the law of the Lord, it points to a seeking for that which does not lie upon the surface, but which can only be attained by a deeper penetration into its spirit. "I have sought, דָּרָשְׁתִּי, thy precepts," Ps. CXIX., 94; "Ezra prepared his heart to seek, לִדְרוֹשׁ, the law of the Lord," Ezr. VII., 10, i. e., *to study* it so as to master its contents. Hence מִדְרָשׁ, a study or commentary on an inspired writing, a search into its deeper sense. But when a mere outward, superficial knowledge of the law is spoken of, such as the people received from the priests, Mal. II., 7, בקש is the word used.

In many, perhaps most, occurrences, these words may be rendered, as in fact they are, by *seek*, *quærere*, *ζητεῖν*; yet in many places the inclination of the one toward the outward, formal act, and of the other toward the inner spiritual process, is quite manifest, even when it may not be possible to carry this distinction into a translation, as in Ps. CV., 4, דִּרְשׁוּ יְהוָה וְעֻזּוֹ בַּקְּשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד, where the AV. renders both verbs by *seek*, the Vulg. by *quærite*, and the LXX. by *ζητήσατε*.

Digitized by Google

HEBREW POETRY.

By Professor Charles A. Briggs, D. D.,

Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

At the request of Prof. W. R. Harper I propose to give a series of articles upon Hebrew Poetry, in order to set forth the doctrine of its structure. Those who desire information with regard to the history of the discussions on this subject will find it briefly set forth in my *Biblical Study* (pp. 255 seq.). It is sufficient to state here that the statements of Josephus, Eusebius and Jerome that Hebrew Poetry is composed of hexameters, pentameters and trimeters are essentially correct. But we must banish from our minds any measurement of the feet such as we find in Greek, Latin and Arabic poetry. Moreover, we cannot agree with Dr. Bickell that Hebrew poetry is measured by syllables, without regard to quantity, as in Syriac poetry, so that there is a constant succession of accented and unaccented syllables, and hence either iambic or trochaic feet. Hebrew poetry is at a still earlier stage of development than Syriac poetry. It does not count the syllables or measure the feet; but it counts the words and measures by the beats of the accent.

The Măqqēph is used in the Massoretic system as a guide to cantillation. It is frequently placed where the rhythm requires it. But cantillation is very different from the proper rendering of poetry. It is necessary, therefore, to disregard the Massoretic Măqqēphs. However, the use of the Măqqēph for cantillation rests upon an older use for the rhythm. The Măqqēphs must be inserted, therefore, wherever the rhythm requires it, for this is a device whereby two or more words are combined under one rhythmical accent.

I. THE HEBREW TRIMETER.

The simplest and earliest form of Hebrew verse is the trimeter, measured by three rhythmical accents. There are dimeter lines, but there is no piece of poetry in the Hebrew Bible that is constructed of dimeters. They are used merely to give variation to the trimeters, especially at the beginning or close of a strophe, or where it is important that there should be a pause in the movement of the thought or emotion.

The Book of Numbers has preserved for us several pieces of poetry that are ascribed to Balaam. These all have the trimeter movement. We shall use them as illustrations, and from them, by induction, describe the several kinds of parallelism.

מן־ארם ינחני בלק
מלך־מואב מהררי קדם

Digitized by Google

לכה ארה־לי יעקב
ולכה זעמה ישראל
מה־אקב לא־קבה אל
ומה־אזעם לא־זעם יהוה
כי־מראש צרים אראנו
ומן גבעות אשורנו
הן־עם לבדד ישכן
ובגוים לא יתחשב
מי־מנה עפר יעקב
ומי־ספר את־רבע ישראל
תמת נפשי מות־ישרים
ותהי אחרית כמהו

Numbers XXIII., 7–10.

Every line has the three rhythmical accents except the eighth, which is a dimeter. Such lines frequently occur in the trimeters. They were often designed by the poet; but there are instances in which we may doubt whether the Massoretic text has preserved the original line of the poem. There are also examples where the secondary accent of a long word has the power of a rhythmical accent. It is our opinion that line 8 of our poem, in its original form, read—

ומן ו גבעות ו אשורנו

There is no consistency of usage in the Massoretic text in the use of the preposition מן. Sometimes it is separable and at other times inseparable, and again it is separable and combined by a Măqqēph. Mistakes of copyists were so easy here that we cannot be sure, in many cases, in which way the original text existed. And in the lines of poetry, where there is no clear reason for departing from the rhythm, the prepositions should be separable or inseparable, as the rhythm requires. In this piece we have removed one Massoretic Măqqēph in line 2, where it combines two words of four syllables under one accent and reduces the line to a dimeter. We have inserted the Măqqēph in four cases, in no instance making more than three syllables. We have corrected the text of line 12 after Orelli, in accordance with the parallelism, so as to read מי ספר instead of מספר. We translate this piece into English prose, preserving the parallelisms:—

1. From Aram Balaq brings me,
2. The King of Moab from the mountains of the East:
3. "O come, curse for me Jacob,
4. And O come, execrate Israel."
5. How can I denounce whom 'El doth not denounce?
6. Or how can I execrate what Jahveh doth not execrate?
7. For from the top of the rocks I see him,
8. And from the hills I spy him.
9. Lo, a people alone, he dwelleth,

Digitized by Google

10. And he reckons himself not among the nations.
11. Who hath numbered the dust of Jacob?
12. Or who hath counted the fourth of Israel?
13. Let me, myself, die the death of the upright,
14. And let my last end be like his.—(Num. XXIII., 7–10.)

There are several fine specimens of parallelism in this piece. Lines 5 and 6 give us a complete synonymous distich in which the three terms are synonymous with each other, "denounce" with "execrate," twice, and "'El" with "Jahveh." Lines 11 and 12 are synonymous in two terms, "counted" with "numbered," and "Israel" with "Jacob," but there is a progress in the third term from "dust" to "fourth part." Lines 1 and 2 are synonymous in "King of Moab" with "Balaq" and "mountains of the East" with "Aram," but the third term of line 1 does not appear in line 2; it is implied, however. Lines 3 and 4 give the second and third terms as synonymous, but the first term is identical. Lines 9 and 10 are synonymous in thought, but there is no close correspondence of the terms. Lines 13 and 14 give the synonymous parallels in the single term "last end" and "death," but in other respects the thought is synonymous without exact correspondence of terms. Thus this poem is composed of seven couplets all synonymous and yet varying, so that sometimes the correspondence is in a single term, and then it extends to two or three terms, and then again it is general and without correspondence of any one term with its mate.

The second poem of Balaam (Num. XXIII., 18–24) has the same trimeter movement, but it extends to twenty-two lines. There is but one short line (l. 20). But this may be explained in the same way as in the previous poem, by making the preposition separable (cf. Exod. XV., 5). We remove the Măqqēphs in three instances and insert them in four cases:—

1. Rise up, Balaq, and hear thou,
2. O give ear unto me, son of Zippor.
3. 'El is no man that he should lie,
4. Neither a son of mankind that he should be sorry.
5. Hath he said and will he not do it?
6. Or hath he spoken and will he not establish it?
7. Lo, to bless I have received (commandment);
8. And if he bless I cannot reverse it.
9. He doth not behold trouble in Jacob,
10. And he doth not see misery in Israel.
11. Jahveh his God is with him,
12. And the shout of a king is in him.
13. 'El has been bringing him out of Egypt,
14. As the swiftness of the yore-ox has he.
15. For there is no magic in Jacob,

Digitized by Google

16. And no divination in Israel;
17. At the due time it will be said of Jacob,
18. And of Israel, what hath 'El wrought!
19. Behold, the people rises up as a lioness,
20. And as a lion lifts himself up:
21. He will not lie down until he devour prey
22. And drink the blood of the slain.—(Num. XXIII., 18–24.)

There is synonymous parallelism of three terms in lines 5 and 6, 9 and 10, 15 and 16; of two terms in lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 19 and 20, 21 and 22; of one term in lines 7 and 8, and 11 and 12. There are several distichs that present new features. Lines 13 and 14 give progressive parallelism, in that line 14 is a complement of 13. "'El has been bringing him out of Egypt," and in this bringing up he is like the gigantic ox of ancient times. The progression here is in the form of a simile. Lines 17 and 18 give a specimen of the marching parallelism. The RV. mistakes it by attaching "of Israel" to the previous line, destroying the rhythm of both lines and the parallelism at the same time. The first member of line 18 is synonymous with the last member of line 17, and from this as a base the line advances to the climax "What hath 'El wrought!" Lines 7 and 8 give a specimen of mixed parallelism. There is the identical term "bless" which serves to emphasize the antithetical parallelism in the single term "reverse" with "received."

The third poem of Balaam (Num. XXIV., 3–9) has exactly the same structure and length as the second poem. We remove two Măqqēphs and insert three. We amend the text by omitting the relative pronoun of line 4, as a prosaic addition to the text. It is not common to use the relative pronoun in Hebrew poetry. No poet would destroy his rhythm by using it where it is unnecessary. We change the Massoretic accents of verses 6 and 7 so as to read—

משכנתיך ׀ ישראל ׀ כנחלים
נטיו ׀ כגנות ׀ עלי-נהר

The text of verse 8 is corrupt and the versions differ in their renderings. The Massoretic חץ = arrow, is against the context, which refers to the yore-ox and the lion, and the use of arrows is inappropriate to these animals. It seems to us that the original reading of line 18 was

ועצמתיהם ׀ יגרם ׀ ומחץ

The Massoretic וְחִצָּיו יְמַחֵץ has arisen by a mistake in rewriting the end letters ח and צ. There are three dimeter lines, e. g., 14, 21 and 22, where the variation seems to be intentional.

1. The oracle of Balaam, son of Beor;
2. Yea, the oracle of the man with closed eyes,
3. The oracle of one hearing the sayings of 'El,
4. Who beholds the vision of Shadday

Digitized by Google

5. Fallen down and with eyes uncovered.
6. How excellent are thy tents, Jacob,
7. Thy tabernacles, Israel, as vales,
8. Spread forth as gardens by a river,
9. As lign-aloes which Jahveh planted,
10. As cedars beside waters.
11. May water flow from his buckets,
12. And his seed be on many waters,
13. And may his king be higher than Agag,
14. And may his kingdom exalt itself,
15. 'El has been bringing him forth from Egypt,
16. Yea, as the swiftness of the yore-ox has he.
17. He eateth up the nations his adversaries,
18. And their bones gnaweth and crusheth,
19. He doth couch, doth lie down as the lion,
[20. And as a lioness; who would stir him up?
21. Blessed be those blessing thee,
22. And cursed be those cursing thee.

This poem gives additional features of parallelism. The poem opens with a pentastich describing the condition of the prophet under the influence of the prophetic mania. The first three lines begin with an identical term, "oracle." The second line has its second term synonymous with the second term of the first line, but its third term is a new idea, "with closed eyes." The third line has its second term synonymous, but its third term is new, "sayings of 'El." The fourth line gives three terms which are synonymous with the second and third terms of the previous line. The fifth line is progressive to the fourth, presenting a new thought in the climax of the pentastich.

We then have a second pentastich. Lines 6 and 7 have two terms in synonymous parallelism, but the third term of line 7 is progressive in the simile "as vales." This is followed by three other similes in steady synthesis of the lines.

We have next two tetrastichs, the first composed of two synonymous couplets. The second begins with a tetrastich in which Israel is compared with a yore-ox. Line 16 is progressive to line 15. Lines 17 and 18 are synonymous, save that the object is emphasized in line 17, "nations, his adversaries;" but the verb is emphasized in line 18, "gnaweth and crusheth." We next have a distich which is synonymous in the terms "lion" with "lioness," in order to the strong antithesis of "doth couch, doth lie down" with "who will stir him up?" The poem closes with an antithetical distich.

The fourth poem of Balaam is composed of a longer piece and several short ones (Num. XXIV., 15–24). The larger poem is composed of sixteen lines describing the subjugation of Moab and Edom to Israel. The oracle against the Ama-

Digitized by Google

lekites is a distich, and those against the Kenites and Assyria, tetrastichs. We remove one Măqqēph and insert five. We change the text by transferring "his enemies" to line 16. It is a plural and inappropriate, where it is, both to the structure of the line and the sense. It is, moreover, needed in line 16 to supply the verb with an object and complete the line. Furthermore, the line to which it is attached is a repetition of the previous line, with the single exception of the use of Seir for Edom, and it should be stricken out. We also change the meaningless מעיר into שעיר in line 17. There is but one dimeter in this poem and it is where we would expect it, at the beginning of the oracle against the Kenites.

1. Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor,
2. Yea, oracle of the man with closed eyes,
3. Oracle of one hearing the sayings of 'El,
4. And of one knowing the knowledge of 'Elyon,
5. Who beholds the vision of Shadday,
6. Fallen down and with eyes open.
7. I see it, but it is not now;
8. I observe it, but it is not near;
9. A star doth advance out of Jacob,
10. Yea, a sceptre doth arise out of Israel,
11. And it doth smite through the corners of Moab,
12. And it doth break down all the sons of tumult.
13. And Edom has become a possession.
14. Yea, Israel is a doer of valient deeds,
15. Yea, let one out of Jacob have dominion over his enemies
16. And destroy the remnant of Seir.

The parallelisms of this piece present few additional features. The poem opens with a hexastich. It differs from the first pentastich of the previous poem only by the insertion of an additional line (l. 4) which is entirely synonymous with the previous line. This hexastich is followed by another hexastich which is composed of three synonymous couplets. These three couplets are completely synonymous within themselves, but are each progressive to its predecessor. The poem concludes with a tetrastich of introverted parallelism, that is, the last line of the four is in synonymous parallelism with the first line. The middle lines are also in synonymous parallelism, save that the third line has an additional term defining more closely the dominion.

The oracle against Amalek is an antithetical distich:

First of the nations was Amalek,
But his last end (extends) unto one ready to perish.

The oracle against the Kenites is a tetrastich composed of antithetical couplets:

Digitized by Google

Strong is thy dwelling-place,
And set in the rock thy nest:
Nevertheless Kain will be for wasting;
How long ere Asshur carry thee away captive?

The oracle against Asshur is a progressive tetrastich:

Alas, who can live when 'El establishes it?
But ships will come from the coast of Kittim,
And afflict Asshur and afflict Eber,
But he also shall go on unto one ready to perish.

These four poems of Balaam illustrate the regular flow of the trimeter movement in Hebrew poetry and the great variety of parallelisms. I give a reproduction of the Hebrew trimeter in English poetry by my pupil George H. Gilbert, Ph. D., who has succeeded in reproducing the sublime Poem of Job in English poetry of the same movement.

If I with falsehood have walked,
And my foot hasted after deceit—
Let Him weigh me in righteous scales,
That Eloah my virtue may know!
If my step turned aside from the way,
And my heart followed after my eyes,
And a blemish did cleave in my palm:
Let me sow, and another one eat,
And my shoots, let them be rooted up.—(XXXI., 5–8.)

If gold I have made my support,
And to fine gold have said, O my trust!
If I joyed that my wealth was great,
And my hand had acquired much goods;
If I saw the light when it shone,
And the moon in majesty moving;
If my heart became foolish in secret,
And my hand did cleave to my mouth:
This, too, were a crime for the judges,
For to God above I had lied.—(XXXI., 24–28.)

In our next article we propose to present some specimens of the strophical organization of the trimeters and also examples of the use of rhyme, assonance and alliteration.

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By John P. Peters, Ph. D.,

Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Nebuchadrezzar I.—In Hebraica, January, 1885, I called attention to certain difficulties in the way of attributing to Nebuchadrezzar I. the Boundary Stone Inscription (V. R. lv.–lix.). Further consideration has induced me to suppose that the inscription is in reality an historical inscription of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar (cf. Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch., Jan., 1886). So far as I know no reason has been assigned for attributing the inscription to Nebuchadrezzar I., 1150 B. C. (cf. Hebraica, Oct., 1884, p. 118). We know nothing about this monarch, except what we learn from the Synchronous History (II R., lxv.), that he was defeated by Aššurešiši, father of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria. This inscription was assigned to Nebuchadrezzar I. without argument, and has been accepted apparently without demur. I must, therefore, imagine the arguments which I shall endeavor to answer.

(1) The characters used are archaic. This, as all know, is something very common in the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. The characters used in the Boundary Stone can be matched almost character for character from a Nebuchadrezzar inscription in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Hebraica, Jan., 1885, p. 185), and my chief aid in deciphering the latter was Hilprecht's edition of the former. The characters on the Boundary Stone are not unlike the archaic script of the great East India Company Inscription (I R., liii.–lxiv.).

(2) The titles given to Nebuchadrezzar. Other Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions agree in celebrating that monarch as a great builder, more particularly as "the restorer of E-saggil and E-zida," and in adorning him with a number of religious titles. The Boundary Stone Inscription, on the other hand, ascribes to its Nebuchadrezzar chiefly warlike titles. In explanation of this difference it must be remembered that the other Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions are all of them votive and architectural, the Boundary Stone alone is military and administrative. We should expect different titles. For example, the titles given to Ašurbanipal in the barrel cylinder from Aboo-Habba (V R., lxii.; cf. Hebraica, Jan., 1886) are so colored by the votive and architectural character of the inscription, that we can scarcely recognize the war-waging monarch familiar to us elsewhere. The character of titles to be used is largely determined by the contents of the inscription to follow. This will explain the absence of the customary votive and architectural titles from a military and administrative inscription. The method of titu-

Digitized by Google

lation in this inscription is, however, singularly like that employed in the well-known Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions. The great inscription, above referred to, spends twenty-two lines in heaping up titles appropriate to a devout temple-builder. Out of a total of 100 lines the inscription in the Metropolitan Museum devotes sixteen to a similar accumulation of religious and architectural titles (HEBRAICA, April, 1885). In a precisely similar manner the Boundary Stone inscription opens with eleven lines in which titles appropriate to a warrior and fixer of boundaries are heaped one upon another (Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., April, 1884). But besides the general resemblance of style and method, there are, further, several specific points of resemblance. Rubu nâdu "prince glorious," narâm Marduk "favorite of Marduk," šar kinâti ša dîn mišari idinnu "king of justice who judges righteous judgment" have identical or similar parallels in almost every Nebuchadrezzar inscription of any length.

(3) The Nebuchadrezzar of the Boundary Stone does not call himself son of Nabopolassar, whereas in the votive and architectural inscriptions, and on the stamped bricks, of which we have so many, the great Nebuchadrezzar always so calls himself. This does, of course, establish a negative presumption against the Boundary Stone Inscription. But, assuming Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar to be the author, an exact parallel can be found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria (Lotz, Tig. Pil.). The stamped bricks of that monarch, and the inscription found at the source of the Tigris, call him the son of Aššurešiši, but in the great prisma inscription his father's name is not mentioned. Similarly in the Bavian and prisma inscriptions Sennacherib omits all mention of his father. It should be said further that, if the Nebuchadrezzar of the Boundary Stone does not call himself son of Nabopolassar, neither does he call himself son of any one else.

But there is, also, a strong positive argument in favor of ascribing the Boundary Stone Inscription to Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. As soon as the recitation of titles is completed (l. 12) Marduk is introduced as inspiring Nebuchadrezzar to act. This, even to the phraseology used, is a genuine finger-mark of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar (cf., in addition to the inscriptions above cited, the Borsippa and Senkereh cylinders, I R., LI., the Phillipps' barrel I R., LXV., etc.).

In the Boundary Stone Inscription (col. I., 10) Nebuchadrezzar calls himself kašid mat aḫarrî "subduer of the West-land." Now a comparison of the Synchronous History and the Hebrew records seems to justify us in affirming with a fair degree of positiveness that a king of Babylon did not subdue Phœnicia or Palestine in 1150 B. C. On the other hand, we have evidence that Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar did subdue those countries.

In the Boundary Stone Inscription (col. I., 43) Nebuchadrezzar claims to have conquered Elam. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel testify that Nebuchadrezzar son of

Digitized by Google

Nabopolassar conquered that country (Jer. XXV., 25; XLIX., 34 seq.; Ezek. XXXII., 24).

These are the reasons which oblige us to attribute the Boundary Stone Inscription to Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. The references in Jer. XLIX., 24 seq., and Ezek. XXXII., 17, 24, fix the date of the events narrated in this inscription between 595 B. C. and 585 B. C.

Eine unedirte Nebukadnezar-Inschrift.—Under this title Dr. Bezold publishes in the January number of the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, from three small cylinders in the British Museum, a short inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, consisting of thirty-six half lines in all, regarding the restoration of the temple of NIN MAG in Babylon. In his *Expedition en Mesopotamie*, I., 237, M. Oppert published the same inscription from a cylinder in the collection of the Duc de Luynes; and, if I remember aright, he mentions three other identical cylinders, one in the Louvre, and two in Berlin. There is another specimen of the same cylinder in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This latter is not so well preserved as those of which Dr. Bezold made use; but fortunately it is entirely legible in one half-line (34), where Dr. Bezold has been forced to resort to conjecture. It does not confirm his conjecture.

The Date of Sargon of Akkad.—In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Nov., 1882, appeared Mr. Pinches' notice of the famous cylinder of Aboo-Habba (V R., LXIV.), in which Nabonidus tells of his discovery of "the cylinder of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which for *three thousand two hundred years* no king before me had seen." This would make the date of Naram-Sin 3750 B. C., and that of Sargon about 3800 B. C. Since Mr. Pinches' discovery, these dates seem to have been universally accepted. Now it seems to me that, tested in the same way in which we test Hebrew numbers, the number 3200 can not be maintained, on present evidence at least. In 1 Kgs. VI., 1, we are told that Solomon began to build the temple in the 480th year from the exodus. Most scholars, I suppose, regard this, not as an accurate number, but as the Hebrew way of expressing "twelve generations." Forty years is their reckoning of a generation, as in the wanderings in the wilderness, and more than once in the Book of Judges. The writer of those words in 1 Kgs. VI., 1, simply counted up twelve generations of names, and expressed the result, after the Hebrew idiom, as stated above. The number 3200, of which Nabonidus makes use, is a round number, divisible by forty. I think the scribes of Nabonidus have reckoned after the method just outlined. They counted up eighty names between Nabonidus and Naram-Sin, and expressed that number of generations by the proper multiple of forty, which is 3200. The number 3200, then, means nothing more than eighty generations. Now, in actual practice a generation, particularly a royal generation, is much less

Digitized by Google

than forty years. The eponym canon gives the average length of reign of the Assyrian kings as nineteen years. In Judah, taking the Bible numbers, from David to Josiah inclusive, the average length is twenty-seven years. In Israel, taking the Bible numbers from David to Jeroboam II. inclusive, twenty years. Averaging these, then, we should have twenty-two years for a royal generation. The Babylonian canon of Ptolemy, from Κινηλαδάνου to Ἀρωγοῦ inclusive, gives the same average. Multiplying twenty-two by eighty we obtain 1760 years, in place of Nabonidus' 3200. This would place Naram-Sin about 2400 B. C., and Sargon about 2450 B. C.; dates not far removed from those conjectured for the earliest Babylonian monarchs before this discovery was made. The dated tablets noticed in the Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Arch. for May, 1884, and the astronomical argument with reference to the Izdubar epic and the precession of the equinox both seem to me to harmonize better with the later than with the earlier date.

Hebrew Use of Numbers.—The use of forty as a round number, and of forty years for "generation" has been often commented upon, but I do not think attention has been sufficiently directed to an analogous use of certain other numbers. So "five" is often used as we use "few" or "half-a-dozen," and "two" as we use "couple."

"FIVE:" Gen. XLIII., 34; XLV., 22; XLVII., 2; Lev. XXVI., 8; Judg. XVIII., 2; 1 Sam. XVI., 20 (for חמור substitute המשה), XVII., 40; XXI., 3; XXV., 18, 42; 2 Kgs. VII., 13; XVIII., 19; XXV., 19; Isa. XVII., 6; XIX., 18; XXX., 17; Matt. XIV., 17; 1 Cor. XIV., 19.

"TWO:" Gen. IV., 24; XXII., 22; Deut. XVII., 6; Judg. V., 30; XI., 37; 1 Sam. XXV., 18; 1 Kgs. XX., 27; 2 Kgs. II., 24 (?); V., 22 (?); Isa. XVII., 6; Hos. VI., 2; Amos IV., 8; Matt. XIV., 17.

This use of "two" involves a somewhat analogous use of "three" as its complement, as in Hos. VI., 2. Compare, for example, the Hebrew idiom "yesterday the third day," etc., Deut. XIX., 4; 1 Sam. IV., 7; XIX., 7; 2 Sam. III., 17; XIII., 4; and the corresponding idiom for future time, Luke XIII., 32.

Numbers II., 1, 17, etc., give us an example of the literalizing and rendering accurate of this general and indefinite use under the influence of a precise ritual. The origin of this use of "five," as also the similar use of "ten" as a round number, like our "dozen," is to be found, presumably, in finger counting (cf. Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., May, 1883.)

The use of the numbers "ten" and "seven" has received more or less attention. The multiple of those two numbers is used in Hebrew to indicate indefinite extent, Gen. IV., 24; Judg. IX., 56; 2 Kgs. X., 1; Jer. XXV., 11; XXIX., 10 (cf. 28); Matt. XVIII., 22. Also, as a variation from the above, "seventy years" is used to indicate the period of a long, or full life, Isa. XXIII., 15, 17; Ps. XC., 10, and, perhaps, Gen. V., 12; XI., 26; Exod. I., 5.

Digitized by Google

Amos VI., 2.—In his KAT. (444 seq.), Prof. Schrader calls attention to the historical references in this verse as indicating a date as late as 711 B. C. He also quotes Prof. Bickell to show that grammatically and metrically the verse bears every mark of being an interpolation. Any one who will read Amos VI., 1–7, in the original, omitting the second verse, and then read it supplying that verse, will need, I think, no further argument to convince him of the correctness of Prof. Bickell's view. But the same thing occurs in at least one other passage in the same book. In IV., 13, a song is commenced, and at once dropped, to be resumed again in the same meter in V., 8, 9. In this case the inserted matter is itself of a poetical character, and seems to be of the nature of a discursive comment, suggested by the first verse of the song. In the former case the inserted matter, which is prose, is also of the nature of a comment in support of the first verse of the song. On merely metrical grounds it is impossible to affirm that such comments do or do not come from the hand of the prophet. As to the historical references, it must not be forgotten that it is quite possible for Amos to have been alive in 711 B. C. The earliest reference in his book which we can date is, apparently, the reference to the eclipse of 763 B. C. (VIII., 9). The date 711 B. C. for Amos VI., 2, agrees in a very interesting manner with Prov. XXV., 1. Putting the two together, we see that Hezekiah did not merely cause a collection of the proverbs of Solomon to be made, but that that was a part of a collection of writings to constitute a library. Presumably the idea of a library, like the step-clock of Ahaz (2 Kgs. XX., 11), was due to Assyrian influence. Amos VI., 2 is a finger-mark, showing the book to have been edited, whether by the prophet himself or by royal scribes, for the library of Hezekiah. The Book of Hosea seems to me to bear, but less distinctly, marks of a similar editing.

Amos V., 6.—כדויך in this verse seems to be a metrical error. The word belongs neither to the first half of the verse, nor to the last half. It is a gloss of the simplest character like אֶת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר וְאֶת־כָּל־כְּבוֹדוֹ in Isa. VIII., 7.

Isaiah VII., 14.—There is a striking resemblance between this verse and Gen. XVI., 11.

(Isa VII., 14.).....הרה וילדת בן וקראת שמו עמנו אל
(Gen. XVI., 11.)...הרה וילדת בן וקראת שמו ישמע אל

Is there any proper ground for translating the tenses differently in the two verses?

Digitized by Google

THE WORD "KIDRON."

By Rev. Thos. Laurie,

Providence, R. I.

The New Revision, in a marginal note opposite John xviii., 1, gives, as the interpretation of the name Kidron, "of the cedars." I hardly dare to question the interpretation of such learned men, and yet I am perplexed by it. It is very true that κέδρος in Greek means "cedar tree," and of course κέδρων would mean "of the cedars." But then the question arises, Was Greek the language our Savior spoke? The words Talitha kumi, Ephphatha and L'ma Sabacthani would seem to indicate that, at least in ordinary intercourse, he spoke Aramean; so that the name of a place, or, as in this case, the glen of a winter torrent, would not be likely to be derived from a foreign language, but from the vernacular. Add to this the fact that here we have a word familiar to all Arabs, who speak, in the language of common conversation, of Moi Kidder *muddy* (or, as a Scotchman would say, *drumlie*) *water;* just as the opposite is Moi Safie *clear water.* In written Arabic it is مَا كَدَر (Ma Kadara).

In the Hebrew, Gesenius gives כָּדַר *to be turbid*, and, as כ and ק are often used interchangeably, קִדְרוֹן *The Turbid*, and says expressly, it is the proper name of the brook or torrent flowing in winter through the valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. A full description of it is given in Robinson's *Palestine*, I., pp. 396–402, 1st ed. On this last page he tells us that—

"It is nothing more than the dry bed of a wintry torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows here now except during the heavy rains of winter. Yet even in winter there is no constant flow, and our friends (missionaries), who had resided several years in the city, had never seen a stream running in the valley."

Of course such a stream, when it did flow, would be very *drumlie*, or, as the Arabs would say, *kidder*, and what name more fitting for such a năḥăl than the Hebrew form of it, Kidron,—not the wady of the cedars, but the wady of muddy, turbid water.

It may be said that Westcott and Hort's Revised Text of the Greek New Testament settles the question in favor of the rendering of the New Revision. But that is fairly open to question, on the following grounds:—

1. The MSS. on which that Revision rests for authority were not the original MSS. of the inspired writers, but copies made at many removes from the originals, and some of them as near to our own date as to that of the original writing.

2. These MSS. differ among themselves, and, in some passages, more recent transcripts seem to be more correct than older ones. Moreover, the selection

Digitized by Google

made between different readings is made on grounds not absolutely certain, but only probable, and in some cases the degree of probability is less inthan others.

3. Many transcribers of the New Testament have dealt less scrupulously with their MSS. than the Jews did with those of the Old Testament, and have ventured to alter and amend the text, sometimes bringing in a sentence from another place that seemed to guard the text from misconception, or make it plainer, and sometimes adding what in their estimation rounded out the narrative.

4. Many of these emendations had reference to names. Hebrew names were made to wear a Greek dress, e. g., *Elias* for *Elijah*, *Eliseus* for *Elisha*, and *Esaias* for *Isaiah*.

5. Many copyists were Greeks, without any knowledge of Hebrew; and nothing would be more likely than that they should change the Hebrew form of the proper name before us into the form which to them would be more intelligible.

6. Josephus began to decline the name in his writings,—*κέδρων*, —*ος*, —*ω*, —*ον*, etc.,—and so laid a foundation for the change in question. But,

7. The LXX. always give it as an indeclinable proper name, e. g.: *Ac.* *τὸν χ. κέδρων* (2 Sam. XV., 23; 2 Chron. XXIX., 16; XXX., 14; 2 Kgs. XXIII., 6); *Dat.* *τῷ χ. κέδρων* (2 Kgs. XXIII., 6); *Gen. Pl.* *ἐν τῷ χ. τῶν κέδρων* (2 Sam. XV., 23; 1 Kgs. XV., 13). If this had been *κεδρώνων*, it would have favored the rendering of the New Revision; but as it is, it is only the same indeclinable proper name unchanged.

It may be asked, Why put it in the plural, as well as Genitive? The answer is much more likely to be, because the Heb. מַיִם is never used in the singular. And so the Hebrew writer would naturally use *τῶν* in the Greek to express what we in English express by the singular, *muddy* or *turbid water*. This at least is much more probable than *cedar trees*, which, both in Hebrew and Aramean, are called Arz or Erez, Heb. אֶרֶז, Syriac or Aramean ארזא (Arzo).

Digitized by Google

NOTES FOR BEGINNERS.

By William R. Harper.

In General.—It is the purpose of the writer to furnish under this head in successive numbers of Hebraica, some material which, it is hoped, may prove to be interesting and profitable to that large class of the journal's constituency, those who are *beginners*. The word *beginner* is not, however, in this connection taken in its literal sense. While some of the suggestions made, and some of the hints offered may be of value only to those who are actual beginners, the material, in general, will be intended for those who have made at least some progress in the language. The "Notes" will be varied in their character, and designed to stimulate study in lines which perhaps the student, if left to himself, might overlook.

Origin of Various Vowel-sounds.—In the study of Hebrew the greatest difficulty experienced is the mastery of the principles which regulate the use of the various vowel-points. The question which one must ask and answer, several times perhaps in the case of every word, is this: How does there come to be here a Šᵉwâ, or a short vowel, or a long vowel? And in this question there are implied many subordinate questions. E. g., if it is a Šᵉwâ, it must be known (1) whether it is silent or vocal; (2) if vocal, from what earlier full vowel-sound it is derived; and (3) why it was changed from this original sound to a Šᵉwâ. If the vowel under consideration is *long*, the questions are: (1) What kind of a syllable is this? (2) Is the vowel tone-long or naturally long? (3) If naturally long, has it arisen from contraction, or in compensation, or because it is characteristic of a nominal form? (4) From what original sound or sounds has it come?

These questions can *always* be answered; and the man who has studied his Hebrew grammar through without learning the principles which furnish the answers, has studied it in vain. It is to be remembered, that a knowledge of the Massoretic system of vowel-points lies at the basis of all truly accurate and scientific knowledge of Hebrew. With this once mastered, the remaining work is comparatively easy.

Relative Occurrence of Vowel-sounds.—It may be of interest to know the relative frequency of occurrence of half-, short and long vowels in Hebrew. There is given below a table from which a reasonably accurate idea may be gained. The first four chapters of Genesis have been taken as a basis for calculation. This table shows that the average word has 2.76 vowel-sounds; that of a hundred vowel-sounds nearly sixteen are half-vowels, twenty-nine are short

Digitized by Google

vowels, fifty-five are long vowels. The long vowels are nearly twice as numerous as the short vowels, and three and a half times as numerous as the half-vowels. In this calculation no account has been taken of Păthăḥ-furtive, and no distinction made between simple (vocal) and compound Š'wâ.

	Verses.	Words.	Vowel-sounds.	Half-vowels.	Short vowels.	Long vowels.
Chapter I.	31	363	1042	173	316	553
Chapter II.	25	283	769	124	217	428
Chapter III.	24	298	821	117	225	479
Chapter IV.	26	290	784	121	240	423
Total		1234	3416	535	998	1883

The Nominative Absolute.—A construction not sufficiently emphasized in most grammars, and one worthy of careful study is that of the *Nominative Absolute*.[1] Consider the subject in the following way: (1) Note the use of הָאָרֶץ in Gen. XXVIII., 13, and find a similar construction in Gen. XXVI., 15; Deut. II., 23; XIV., 27; Josh. IX., 12. (2) Note the use of שְׁכֶם in Gen. XXXIV., 8 and find a similar construction in Deut. XXXII., 4; XXXIII., 17; 1 Sam. III., 11. (3) Note the use of הָאִישׁ מִיכָה in Judg. XVII., 5 and find a similar construction in Lev. VII., 7, 33; Job XXII., 8. (4) Note the use of אֲנִי in Gen. XVII., 4 and find a similar construction in Gen. XXIV., 27; XLII., 11; Deut. XVIII., 14.

Now study the phrases יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *Jehovah*, HE (is) *the God;* הַדָּם הוּא הַנֶּפֶשׁ *the blood*, THAT *is the life*. What is called the copula in these phrases, viz., הוּא, is really the subject of which האלהים in one case and הנפש in the other is the predicate; while the first word in each phrase is strictly speaking a nominative absolute, although logically the subject of the sentence. Compare with this similar cases in Gen. II., 14, 19; IX., 18; XV., 2; Isa. IX., 14; XXXIII., 6.

The following statement will serve now as a summing up of the matter: For the sake of emphasis and for the avoidance of unwieldy sentences a noun or pronoun is frequently placed at the beginning of the sentence with, strictly speaking, no grammatical relation to the other words of the sentence, but represented in the body of the sentence by a pronominal suffix. This noun or pronoun may be *logically* the object of the sentence, or its subject, or the object of a preposition; or standing as the logical subject, it may be resumed by the pronoun הוּא which then, though really the grammatical subject of the following predicate, is equivalent, or nearly so, to a copula.

Other particulars might be noted, but for the first study, this is sufficient.

The Word לֵב or לֵבָב.—Many students never take up their dictionary except to examine it with reference to something which has come up at the very

[1] See, however, Appendix V. 1, *The Casus Pendens* in Driver's Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, upon which this is based.

Digitized by Google

moment of examination. To read a dictionary, to study a word in all its various usages, without having at the time any particular purpose in view, is, in the opinion of this class, a sheer waste of time. But the fact is, these men make a great mistake. He who would know a language, must study its words one by one, and exhaustively. As an exercise of this kind let us take the Hebrew word for "heart" לֵב or לֵבָב. Take it up as follows:

(1) Ascertain from the lexicon the various forms of the word which it assumes in inflection.

(2) By means of a concordance, study up the occurrence of the word. How often does לֵב occur? How often לֵבָב? In what books is either form most common? Where is the phrase *my heart*, *his heart* found most often?

(3) Ascertain its fundamental meaning. Does the root from which it comes mean *to cover*, *to envelop*, or *to be fat*? Are there any roots of similar form and meaning?

(4) So far as you may be acquainted with the cognate languages, search out the words which correspond etymologically to that which is under consideration.

(5) Ascertain also, if you are able, the words generally used to translate the word לֵב (and לֵבָב) in the Septuagint, the Targums, the Peshitto, and the Vulgate.

(6) Look up any synonyms of this word which occur, noting particularly, by means of a concordance, any other words or expressions for which the translation "*heart*" is given in the English Bible.

(7) Now study the *usage* of the word, noting (*a*) its use in a physiological sense; (*b*) its use in the sense of *self;* (*c*) with the signification *midst;* (*d*) its use in the sense of *life;* (*e*) as the seat of the *affections* and *emotions*, and so of love, sorrow, confidence, contempt, despair, bitterness, etc.; (*f*) as referring to *disposition*, *character*, and so described as high, great, double, crafty, froward, contumacious, sincere, upright, faithful, clean, perverse, etc., etc; (*g*) as referring to *will*, *purpose*, and so in the sense of *desire*, *determination*, *pleasure;* (*h*) as referring to *intelligence*, *wisdom*, *understanding*.

(8) Collect any idioms containing the word, which are worthy of special note; e. g., *speak upon the heart*, *place upon the heart*, *pour out the heart*, *a heart and a heart*, *a fat heart*, *the heart knoweth*, *steal the heart*.

In this work observe two general rules, viz.: (*a*) study closely and classify the largest possible number of texts; (*b*) constantly compare with the usage of לֵב in Hebrew the corresponding usage of "heart" in English.

Circumstantial Clauses.—It often takes the beginner a long time to appreciate what grammarians call the circumstantial clause or sentence. This kind of

Digitized by Google

sentence is, however, very common, and also idiomatic. An understanding of it will do away with the difficulty which in many cases attends the use of the conjunction וְ.

1) Note the following examples of this sentence:

Gen. XVIII., 12, ואדני זקן *And my lord is old = seeing that my lord is old.*

Deut. XXXII., 31, ואיבינו שפטים *And our enemies are judges = our own enemies admitting it.*

Ruth I., 21, ויהוה ענה בי *When Jehovah hath testified against me.*

Gen. XI., 4, וראשו בשמים *With its top in the heavens.*

Ps. XXVIII., 3, ורעה בלבבם *Though evil is in their hearts.*

Gen. XVIII., 1, וירא אליו יי'.... והוא יושב פתח האהל *and Jehovah appeared unto him while he sat at the door of the tent.*

Ps. VII., 3, ואין מציל *Without any one to deliver.*

1 Sam. IV., 18, וימת.... והוא שפט את ישראל ארבעים שנה *And he died after having judged Israel forty years.*

Gen. XXXVII., 2, היה רעה.... והוא נער *He was tending the sheep, being a boy.*

2) Note also the following examples which have no conjunction וְ:

Gen. XII., 8, בית-אל מים והעי מקים *Bethel* (being) *on the west and Ai on the east.*

Ps. XXXII., 8, איעצה עליך עיני *I will give counsel with my eye upon thee.*

Num. XVI., 27, יצאו נצבים *They came forth stationed.*

Ps. VII., 3, פרק ואין מציל *Rending with no one to deliver.*

3) Note the following negative clauses:

Lev. I., 17, ושסע אתו.... לא יבדיל *And he shall cleave it.... without dividing.*

Isa. XLVII., 11, ותבוא עליך ... שאה לא תדעי *And destruction shall come upon thee.... without thy knowing it.*

Gen. XLIV., 4, הם יצאו את-העיר לא הרחיקו *They went out of the city without having gone far.*

4) Note the following cases in which the circumstantial clause precedes the principal clause:

Gen. XLII., 35,.... ויהי הם מריקים שקיהם והנה *And it came to pass, as they were emptying their sacks, that behold,* etc.

Gen. XV., 17,.... ויהי השמש באה *And it came to pass, the sun having gone down, that,* etc.

5) Now sum up the case in the form of a few general statements:

a. The circumstantial clause generally *follows* the principal clause, and is joined to it by a conjunction; yet cases are quite numerous in which the conjunction is omitted, and other cases occur in which the circumstantial clause *precedes.*

b. In the circumstantial clause the subject, either a noun or pronoun (though sometimes the latter is implied in the verb) stands *first*, because there is always

Digitized by Google

a contrast between this subject and the subject of the principal clause, or between this predicate and the predicate of the principal clause referring to the same subject.

c. The verbal form employed is chosen with reference to the kind of action described.

d. The circumstantial clause "describes the *condition* or *circumstances* in which the person or thing denoted by the noun or pronoun was at the time of the principal action."

e. In the translation of these clauses, it is impossible to be literal; conjunctions, determined by the context, are to be employed, such as, *while*, *as*, *though*, *seeing that*, etc.

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD.

By Ira M. Price, M. A.,

Leipzig, Germany.

The opportunities of study afforded the Semitic and Old Testament Professors of America by the long summer vacation, are every year coming more into prominence. Many will perhaps during the coming summer spend several months on the continent of Europe, getting acquainted with the men and work in their particular lines. Germany will be, undoubtedly, the point visited by some. As it is not always an easy matter for all to learn where they could best occupy their time, I give in outline here the Semitic and Old Testament lectures to be delivered in the German Universities during the summer Semester, beginning about May 1st, and closing August 15th.

Berlin: *Dillmann*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Smaller Exilic Portions of Isaiah. *Strack*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Psalms, 3) Proverbs xx.-xxiv. *Kleinert*, Ecclesiastes.——*Schrader*, 1) Assyrian, selected inscriptions, 2) Ethiopic. *Sachau*, 1) Syriac, selected writers, 2) Modern Hebrew Grammar, 3) Arabic Syntax according to Mufaṣṣal. *Dieterici*, 1) Quran and Arabic Syntax, 2) Treatise "über die Anfänge," 3) Thier und Mensch. *Barth*, 1) Arabic Syntax and Quran according to Beidhâwi, 2) Dillmann's Ethiopic Chrestomathy, 3) Reading of Targum and related Aramaic Texts. *Jahn*, 1) Hamasa with Introduction in Arabic Poetic Literature, 2) Arabic exercises. *Ĕrman*, 1) Egyptian Writing and Language, 2) Coptic Grammar.

Bonn: *Kamphausen*, 1) Job, 2) Outline of History of Israel. *Budde*, 1) Genesis, 2) Hebrew Exercises. *Kaulen*, 1) Biblical Archæology, 2) Psalms. *Reusch*, Selected Portions of Prophetical Old Testament Books.——*Gildemeister*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Arabic Writers, 3) Zamakhshari's Mufaṣṣal. *Prym*, 1) Beladhori's History of Moslem Conquests, 2) Tabari's Annals.

Erlangen: *Köhler*, 1) Old Testament Theology, 2) Minor Prophets, 3) In Seminar, Old Testament Introduction. *Caspari*, Deuteronomy.——*Spiegel*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Syriac Grammar.

Freiburg: *König*, 1) Biblical Hermeneutics in connection with History of Exegesis, 2) Minor Prophets.

Giessen: *Stade*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) History of the Messianic Idea, 3) In Seminar, Exodus. *Schuerer*, History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.

Griefswald: *Giesebrecht*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Introduction to Daniel, 3) In Seminar, Selected Portions of Historical Books. *Bredenkamp*, Messianic Prophecies. *Meinhold*, Genesis.——*Kessler*, 1) Hebrew for Beginners, 2) Elements of Syriac, with Rödiger's Chrestomathy, 3) Arabic Grammar, with special reference to Hebrew, 4) Ibn Hischâm's Life of Mohammed.

Halle: *Riehm*, 1) Psalms, 2) Isaiah xl.-xlvi. *Schlottmann*, 1) Job, 2) History of Israel, 3) Geography of Palestine, 4) In Seminar, Semitic Epigraphs.——*Gosche*, Quran. *Thorbecke*, 1) Hebrew or Arabic Grammar, 2) Comparative Hebrew Grammar, 3) Arabic Grammar, 4) Hariri.

Heidelberg: *Merx*, 1) Job, 2) Dogmatics of Post-exilic Jews to Time of Christ

Digitized by Google

(II. Part of Biblical Theology). *Kneucker*, Historico-Critical Introduction into Canonical Books of Old Testament.——*Weil*, 1) Exercises in Reading Arabic MSS., 2) Gulistân. *Eisenlohr*, 1) Egyptian Texts, 2) Topographical Description of Egypt.

JENA: *Siegfried*, 1) BiblicalTheology of Old Testament, 2) Psalms, 3) Pirqe Aboth, *Schmiedel*, 1) Old Testament Exercises, 2) Elementary Hebrew Exercises.——*Stickel*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) Arabic Grammar and Writers, 3) Chaldee, 4) Syriac.

KIEL: *Klostermann*, Genesis. *Baethgen*, 1) Psalms, 2) Chaldee in Old Testament, 3) Hebrew Exercises.——*Hoffmann*, 1) Syriac, Arabic, or Modern Persian, 2) In Seminar, Songs of Solomon.

LEIPZIG: *Delitzsch, Frz.*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Old Testament Heilsgeschichte, 3) In Predigers Gesellschaft, Selected Portions of Leviticus, 4) Anglo-American Exegetical Gesellschaft, Relation of Ezechiel to the Mosaic Law. *Hölemann*, Gen. I.–III. *Baur*, Psalms. *Guthe*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Job, 3) In Old Testament Gesellschaft, Giving of Laws of Deuteronomy. *Ryssel*, Genesis. *König*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Exegetical Gesellschaft.——*Krehl*, 1) Syriac Grammar and easier texts, 2) Arabic Chrestomathy of Arnold, 3) Mu'allakat of Tarofa. *Delitzsch, Frdr.*, 1) Assyrian, easier texts, 2) Quran, reading continued, 3) Gulistân, continued.

MARBURG: *Graf von Baudissn*, 1) Isaiah, 2) "Opferdienstes" in Old Testament. *Cornill*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Old Testament Exegetical Exercises.——*Ley*, 1) Hebrew Grammar with Exercises, 2) Meter of Hebrew Poetry. *Wellhausen*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Elements of Syriac.

MUNICH: *Schönfelder*, 1) Job, 2) Syriac, continued, 3) Exercises in Hebrew.——*Hommel*, 1) Mu'allakat, continued, 2) Persian Grammar, with Reading of easier passages, 3) Arabic Literature of first three hundred years after Mohammed's Flight, 4) Religion of the old Babylonian and Assyrian. *Lauth* 1) Elements of Egyptian, 2) Coptic Reading, 3) Geographical Texts. *Bezold*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Syriac or Ethiopic, 3) Assyrian.

STRASSBURG: *Nowack*, 1) History of Israel, 2) Minor Prophets. *Reuss*, Job.——*Duemichen*, 1) Introduction into Hieroglyphic Writing with Exercises in Translating Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, 2) Selected Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts, 3) The Biblical Representations and the same as found in the Sepulchres of the Memphitic and Thebic Necropolis. *Noeldeke*, 1) Hariris Durra, 2) Arabic Geography, 3) Syriac, 4) Ethiopic. *Euting*, 1) Semitic Inscriptions, Second half.

TUEBINGEN: *Kautsch*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Pirqe Aboth. *Kuebel*, Most important Messianic Prophecies of Old Testament. *Himpel*, 1) Isaiah XL.–LXVI., 2) Introduction into the Deutero-canonical Writings.——*Socin*, 1) Elements of Arabic, 2) Arabic Authors, 3) Oldest Hebrew and Phönecian Inscriptions.

WUERZBURG: *Scholz*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) Arabic Grammar, with Exercises in Translation, 3) Exegetical Exercises.

Prof. H. L. Fleischer, the Arabist, of University of Leipzig, has been freed from the responsibility of lecturing, on account of age.

Prof. Geo. Ebers, the Egyptologist, has not lectured during the last two Semesters, nor will he lecture during the next Semester, on account of sickness.

Dr. Wilhelm Lotz, author of "Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser I.," has been

Digitized by Google

made Prof. ordinary in the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna.

Several valuable books are appearing, in which all Semitic scholars have a peculiar interest. "Josephi Flavi, Opera. Edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Benedictus Niese. Vol. II.," has just appeared, and will be made welcome by all students of history. This is a *critical* edition of the Greek original based on the best manuscripts. Where the manuscripts differ, the variants are indicated at the bottom of the page. The parallel passages of the Bible are also indicated. The text is broken up into small paragraphs, numbered on the margin. Vol. I. will appear later, and contain the Prolegomena to the entire work.

Gesenius' "Hebräischen und Chaldäischen Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament" will appear in the *tenth edition* at Easter. It will be a thoroughly improved and enlarged edition, by the former editors, Professors Mühlau and Volck of the University of Dorpat.

"Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," is the new name for the journal hitherto called "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung." It is edited by *privatdocent* Carl Bezold in University of Munich, in connection with Professors Oppert in Paris, Sayce in Oxford, Schrader in Berlin, and others.

The second part of De Sarzec's "Decouvretes en Chaldée" is announced for May.

"Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-assyrische Literatur" is the title of a book in press, by Dr. Carl Bezold, of Munich. A few words will show how invaluable this work will be to all Semitic scholars. It will contain a complete list of *all* inscriptions hitherto published. The first part of the work will contain an account of the historical inscriptions in chronological order. The second part will contain an account of the non-historical inscriptions, such as poetry and science. The book will also contain an index to 1500 tablets of the British Museum, published or captioned, translated or quoted in modern papers; also two indices, one for *all* plates of inscriptions published, the other for cuneiform proper names. Finally, a full list of abbreviations, both for the inscriptions and for modern books.

Vol. II., second edition, of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," is announced for this month.

Probably the most epoch-making work of modern times in the matter of Old Testament Lexicography appears to-day. Its title is "Prolegomena zu einem neuen hebräischen u. aramäischen Wörterbuch Alten Testaments," by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Leipzig. It is the product of about two years' work; and deals with 500 Hebrew and Aramaic words and roots, each of which receive either an entirely new or partially new explanation. These explanations are among the "things new and old," which this indefatigable delver has brought to light from the mines of lexicography in the languages of Babylonia and Assyria.

Leipzig, March 6th, 1886.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE thanks of the managing editor are due many friends of HEBRAICA for the words of appreciation and encouragement which have been received. It must be confessed that the task of making a scientific journal which will at the same time sustain itself and be satisfactory to all its constituents is no easy one. Again the kind consideration of those interested in the success of the effort is requested. There is a good basis upon which to rest the opinion that, if the undertaking can but be carried through the present volume and the succeeding one, its establishment is certain. We ask, therefore, for your continued forbearance, and for your hearty co-operation, and we promise you a journal which will, in time, accomplish much in the interests of a true scientific Bible-study.

THE readers of HEBRAICA are aware of the Schools of Hebrew to be conducted during the coming summer under the auspices of the Institute of Hebrew. Special attention is invited to the opportunities offered for becoming acquainted with the cognate languages. At *Philadelphia* those who desire to undertake or continue the study of Arabic will have the privilege of enjoying the instruction of Dr. Lansing, of New Brunswick, whose new Arabic Manual is almost ready for distribution. Dr. Peters, of Philadelphia, offers both elementary and advanced instruction in Assyrian. Provision also has been made for classes in Syriac, under Prof. Lovejoy, of Philadelphia, and in Aramaic, under Mr. Gurney, of Morgan Park. At *Morgan Park*, Arabic and Syriac will be taught by Prof. Wilson, of Allegheny, and Aramaic by Dr. Terry, of Evanston. At *Newton Centre*, Dr. Lyon, of Harvard, will have both elementary and advanced classes in Assyrian; Dr. Burnham, of Hamilton, will teach Syriac, and Prof. Brown, of Newton Centre, Aramaic. At *Chautauqua*, instruction in Arabic, Syriac and Aramaic will be given by Dr. Schodde, of Columbus, O. At the *University of Virginia*, Assyrian will be taught by Mr. James A. Craig, a graduate of McGill University and of Yale Divinity School, who is just finishing his doctorate course at Leipzig; Arabic and Syriac, by Mr. Robert F. Harper, who for two years has been studying at Berlin and Leipzig; and Aramaic by Dr. Foster, of Lebanon, Tenn.

Surely no better opportunities have in this country ever offered themselves in the line of Semitic study. Shall there not be many to avail themselves of this instruction?

NO PORTION of the Old Testament has been more sadly neglected than the "Minor Prophets." Yet no portion deserves greater attention. In the Schools to be held this summer these books are to receive special study. Under Dr. J. P. Peters, at Philadelphia, Dr. W. G. Ballantine, at Morgan Park, Dr. Francis Brown, at Newton Centre, Dr. W. J. Beecher, at Chautauqua, and Dr. Foster, at the University of Virginia, there will be done a work in this field, from which those who participate in it will derive a benefit that can scarcely be estimated. This subject, and these instructors, offer students in Hebrew a rich treat.

Digitized by Google

THE HEBREW students of America have reason to congratulate themselves that our Associate-Editor, Dr. Haupt, has finally decided to remain in this country. It was feared, for a time, that a tempting offer from a German university would draw him back to his native land. He will, however, continue his work in the Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore. Among other things we have the privilege of announcing that Dr. Haupt will conduct a *Winter School* for the study, particularly, of Assyro-Babylonian and Sumero-Akkadian. This *Winter School* will be held in January next, and like our Summer Schools, will continue four weeks. During this time, Dr. Haupt's regular work in Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic will be discontinued, and he, assisted by the two fellows in Semitic languages, will give instruction in the branches above named. A full programme will be announced later. Those who desire to attend are advised by Dr. Haupt to prepare themselves, so far as possible, in the Summer Schools of Hebrew. A knowledge of Hebrew will be required of those who take part, and a preparatory study of Arabic and Syriac, even though slight, will be of great advantage. We trust that the time is coming when the opportunities for the study of the Semitic languages shall be as numerous and as valuable in America as in Germany.

WE GIVE below an extract from a letter to Prof. Isaac Hall, Ph. D., of New York, by the celebrated scholar and author Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of the University of Strassburg. It is self-explanatory. We trust that the desire to preserve the good reputation heretofore enjoyed by the publishing firm referred to, may lead them to reconsider their decision in this matter.

"I have had it in mind to write to you concerning a matter which is of a very disagreeable character. A Mr. McDonald, M. A., of Westminster, England, undertook to translate my Syriac Grammar into English. When asked with reference to the matter two years since, I replied that I would be entirely satisfied. He made an agreement with T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, and drew half of his pay in advance. He sent me a few samples of his work, and I at once became aware of the fact that he did not sufficiently understand either Syriac or German. I thoroughly corrected one printed sheet for him, but the task was too heavy a one. I wrote him that the matter could not thus go on. Whether he informed the publishers or not I do not know; but a letter written by them to Mr. McDonald shows them to be of such a character that I can have no further dealings with them. Since five years have passed since the publication of my book, my publisher cannot prevent the issue of this translation. T. & T. Clark, however, are determined to publish it in spite of my objections. In view of all this, I am taking steps to announce in England that the book, which would be a *monstrum*, is to be issued contrary to the wishes of myself and my publishers, and that the translation is of no value. Perhaps you will help me to announce the same thing in America. In the meantime, we must wait and see what Mr. McDonald and the Messrs. Clark will do."

AS WE go to press, a copy of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch's *Prolegomena** reaches us. An extended notice will be published in the July HEBRAICA. Two great works have been promised by Professor Delitzsch, a Hebrew lexicon which shall incorporate the latest results of Assyrian research, and an Assyrian lexicon. The first part of the latter is promised July 1st. Professor Delitzsch would

* PROLEGOMENA EINES NEUEN HEBRAEISCH-ARAMAEISCHEN WOERTERBUCHES ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. Ord. Hon. fuer Assyriologie und Semitische Sprachen an der Universitaet Leipzig. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.* 1886. pp. 217.

Digitized by Google

change quite radically the arrangement of the Hebrew lexicon. He would, for example, place in separate lists the Aramaic words and proper names. He would arrange the words according to their roots and not alphabetically. These, in our estimation, would be decided improvements. The argument that for beginners the alphabetical arrangement is the better one has little to sustain it. We believe that the next decade is to witness a most remarkable advance in the methods employed and in the helps furnished in the department of Semitic languages.

IN A recent number of HEBRAICA a notice was published of an unpointed text of Genesis. Many inquiries were received as to the possibility of obtaining an unpointed edition of the entire Pentateuch. After some investigation, several editions have been found. Of these, one particularly pleases us. We give its full title-page:

תקון הסופר והקורא
כולל
חמשה חומשי תורה
גם
מגלת אסתר
בלי נקודות ובלי טעמים.
עם תוספות דינים ושאר ענינים
שהם
לעזרת הסופרים כותבי התורה
ולתועלת הקוראים בה בקהל.
הכל ערוך ומתוקן ומוגה בעיון היטב
על ידי
יצחק בן אריה יוסף דוב
S. Baer.
רעדעלהיים

צווייטע נעגוי רעפֿידירטע אויסגאבע.

RÖDELHEIM,
Druck u. Verlag von J. Lehrberger & Comp.
1875.

The paper is good, the type plain, the impression clear, and the book, taken as a whole, every thing to be desired. This statement is made for the benefit of those who desire such an edition, but have not known where to procure it.*

THE October HEBRAICA contained a complete list of the Old Testament and Semitic Professors in the United States and Canada. A similar list of English Professors was promised for the January number. It was not possible, however, to get the required material into proper shape at the date of issue of the January number. This list will be found in the present number. We shall give in the July number a similar list of Continental Professors, for which the material is already in hand. It will not be amiss for the world to know how many and who are engaged in this special work, and for them to know each other.

---

* Price, 75 cents; it may be ordered through the American Publication Society of Hebrew, Morgan Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED TEMANITE AND NABATEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In a very excellent work "Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects, by Members of the University of Oxford," recently published by the Clarendon Press, Dr. Ad. Neubauer publishes an interesting article under the above heading. The inscriptions are a very valuable lot, some of them having been translated by Nöldeke, Halevy, D. H. Müller and Clermont-Ganneau. To translate and comment upon such inscriptions requires a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of Semitic languages, ancient history and geography, and although the paper is extremely able, Dr. Neubauer is not equally strong in all the allied fields. The Assyriologist will observe not a few errors, the most glaring of these occurring in an attempted etymology of the name of a Temanite god—Sangala. We are treated to the statement that the name of the Babylonian god Nergal occurs in the form Sergal, and this is declared identical with Songala. Then in a note the conjecture is hazarded that *ner* in Nergal may be connected with *ner* in Abner and Neriah, while *gal* may be contained in the names Goliath and Abigail!

As a matter of fact the name of the god Nergal does not occur in the form Sergal. Nergal is Akkadian *ne-uru-gal* "lord of the great city," i. e., Hades. Another Akkadian word *negal* which means "ruler" and is connected with an Akkadian stem *ner* "to rule" occurs in Sumerian—the sister dialect—in the form *shermal*, and a half-knowledge of this fact is what led Dr. Neubauer to his absurd etymology.

Of a piece with the same is the explanation of the name Bildad "which cannot be any thing else but a compound of Bel and Dad." Proper names composed of the names of two divinities are extremely rare and scholars have some time since pointed out that the Benhadad of the Book of Kings the Bir-dada mentioned in the annals of Sardanapalus and Bil-dad the Shuhite in Job are variant forms of the same name and mean "son of Dadda," the Syrian god of the atmosphere.

CYRUS ADLER,
Johns Hopkins University.

BROWN'S ARAMAIC METHOD.*

The first part of this excellent Manual, embracing text, notes and vocabulary, appeared a little less than two years ago, and was favorably noticed in the October number of HEBRAICA for 1884. The second part now before us supplies the leading facts of the grammar of the Aramaic language, and occupies a supple-

* AN ARAMAIC METHOD. A Class-Book for the study of the Elements of Aramaic, from Bible and Targums. By Charles Rufus Brown. Part II. Elements of Grammar. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew*. Morgan Park. 1886. 96 pp. 12mo.

Digitized by Google

mentary and complementary position to the first. While it may offer little or nothing that is, strictly speaking, *novum*, it certainly treats the subject matter *nove*, i. e., in the field of Aramaic grammar. Its method is the inductive. From the selections given in the first part, and from other portions of the Targums where these selections did not suffice, the facts to be taken into consideration and of special importance to the student coming from Hebrew to the Aramaic are mentioned, and from these facts the underlying principles are drawn. Professor Brown has thus transferred to the Aramaic the method so successfully applied by Professor Harper to the Hebrew. In fact our author presupposes the grammar of Professor Harper in the hands of his pupils, and never repeats what may be found there. In the application of this method we think that Professor Brown has been very successful, and the result of his labors is quite a *multum in parvo*. It is only occasionally, as, e. g., in II. and VI., that the references of the grammatical statements to the examples placed above are not so clear as they might be, and here and at one or two other places that the grammar is not as transparent as it ought to be. In general, it might have been well to have increased the number of examples under many of the heads, and then by very direct and exact references of letters and figures between the examples and the principles adduced to have made perfectly clear to the beginner what the import and purpose of each example was. This would not have increased the bulk of the book, for the Paradigms could have been omitted, as they are already found in Part I., and the purpose of their repetition here is not quite clear. But taken as a whole, the Method is a manual of exceptional merit, and richly deserves the recognition and success the first part has secured and the second undoubtedly will secure. It is just the kind of a book we need for our seminaries, our summer-schools and for private study. The road from the Hebrew into the dialects naturally leads by the way of Biblical and Targumic Aramaic, and Professor Brown is entitled to the gratitude of teachers and pupils for having smoothed this way to a marked degree.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,
Capital University, Columbus, O.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ABEL, C. Einleitung in e. ägyptisch-semitisch-indoeuropäisches Wurzelwörterbuch. 3. Hft. 2. Hälfte. Leipzig: *Friedrich*.....M.10

BERGER, PHILIPPE. L'Arabie avant Mahomet, d'après les inscriptions. Conférénce faite à la Sarbonne, Avec une planche. Paris: *Maisonneuve*. 8vo..1 fr.

BEZOLD, C. Eine unedirte Nubukadnezarinschrift. *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, January, '86.

BRUNENGO, G. L'impero di Babylonia e di Nineve, dalle origini fino alla conquista di Ciro descritto secondo i monumenti cuneiformi comparati colla Biblia. 2 vol. Prato: *Tip. Giachetti, Figlio e C.* 8vo, pp. 599, 585....L. 8.50

BRUSTON, C. Des deux jehovistes. *Revue de Theol. et de Philos.*, 6, pp. 602–637.

BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS. The Sarcophagus of the Egyptian Queen Auxnesraneferab, wife of Ahmes, king of Egypt, about B. C. 564–526. London: *D. Nutt*. Crown 4to, cloth, gilt.....15s.

CARLETTI, P. V. Méthode théorico-pratique de la langue Arabe. Bruxelles: *Leroux*.....10 fr.

Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt Pauli de Lagarde studio et sumptibus edita. Göttingen: *Dieterich*.....M.25

CAZET, C. L. Généalogies des racines Sémitiques. Paris: *Maisonneuve*. 8vo, pp. ii, xi, 243.....6 fr.

CORNILL, C. H. Das Buch d. Propheten Ezechiel. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*. Large 8vo, pp. xii, 515.....M.15

DELITZSCH, FRIEDR. Prolegomena zu einem neuen Hebräischen und Aramäischen Wörterbuch Alten Testaments. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs*, Pp. viii, 216.....M.8

DERENBOURG, JOSEPH and HARTWIG. Les Inscriptions Phéneciennes du Temple de Seti à Abydos, publiées et traduites d'après une copie inédite de M. Sayce. Paris: *Leroux*. 4to, pp. 24, plates 4.

Discovery of Naukratis. *New Princeton Review*, January, '86.

DRIVER, S. R. Two Hebrew New Testaments. *Expositor*, April, '86.

GRAETZ. Die Auslegung u. der histor. Hintergrund der Weissagung in Jesaia, Kap. XXIV.–XXVII. *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, Jan., '86.

HALL, ISAAC H. The Syrian Antilegomena Epistles, published by phototype process. Baltimore: *Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University*.

HERMAN, P. Phul et Tiglathphalasor, d'après deux inscriptions babyloniennes récemment découvertes. Amiens: *imp. Rousseau-Leroy*. 8vo. pp. 7.

HILGENFELD, A. Moses, Ezra und Tobit unter den Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. *Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, '86, pp. 129–152.

HILMY, IBRAHIM. The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan. Vol. I. London: *Truebner & Co.* Demy 4to, pp. VIII, 398.....31s. 6d.

JENSEN, P. A. Nachträge zur Erklärung der Tafel šurbu VI. III. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Jan., '86.

———— Ueber einige sumero-akkadische und babylonisch-assyrische Götternamen. *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, January, '86.

Digitized by Google

JEREMIAS, ALFR. Bemerkungen zu einigen assyrischen Alterthümern in den k. Museen zu Dresden. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, January, '86.

KIRKPATRICK, A. F. The Revised Version of the Old Testament. The First Book of Samuel. *Expositor*, March, '86.

KLEINERT, P. Das spezifisch Hebräische im Buch Hiob. *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, '86, 2, pp. 267–300.

LATRILLE, JOH. Der Nabonidcylinder V Rawl. 64 umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt III. *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, January, '86.

MEYER, EDUARD. Geschichte des Alterthums. I. Band. Geschichte des Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs. (Eberhard Schrader.) *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, January, '86.

MUIR, WILLIAM. Extracts from the Coran in the original, with English rendering. Second ed. London: *Truebner & Co.*

NAUMANN, O. Wellhausen's Methode, kritisch beleuchtet. Leipzig: *Hinrichs.* Large 8vo, pp. 166.....M.2

NAVILLE, E. Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie. Aus den verschiedenen Urkunden gesammelt u. hrsg. Berlin: *Asher*.....M.240—

OLITZKI, MARCUS. Flavius Josephus und die Halacha. (E. Schürer.) *Theologische Literaturzeituug*, March 20, '86.

OORT. Isa. XXIV.–XXVII. *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, March, '86.

PETRIE, W. M. FLINDERS. A New Egyptian Site. *Academy*, Feb. 27, '86.

PICK, B. The Greek Text of the Prophet Jeremiah. *Independent*, March 11, '86.

PIEHL, K. Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris Nr. 1 publié par S. Birch d'après l'original du British Museum. 16 M. Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte. Publiées, traduites et commentées. 1 Partie. Planches. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*.....M.40

SCHODDE, GEO. H. The Rules of Pachomius translated from the Ethiopic. *Presbyterian Review*, Oct., '85.

SCHRADER, EB. Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellgrotte d. Sebeneh-Su. Mit 1 (Lichtdr.-) Taf. Berlin: *Duemmler*. Large 4to.....M.3

SEKLES und GRAETZ. Die Farben in den Visionen Zacharias. *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenthums*, Dec., '85.

SMITH, ROBERTSON Judg. IX., 28. (Kuenen.) *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, March, '86.

——— Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. (James G. Frazer). *Academy*. March 27, 86.

STRACK, MAX. Aus Süd und Ost. Reisefrüchte aus drei Weltteilen. 2. Sammlg. Adria, Bilder aus Palästina und Syrien, Aegypten. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Hermann L. Strack. 1. Hälfte. Karlsruhe und Leipzig: *H. Reuther*. 8vo. pp. iv, 192.....M.2

VALETON, J. J. P. Jr. Jesaja. XLII., 6, 7. *Theol. Studien, III.*, 6, '85, pp. 449–467.

VAUJANY, N. DE. Description de l'Egypte: Alexandre et la Basse Egypte. Paris: *Plon*.....4 fr.

Verzeichniss einer kleinen aber werthvollen Sammlung von Werken zur Aegyptologie u. Assyriologie. Catalog No. 13. Leipzig: *Carl W. Hiersemann*..M.1

Zu כרוב. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, January, '86.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT INSTRUCTORS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

ABBOTT, THOS. K. (M. A., D. D.), *Dublin, Ireland.* Prof. of Hebrew in Dublin University.

ADAMS, D. L. (M. A., B. D.), *Edinburgh, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in Edinburgh University.

AIKEN, W. F. (M. A,) *Glasgow, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew in Original Secession Church.

ALI, MIR AULAD, *Dublin, Ireland.* Prof. of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani at Trinity College.

BARNES, W. E. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Hebrew Lecturer at Clare College.

BENNETT, W. H. (M. A.), *Sheffield, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Rotherham College.

BENSLY, R. L. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac at Gonville and Caius College.

BIGGER, J. L. (M. A., B.D.), *Londonderry, Ireland.* Prof. of Hebrew and Hermeneutics at Magee College (Presb.).

BIRRELL, JOHN (M. A., D. D.), *St. Andrew's, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew in St. Andrew's University.

CAMERON, GEO. G. (M. A.), *Aberdeen, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Free Church College.

CARPENTER, JOSEPH E. (M. A.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Manchester New College.

CAVE, ALFRED (B. A.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Hackney College.

CHAPMAN, A. T., *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Emmanuel College.

CHAPMAN, C. (M. A.), *Plymouth, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Western College.

CHEYNE, THOMAS K. (M. A., D. D.), *Oxford, Eng.* Oriel Prof. of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in Oxford University.

COLLINS, G. W. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Ayerst Hall.

CONNER, R. M. (M. A.), *Dublin, Ireland.* Ass't Lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College.

CULROSS, JAMES (M. A., D. D.), *Bristol, Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew at the Baptist College.

DAVEY, W. H. (M. A.), *Lampeter, Wales.* Prof. of Hebrew and Theology at St. David's College.

DAVIDSON, A. B. (LL. D.), *Edinburgh, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew at New College.

DAVIES, GETHIN (B. A.), *Llangollen, N. Wales.* Prof. of Hebrew at the North Wales Baptist College.

DAVIES, T. W. (B. A.), *Haverfordwest, Wales.* Instructor in Hebrew at the Baptist College.

DEANE, HENRY (B. D.), *Oxford, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Wadham College.

DOUGLAS, G. C. M. (D. D.), *Glasgow, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew at Free Church College.

DRIVER, S. R. (D. D), *Oxford, Eng.* Regius Prof. of Hebrew in Oxford University.

DUFF, ARCHIBALD (M. A., D. D.), *Bradford, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Airedale Congregational College.

EDERSHEIM, ALFRED (M. A., D. D., Ph. D.), *Oxford, Eng.* Lecturer on Old Testament Prophecy in Oxford University.

EDWARDS, W. (B. A.), *Pontypool, Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew at the Baptist College.

ELMSLIE, WM. G. (M. A.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at English Presbyterian College.

ETHÉ, HERMANN (Ph. D.), *Aberystwyth, Wales.* Prof. of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at University College.

EVANS, E. J. (B. A., Ph. D.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at New College.

FORBES, JOHN (D. D., LL.D.), *Aberdeen, Scotland.* Prof. of Oriental Languages in Aberdeen University.

FOWLER, G. H. (M. A.), *Salisbury, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Salisbury Theological College.

FOWLER, J. T. (M. A.), *Durham. Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew in Durham University.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

GANDELL, ROBERT (M. A.), *Oxford, Eng.* Laudian Prof. of Arabic in Oxford University.

GOADBY, T. (B. A.), *Nottingham, Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew at Chilwell College.

GOULD, G. P. (M. A.), *London Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew and Syriac at Regents Park College.

GRACEY, DAVID, *London, Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew at Pastor's College.

GRAY, THOS. T. (M. A.), *Dublin, Ireland.* Ass't Lecturer in Hebrew at Trinity College.

HASLUCK, E. T. (M. A.), *Birmingham, Eng.* Hebrew Lecturer at Queens' College.

HEYMANN, B. H., *Bristol, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at University College.

JACKSON, F. FOAKES, *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Jesus College.

KING, E. G. (D. D.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Hebrew Lecturer at Sidney Sussex College.

KIRKPATRICK, A. F. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Regius Prof. of Hebrew in Cambridge University.

LANG, J. T. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Corpus Christi College.

LEATHES, STANLEY (D. D.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew Language and Exegesis of the Old Testament at King's College.

LOWE, W. H. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Christ's College.

MACAULEY, CHAS. (D. D.), *Maynooth, Ireland.* Prof. of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew at Royal College of St. Patrick.

MARKS, D. W., *London, Eng.* Goldsmid Prof. of Hebrew at University College.

MARSHALL, J. T. (M. A.), *Manchester, Eng.* Instructor in Hebrew at Brighton Grove Baptist College.

MASON, P. H. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at St. John's College.

MCINTOSH, LOUIS, *Dublin, Ireland.* Prof. of Hebrew at Wesley College.

MURPHY, JAS. G. (D. D., LL. D.), *Belfast, Ireland.* Prof. of Hebrew at General Assembly's College.

NEUBAUER, ADOLF (Ph. D., M. A.), *Oxford, Eng.* Reader in Rabbinical Hebrew in Oxford University.

NICHOLL, GEORGE F. (M. A.), *Oxford, Eng.* The Lord Almoner's Prof. of Arabic in Oxford University.

PARKER, HENRY R. (LL. D.), *Belfast, Ireland.* Prof. of Hebrew at Methodist College.

PATERSON, JAMES A., *Edinburgh, Scotland.* Prof. of Hebrew at U. P. College.

POOLE, H. R. (D. D.), *Dublin, Ireland.* Erasmus Smith Lecturer in Hebrew in Dublin University.

RIEU, CHAS. (Ph. D.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Arabic and Persian at University College.

ROBERTSON, JAMES (D. D.), *Glasgow, Scotland.* Prof. of Oriental Languages in Glasgow University.

ROOKE, T. G. (B. A.), *Leeds, Eng,* Instructor in Hebrew at Rawdon College.

RYLE, H. E. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Hebrew Lecturer at King's College.

SAYCE, ARCHIBALD H. (M. A.), *Oxford, Eng.* Deputy Prof. of Comparative Philology in Oxford University.

SCHILLER-SZINESSY, S. M. (Ph. D., M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Statutory Reader in Rabbinical and Talmudic Literature in Cambridge University.

SEARLE, F. C., *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Selwyn College.

SIMMONS, L. M. (B. A.), *Manchester, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Owens College, Victoria University.

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON (M. A., LL.D.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lord Almoner's Prof. of Arabic in Cambridge University.

SPURRELL, GEO. J. (M. A.), *Oxford, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Balliol College.

STREANE, A. W. (M. A.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at Corpus Christi College.

THOMSON, ALFRED (D. D.), *Manchester, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Independent College.

WATKINS, HENRY W. (D. D.), *Durham, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew in Durham University.

WHITEHOUSE, O. C. (M. A.), *London, Eng.* Prof. of Hebrew at Cheshunt College.

WOODS, FRANCIS H. (B. D.), *Oxford, Eng.* Lecturer in Hebrew at St. John's, Oriel and Jesus Colleges.

WRIGHT, WM. (M. A., LL. D.), *Cambridge, Eng.* Sir T. Adams Prof. of Arabic in Cambridge University

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. II. JULY, 1886. NO. 4.

NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

BY WILLIAM HENRY BENNETT.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

The work upon which these notes are based originated in a sense of dissatisfaction with the treatment of the subject in some of the best known elementary grammars, e. g., Davidson's Grammar[1] and Müller's Syntax. One would have been quite prepared to have found the treatment of so difficult a subject incomplete in parts and to have found points left uncertain. But statements as to the tenses have an air of completeness and symmetry and certainty which raises high expectations, and it seemed to me that these expectations were not realized and that the enquiring student does not derive from such works so much help towards comprehension as he might expect. I found also that these impressions were shared by others.

Probably the form in which ideas about Hebrew tenses first shape themselves in the student's brain is that, where possible, a Perfect is translated as a past tense and an Imperfect as a future, and that, if such translations are impossible, considerable latitude is allowed in translation and the best must be made of the verb in the interests of the sense. It is felt, however, that this theory of the tenses can be only temporary and the student turns to statements of the syntax of the verb in the hope of attaining a better and more permanent theory.

He finds a statement of this syntax which might be briefly represented by the following complete and symmetrical table:

Perfect = Imperfect with Waw Cons.		Imperfect = Perfect with Waw Cons.
Past	I did	I was doing
	I have done	I used to do
	I had done	
Present	I do	I do
Future	I shall have done	I shall do

[1] This statement must not be understood as implying any want of appreciation of Davidson's Grammar as a whole. But having as a teacher some little experience of its use as a text-book, I have become more and more convinced that it must be the author's intention that it should be explained, supplemented or qualified by oral teaching; so that probably many of the criticisms in these notes would be obviated when the book is used by Prof. Davidson himself.

Digitized by Google

There is an air of mathematical accuracy about a statement of this kind. It suggests that, given your tense, the statement of the syntax thereof is a kind of function of the tense which can be obtained by a known process of expansion. Perhaps, however, an air of mathematical accuracy is a little suspicious in syntax. The student wishes to understand the principles that determine the occurrence and distribution of the several tenses, and to know why in any given case a particular Hebrew Imperfect is to be translated by one rather than another of its possible English equivalents. He feels that his first impression from the syntax is that there is still left a free choice without any special preference for past or future, or possibly any special attention to the sense. If his faith in the possibility of Hebrew syntax is not destroyed he is apt to feel dissatisfied with the present method of its exposition. These statements of syntax suggest a neat key of convenient size which can be inserted in a lock and turns right round in the lock, but unfortunately does not turn the lock.

It may, of course, be suggested that these impressions are due to the elementary state of the student's knowledge, but as elementary works are presumably written for elementary students, they ought to add to his comprehension of the subject even when his knowledge is in an elementary stage.

Moreover, it is still the case that the old theory of the tenses is maintained and taught, and that there are students whose first introduction to the subject has been through such teaching. These students, when told that their original teaching is not orthodox, would gladly find in the hand-books of the new school some statement of the difference between the two theories and especially of the practical result of the change of the theory on interpretation and translation. This statement seems as a rule not to be forthcoming. It stands to reason that a total change of theory is likely to affect translation, and if left without exact information the convert from the old theory to the new is apt to imagine almost all translation affected. If his reading is confined to historical portions and he finds that the translations suggested by his old theory still very largely hold good, he may become a little sceptical as to the importance of holding a correct theory. If the students of an ancient system of astronomy had been in the habit of calculating the date of eclipses under their ancient theory, conversion to the Copernican system might seem to them to involve the discarding of these dates; and if without previous explanation they were allowed to discover that after all the eclipses occurred on the dates calculated on the old theory, their views as to the relative merits of the two systems might again become unsettled.

There are other points, too, on which the student might reasonably look for clear statement, even if it were only of the fact that grammarians (if such be the case) have not yet completely mastered the subject. It is obvious at a very elementary stage that the conditions and methods of use of the tenses in poetical sections are very different from those in narrative sections; but beyond fragmen-

Digitized by Google

tary notices in the symmetrical expansion already referred to there is no plain statement of the main differences of poetic and prosaic style.

Again, we learn our Hebrew too much at second hand through German and, naturally, translations of a German syntax. Grammars that reproduce the phrases of Ewald are apt to forget to connect the usage of the Hebrew tenses with those of the English tenses.

As the standard text-books are supposed to state the current views clearly and concisely for the benefit of the student, it seemed that the next step might be to attempt to apply the results as given in these books to the reading of some considerable portions of the Old Testament, rather than to seek the further and more detailed exposition of them in larger grammars.

I was specially interested in trying to observe the amount of practical change involved in the substitution of the ideas of Perfect and Imperfect for those of Past and Future; it seemed simpler to begin with narrative portions of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch together with Joshua seemed to present a fairly convenient whole.

Accordingly I read these books specially attending to the use of the Perfect and Imperfect tenses, and noting each occurrence of these tenses in a table of twelve columns arranged thus:

Perfect

1. Cases where the Hebrew Perfect may be translated as a Past Tense without any difficulty as regards context.
2. Cases where such a translation is difficult.
3. Cases where such a translation seems rendered impossible by the context.

Imperfect with Waw Cons.

4. } As in case of Perfect, substituting "Imperfect with Waw Cons." for
5. } "Perfect."
6. }

Imperfect.

7. Cases where the Hebrew Imperfect may be translated by an English Future, Present, or Subjunctive, or by *may*, *can*, etc.
8. Cases where the Imperfect has a frequentative sense.
9. Cases where it seems necessary to translate the Imperfect by the English Past Imperfect or other past tense.

Perfect with Waw Cons.

10. } As in case of Imperfect, substituting "Perfect with Waw Cons." for
11. } "Imperfect"
12. }

It will be seen that the second and third columns under each tense will contain the cases which seem specially to strain the "Past and Future" theory and which seem to be more manageable under the "Perfect and Imperfect" theory.

Digitized by Google

They may be stated as those in which on the one hand a Perfect or Imperfect with Waw Cons. has to be translated as a Future, and on the other an Imperfect or Perfect with Waw Cons. as a Past. The use of either tense as present, and the Subjunctive, Potential Imperative and Optative uses of the Imperfect seem to give no special difficulty under either theory.

Before giving the results of this work, it may be as well to point out that it is not intended to imply that the results are due to careful and thorough consideration of difficult cases; these are simply noted as difficult. Moreover, many cases are put in the first column under each tense, which might possibly be assigned to the second. In this arrangement I have been guided by the possibilities of translation into English Pasts and Futures or allied tenses, and I have also followed recognized translations. However, something more will be said on this point below.[1]

The results were as follows:

Perfect	*1*	*2*	*3*
	2827	5	1
Imperfect with Waw Cons.	*4*	*5*	*6*
	4829	2	—
Imperfect	*7*	*8*	*9*
	4116	51	33
Perfect with Waw Cons.	*10*	*11*	*12*
	2584	46	22

Neglecting for the present the extremely small number of instances in *2*, *3*, *5* and *6*, we see that we may state the following approximate rules:

1. That the Perfect, or Imperfect with Waw Cons., may be translated as the English Perfect or Pluperfect.

2. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., is only rarely used of the past.

3. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., occurs very occasionally in a frequentative sense of past time.

It may also be noticed that *1*, *4*, *7*, *10* contain the cases where translation is not affected by change of theory; and that the matter affording the chief ground for debate and some of the data for argument are comprised in the other columns; and that the debatable matter is extremely small in proportion.

It will be seen from the table and rule 1, that the cases where the Perfect,

[1] It will be obvious that to be perfectly sure that no errors from inadvertence have crept in would require much time, more time than I have had at my disposal. But this is perhaps less important than it would be in some other cases, as the proportion between the numbers in columns 1, 4, 7, 10 and those in the other columns is too great to be affected by mere inadvertencies.

Digitized by Google

etc., are used for prophetic perfect, strong affirmation, and where in English we use a present which implies a perfect, are included by a certain elasticity of interpretation in rule 1. The defence of this position is reserved for a section on the use of the English tenses as illustrating that of the Hebrew tenses.

If the cases mentioned in the last paragraph were separated from those in which the Perfect and the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are used as simple past tenses, it would be found that the former are few in comparison with the latter and that for the great bulk of occurrences of these forms the following rules might be laid down:

1. That in narrative the Perfect is used as the ordinary narrative tense when the verb is not immediately preceded by a Waw, i. e.,

a. In Oratio Recta.

b. In dependent, interrogative and negative sentences.

c. In cases where some emphatic word (or words) is placed before the verb.

It is, of course, to be understood that "narrative tense" is confined here to past tense used in narrative.

2. That in narrative the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is used as the ordinary narrative tense in independent sentences except in interrogative and negative sentences and where other words are placed before the verb for the sake of emphasis.

One or two limitations of the latter rule will be noticed further on. It is only attempted here to give such rough statements of usage of the tenses as might fairly be submitted to students with the caution that they might have to be somewhat modified.

The uses of the Imperfect and its allied Perfect with Waw do not readily lend themselves to wide and simple generalizations.

It now remains to notice briefly the cases not included in our rules, namely, those in *2*, *3*, *5*, *6*, *9* and *12*.

2, *3*. Gen. XVIII., 12 הָיְתָה־לִּי עֶדְנָה. Both AV. and RV. translate as future, which is doubtless the most idiomatic English equivalent of the Hebrew; but might not the literal meaning of the root and force of the tense be fairly represented by "Has pleasure come to me?"

Gen. XL., 14 כִּי אִם זְכַרְתַּנִי. Driver, p. 169 *n*., and Ewald as quoted by him, both treat this case as exceptional and reject the translation as imperative given by AV. and RV.

Exod. IX., 15 כִּי עַתָּה שָׁלַחְתִּי. The RV. changes the future of the AV. into a past conditional, which removes all difficulty as to use of tense and context.

Exod. XXI., 37 וּטְבָחוֹ אוֹ מְכָרוֹ, XXII., 9 וּמֵת אוֹ נִשְׁבַּר אוֹ נִשְׁבָּה, XXII., 13 וְנִשְׁבַּר אוֹ מֵת. It might indeed be possible to translate the Perfects without Waw strictly, e. g., "and shall slay it or have sold it," but such a trans-

Digitized by Google

lation seems very awkward. Might not, however, the וְאֶת connect the latter verb with the former so closely as to bring the latter so to speak under the vinculum of the Waw?

5. These two cases are Imperfects with Waw, co-ordinate with the Perfect in Exod. IX., 15, already referred to, and may be similarly explained.

Thus the only case that presents any serious difficulty so far is that in Gen. XL., 14, and the amount of exception to the rule 1 on p. 196 is very slight indeed.

It will also be seen that of the cases included under *9* and *12* many might fairly be taken as frequentative.

9. In the first place, 24 out of the 33 occur in poetical sections, Exod. XV.; Deut. XXXII.; Exod. XXXIII., 8, 9. Two are frequentative, Exod. XXXVI., 29, Gen. VI., 4 (so Driver). One, Deut. XXXIII., 3, may without any great difficulty be taken as a future. There remain six cases which cannot be explained satisfactorily unless as referring to past time, and not frequentative; four of these, Gen. XXXVII., 7; Exod. VIII., 20; Num. XXIII., 7; Deut. II., 12, are taken by Driver as analogous to our Historical Present; and the other two, Gen. II., 25 and XLVIII., 10, are left as unsolved problems.

12. Of these 22, 12 might be taken as frequentative: Five, Gen. XXXI., 7; XXXVII., 3; Josh. VI., 8, 13; Exod. XXXVI., 29, are referred to by Driver as frequentative; five others, Exod. XXXVI., 30, 38; XXXVIII., 28; XXXIX., 3, are in a similar context to Exod. XXXVI., 29. The other two are Gen. XXI., 25; XLIX., 23. One, Num. XXI., 15, might fairly be taken as a future;[1] one, Deut. XXXIII., 2, is in a poetical section. There remain *eight* which do not seem to yield to any satisfactory explanation, except as referring to past time and that not in a frequentative sense; one of these, Gen. XV., 6, Driver speaks of as an "isolated irregularity;" the others are, Gen. XXVIII., 6;[2] XXXIV., 5; XXXVIII., 5; XXXVIII., 9 (two cases); Josh. IX., 12;[1] XXII., 4. One is naturally tempted to consider these as cases of the Perfect with weak Waw, and some of them are so taken by Driver. But perhaps it might be preferable to leave these eight cases all of them an "insoluble enigma," for the following reasons:

a. Because we have seen that similar cases occur in the Imperfect where we cannot resort to any change of force of the Waw.

b. Because these cases are so "exceedingly rare" in historical sections of the earlier books. □

c. Because the change from the obsolete construction with Waw Cons. to the current construction with weak Waw was a species of error in the copying

[1] This list of eight would, according to Driver, have to be extended to fifteen. It is beyond the scope of these notes to enter minutely into individual cases; most of Driver's cases are included in those which seem to need translating by the Past Imperfect; and in the further analysis of this class I only attempt to show that in some cases there are plausible grounds for setting aside this seeming necessity. (Cf. Driver, p. 187).

[2] Cf. preceding foot-note and Driver, p. 189.

Digitized by Google

that scribes would be peculiarly liable to, and these cases may be cases of corrupt text.

Thus we see that out of nearly 7000 cases, rules 1–3 on p. 196 cover all but about 14. Hence we maintain that as far as the historical sections of the Hexateuch are concerned, it is misleading to co-ordinate the use of the Imperfect in the Past with its Present, Future and Subjunctive and kindred uses. Yet it is so co-ordinated in Davidson and Müller, and the student is left to gather from incidental remarks that even the frequentative use is comparatively rare and that in historical sections any other use of the Imperfect of past time is most exceptional. Surely, therefore, rule 2 on p. 196 would better help the student to a clear understanding of the usage; while the exceptional cases might be referred to or even enumerated in a note.

THE SEQUENCE OF THE TENSES.

The rules given on page 197 are not only empirical in form rather than scientific, but they omit and ignore the usual statement that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. depends on an initial Perfect. Now I do not in any way deny or even criticize the orthodox theory that the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. originated in such a construction, nor, of course, do I deny that a Perfect followed by Imperfects with Waw is a common construction. But I maintain that the usual statements on the subject are misleading, inaccurate and sometimes a trifle absurd. It would, of course, be utterly unreasonable to ascribe these characteristics to any want of knowledge or appreciation of the language on the part of the writers; it seems merely to be due to an enthusiasm of the scientific statement and elaboration of theory to which a clear statement of the actual usage of the tenses is altogether subordinated.

The following are some of the statements referred to:

1. Bickell's Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, § 152 Curtiss' translation: "If a narrative begins with the Perfect, it is continued in the apocopated form of the future with *va*."

This is the only reference in a very brief outline of syntax as to the use of the "future with *va*." Standing by itself it would certainly convey to the reader the idea that the "future with *va*" never occurred except under these conditions; or at any rate that this use of it was much more common than any other.

2. Davidson's Grammar, pp. 60, 61: "After a simple *perfect* events conceived as following upon this Perfect are expressed by the emphatic Vav joined with the *imperfect*."

This is given conspicuously in the largest type used in the book as "*the usage;*" at the bottom of the next page in a note dealing with two other points and printed in the smallest type used in the book, we read:

"The conversive tenses are properly used after simple tenses, but the usage has pervaded the language to such an extent that they may be employed when no

Digitized by Google

simple tense actually precedes; and in translating into Hebrew *and* with a verb may generally be expressed by the conversive tense."

The impression obviously conveyed by words, position and type is that the construction spoken of as "*the usage*" is by far the most common, and that the construction which "*may be*" employed is infrequent, if not exceptional.

3. Müller's Syntax, Robertson's translation, pp. 13, 14: "The Imperfect with ו appears in its use as quite equivalent to the simple Perfect; and indeed even stands instead of it in all places where a discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context; it can, moreover, be used in continuation of other verbal forms instead of a simple Perfect wherever the latter would be admissible.

"Rem. *a*. As soon as a new order of thought begins, which is not to be taken as closely connected with what precedes, the Perfect is necessary."

This statement leaves us with more latitude; we should still suppose that the construction of Imperfect with Waw was usual and most frequent, but that it sometimes occurred after other verbal forms.

Later on this is modified in a guarded and limited fashion, but we are left to suppose that the use "with any word whatever" is entirely subordinate.

The lessons which the student would suppose intended to be taught by the above statements would be:

1. That the Imperfect with Waw is most commonly found after a simple Perfect; less frequently after other verbal forms and occasionally after "any word whatever."

[Müller indeed states that the latter construction or rather a large group of constructions of which this is one, is found "very often." But in a syntax "very often" at the head of a subordinate paragraph after the broad and general statement at the beginning of the quotation would only be understood to mean that the construction occurred often enough to be considered regular and not exceptional; apart from such a context we should use "occasionally" for what would here be understood by "very often."]

2. That the Perfect is commonly found as the first verb of a paragraph and that the Imperfect with Waw is never found.

While the mode in which the construction of the Perfect and of the Imperfect with Waw is stated in Bickell and Davidson would suggest some such conclusion, Müller's statement that at the beginning of a new order of thought not closely connected with what precedes a Perfect is *necessary*, almost shuts the student up to such a conclusion. In fact the tendency of the student, accustomed in other languages to a syntax that deals chiefly with sentences, is to apply these statements to sentences. He has visions of a series of Hebrew sentences, each beginning with a Perfect and containing one or more Imperfects with Waw Cons. Müller's

Digitized by Google

"Remark" may suggest to him that sentences are often closely connected with each other and do not always begin a new order of thought; but he probably supposes that a new order of thought may be understood to begin with a new paragraph, a new chapter, when chapters are at all reasonably divided. One might suppose, for instance, that a new order of thought began at Gen. XXXVIII., 1, where the story of Tamar interrupts the history of Joseph.

These then are the ideas that the student would derive from such works on Hebrew syntax as to the distribution of the Perfect and Imperfect with Waw Cons., and their relation to one another. The impression given by the actual reading of the Hexateuch is entirely different. Instead of a series of sentences, each beginning with a Perfect, he finds that the main verbs of the independent sentences are almost always Imperfects with Waw Cons. and that the occurrence of a Perfect in such a capacity is rare, the Perfects are mostly found in dependent sentences and oratio recta.

These Perfects being rare, it follows that the construction Perfect followed by Imperfect with Waw Cons. is also comparatively rare. Taking a few chapters or sections in which Perfects and Imperfects with Waw Cons. occur pretty freely we get such results as the following:

Gen. V.—VI., 8 סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת אָדָם. The construction occurs once, after the בְּרֹאָם of verse 2, the main verbs are Imperfects with Waw Cons. for *thirty-eight* verses.

The הָיוּ of VI., 4 is parenthetic and the וַיַּרְא of verse 5 takes up the narrative from VI., 3.

Gen. X.—XI., 9. In verse 1, וַיּוֹלְדוּ following the bare names Shem, Ham and Japhet; then in verses 8 and 9 a series of three Perfects and then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. Though the section is rich in Perfects the construction in question is only found again in verses 11, 19 (though it seems strained to connect וַיְהִי with either of the two preceding Perfects, 29; XI., 1, whence the series of Waw Cons. continues for eight verses, the הָיָה in verse 3 is parenthetic.

Similarly in Exod. I. and II., out of forty-seven verses this construction is found in *five* cases, I., 6, 7, 17; II., 3, 19; in two of these, I., 17 and II., 3, the use of the Imperfect is rendered impossible by the presence of לֹא and another, II., 19, is in the oratio recta.

In Lev. IX., out of 24 verses this construction is found in verses 1, 11, 13, 21.

In Num. XVII., out of 28 verses this construction is found in verses 7, 12 and 23, in each case in a parenthesis, the main line of narrative consisting of a series of Imperfects with Waw Cons., and if we look for an initial Perfect, we have to go back to the preceding chapter.

Deut. XXXIV. Out of twelve verses the construction occurs *once* in verses 7, 8, and even there וַיִּבְכּוּ does not seem to connect with the previous Perfects.

Digitized by Google

Josh. IX. Out of twenty-seven verses the construction occurs in verses 3, 14, 18, 24, 27; in 18 the presence of the Perfect is due to the לֹא, and in 14 and 27 the sequence seems doubtful.

It follows from examples like these that the cases in which the Imperfect with Waw Cons. occurs within reach, i. e., within two or three verbs of a simple Perfect, are rare. To use symbols, let P denote a simple Perfect, I an Imperfect with Waw Cons., then the combinations P+I, P+2I, P+3I, occur but rarely; when the Imperfects are traceable to any Perfect we find series of the type P+nI where n is large, and consequently the number of such series is in inverse ratio to the average value of n, and the number of series and number of Perfects occurring at the head of series are small. Hence in most instances the actual sequence in the case of Imperfects with Waw Cons. is that one such Imperfect follows another; by continuing the process you may ultimately get back without any serious break to an initial Perfect, or as we shall try to show, you may *not*.

The most crucial test of the actual dependence of Imperfects with Waw Cons. on preceding words will naturally be found by examining the beginning of paragraphs, and the same investigation deals with our second point as to the presence or absence of Perfects, and of Imperfects with Waw Cons. in such a position. If the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is always or most often in dependence on something else, and a series of such Imperfects must ultimately rest on a Perfect or its equivalent, then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. will never or only rarely be found at the beginning of a paragraph. As Müller says, it will only be foundwhere a "discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context" and whenever "a new order of thought begins" the Perfect is necessary.

Unfortunately for the purpose of investigation, the process of division into suitable paragraphs is largely a subjective one. An author who has laid down the rule that whenever a new order of thought begins, the Perfect is necessary, will be apt to consider the presence of a Perfect a sufficient indication of a new order of thought. In criticizing such an author one is tempted to err in an opposite direction. However, to avoid this difficulty, I have followed almost exclusively certain recognized divisions, as follows:

1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.
2. The chapters.
3. The books of the Bible (O. T.).
4. Kayser's Elohist sections of the Pentateuch.
5. The paragraphs of the Book of Joshua in the Revised Version.

1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.

a. The larger divisions. Of these a large majority begin immediately with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. in all the five books except Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy two of these divisions begin thus, one begins similarly, namely, with a

Digitized by Google

Perfect and Waw Cons., one has a simple Perfect for its first verb and three others are irrelevant, since they contain exhortation and not narrative.

b. The smaller divisions. Here, too, there is a large majority of those beginning with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. over those in which such an Imperfect is introduced by a tense or phrase. Here also there is so little direct narrative in Deuteronomy that little evidence can be obtained thence.

2. The chapters. Here again, Deuteronomy being for the above reason excluded and Joshua being now included, the result is the same as in 1, only the preponderance of initial Imperfects with the Waw Cons. is greater.

3. The books of the Old Testament (historical, or beginning with a historical section).

Eleven, viz., Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Jonah, Ruth, Esther and 2 Chron. begin with Imperfect and Waw Cons.

Six, viz., Genesis, Exodus, 1 Kings, Job, Daniel and Ezra have an initial Perfect.

Three, viz., Deuteronomy, Nehemiah and 1 Chronicles do not fall into either of the above classes.

The fact that some books now separated were originally combinations of others weakens but does not destroy the evidence given above.

4. Kayser's Elohist sections of the Pentateuch (as given in C. V. Rysell's De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermone).

I have used these, simply because it seems likely that where a writer selects passages of three or four or more verses and separates them from their context as belonging to a different author, he recognizes some break in the order of thought at the beginning and end, and such sections, as well as the sections left when these are taken away, are a kind of paragraph. In using these paragraphs we are following the independent judgment of a distinguished scholar.

Here again the sections beginning with Imperfects with Waw Cons. are in a great majority.

5. The paragraphs into which the Book of Job is divided in the RV.

The paragraphs in the Revised Version follow so closely the divisions of the Hebrew text that it did not seem worth while to investigate both sets for the same book. For the sake of variety, we have taken the paragraphs of the RV. in this one book with a very similar result to that obtained in all the other cases.

We may also notice that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is often found after speeches, sometimes long speeches in the oratio recta. Here surely we can scarcely say that the original discourse has proceeded uninterruptedly, or that there is no break in the order of thought. Striking instances of this are: after the last charge of Jacob, Gen. XLIX., 33; after the Song of Moses, Exod. XV., 20; after the last prophecy of Balaam, Num. XXIV, 25; after the Blessing of Moses, Deut. XXXIV., 1.

Digitized by Google

We may also notice the sections beginning with אלה תולדות or similar words. With the exception of those in Num. III., 1 seq., Ruth IV., 18 seq., these are all found in Genesis. The presence of these initial words renders it impossible to have an Imperfect with Waw Cons. at the head of the section. In seven cases we have following this heading or title a Perfect followed by Imperfect and Waw Cons. In another case (Gen. II., 4), we have two verses with no main verb expressed, then an Imperfect in a frequentative sense, and somewhat later an Imperfect with Waw Cons. In five other cases an Imperfect with Waw Cons. follows a clause or clauses in which no main verb is expressed, and in Ruth I., 18 seq, we have a series of Perfects extending over five verses. One would scarcely expect the order of thought to change so constantly in the course of a genealogy.

Thus the result of this investigation is that so far from the Imperfect with Waw Cons. never or rarely occurring at the beginning of a paragraph, this construction occurs at the beginning of paragraphs much oftener than the simple Perfect, and is perhaps the most common beginning.

On the strength of these facts we maintain that there is no sufficient evidence in these six books of any conscious dependence of Imperfect with Waw Cons. on Perfects, other than the dependence always suggested by a Waw. If the writer had felt that grammar demanded a Perfect or its equivalent before an Imperfect with Waw Cons.; this feeling must have had a perceptible influence on the way in which paragraphs begin.

If it is said that in all cases where the Imperfect with Waw Cons. begins a paragraph, the division is so slight as to allow the connection to be carried back over the division to a preceding Perfect, we reply that the division in thought is often as great as it can be in a connected historical work, and that the breaks after which the Perfect is used are no more marked than those after which we have the Imperfect with Waw Cons.

As to the division in thought, we have already pointed out that this Imperfect is found when the narrative style is resumed after a long speech in oratio recta, and again where the scene and subject of a narrative suddenly change, as when the history of Joseph is interrupted by the episode of Tamar.

Then as to the occurrence of the Perfect after slight breaks, let us take the six Toledoth sections which have an initial Perfect; five of these sections, Genesis V., 1 seq.; VI., 9 seq.; XI., 27 seq.; XXXVI., 1 seq.; XXXVII., 2 seq., follow closely some mention of the subject of the Toledoth; in the case of Gen. XXV., 19, the Toledoth of Isaac naturally follow those of Ishmael.

We may also notice that Perfects like Imperfects with Waw Cons. have a tendency to run in series; for instance while the Toledoth Adam, Gen. V., 1, consists of an unbroken series of such Imperfects, in the Toledoth of the sons of Noah the main line of the genealogy is kept up by a series of Perfects. Compare also the genealogy which concludes the Book of Ruth; also in Gen. XIV., 2–5 there

Digitized by Google

is a series of five Perfects, in Gen. XIX., 23, 24 we have a series of three Perfects, and so again in Gen XXVII, 37.

The Perfects at the beginning of these Toledoth sections perhaps follow as marked a break in the narrative as any Perfects; while those within these sections follow as slight a break as any; and the range between these two extremes is about the same as that between the most and least marked break which is followed by an Imperfect with Waw Cons.

We are now in a position to recur to the case of a long series of Imperfects with Waw Cons. with an initial Perfect. We stated as a deduction from the frequency of such series that the tense most often preceding an Imperfect with Waw Cons. was a similar tense. It would have been scarcely worth while to notice this for its own sake; it might seem too obvious, and yet many less obvious facts are stated in grammars; and the fact that an indefinitely long series of such Imperfects may depend upon a single Perfect is sufficiently novel and striking to be explicitly stated. The ordinary student has forgotten all about the initial Perfect by the time he has had six or seven Imperfects, and if these tenses really are dependent on the initial Perfect, it is well that the student should be reminded of the fact.

But if we decide that the initial Perfect is not to be credited with this long line of Imperfects, then the series is chiefly important as illustrating the principle that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is the ordinary tense in simple narrative. It not only illustrates the principle, but furnishes new evidence to establish it. We have pointed out that the Perfect of Gen. V., 2 is followed by a series of sixty-five Imperfects with Waw, a series unbroken except by Perfects in dependent sentences and parentheses. According to the ordinary statement of current syntax these can only belong to a discourse uninterruptedly following an initial Perfect or its equivalent, expressed or understood, and here the Perfect is expressed. Apart from the presence in this series of what seems to be an important break at VI., 1, the mind recoils from the supposition that the writer deliberately attached sixty-five Imperfects to one Perfect with the consciousness that the presence of the Perfect at the beginning was a necessary condition to the expression of past time by an Imperfect with Waw thirty verses further on. If it be said that, having once fallen into Imperfects with Waw, the same tense was used till something happened to break the even flow of the narrative, and that the writer used each particular Imperfect with Waw because he knew that the tenses immediately preceding it were the same; then, surely, as a matter of syntax each later Imperfect with Waw is due to the preceding ones, and the fact of such a dependence should have been so stated. But the number of instances in which such Imperfect is found with no very close connection with any previous Perfect or similar Imperfect seems to render even this modified statement of the usual theory unnecessary.

On these grounds we maintain that the two rules given on p. 197 fairly de-

Digitized by Google

scribe and account for the facts of the language. They need some little explanation and may perhaps be put on a fairly scientific basis. Thus we may lay down the following premises:

1. The ordinary style of Hebrew narrative consists of a series of co-ordinate sentences connected by the conjunction Waw, as against the more complicated constructions and greater variety of conjunctions in other languages.

2. That the verb is usually put first.

3. That instead of using for narrative the ordinary Waw and the Perfect, the Waw pointed as the article is used with the Imperfect.

Thus the ordinary narrative tense will be this Imperfect with Waw. Doubtless the origin of the usage was that which modern theory suggests; but we maintain that the origin had been forgotten. It now remains to account for cases in which this ordinary tense gives place to the Perfect.

As the connection of the Waw and Imperfect is an essential part of the construction, and the Imperfect is not so used without Waw. It will follow:

1. That the substitution of any other conjunction or of a relative for Waw will render it necessary to use the Perfect, hence the Perfect will be found in dependent, relative, interrogative sentences.

It is, of course, to be understood that this need only apply to the first verb in such a sentence; a second verb may be connected with this by Waw, and then the Imperfect may follow as usual. As a matter of fact such sentences do not very often contain more than one verb, and when they do, there is some tendency to follow up one Perfect by another, e. g., Gen. VI., 1.

2. Anything which alters the position of the verb will separate it from the Waw and cause it to fall into the Perfect.

Thus *a*, as the negative לֹא always precedes the verb, the Perfect is found in negative sentences.

b. Wherever some other word than the verb is placed first for the sake of emphasis, the verb will fall into the Perfect.

3. The oratio recta in its statement, as to past time may use either a narrative or a rhetorical style. In using a narrative style nothing more is intended than to state the facts to the hearer; when the style becomes rhetorical there is a conscious intention that the statement of facts should move the feelings or the will of the hearer. In the former case the Imperfect with Waw is naturally used, in the latter case the statements are rendered more emphatic by the use of the Perfect. It is chiefly in long speeches that the oratio recta becomes narrative.

Moreover, the principles laid down fully account for the feeling that an Imperfect with Waw is connected with something preceding. Naturally the use of a form, the first member of which is a conjunction, will suggest a connection with something preceding. Again it is natural that a series of Imperfects with Waw should have an appearance of smoothness and regularity; any unbroken series of

Digitized by Google

tenses has some such appearance; and in this case the fact that any departure from the usual order of the words renders it impossible to use this Imperfect implies that the presence of this Imperfect indicates an absence of emphasis. Thus also the Hebrew language gains an added emphasis of form from the fact that an unusual order of words must also be accompanied by a less usual tense. But the question as to the use of Perfect or Imperfect with Waw is not one of sequence or connection, but of emphasis; the unbroken series of these Imperfects implies continuity of style rather than of thought. For, while a change of thought may be indicated by a change of style, yet the different parts of a train of thought may be as closely connected as possible, and still their mutual relation and relative importance may give rise to a variety of construction. One might perhaps illustrate the theory that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. implies an initial Perfect by comparing a series of Imperfects to a straight line and a Perfect to a point, then in the nature of things every such series must begin with a Perfect; and the continuity of a narrative will be that of a straight line when Imperfects are used and as broken as a row of isolated points when we have Perfects. According to the view we have tried to maintain, the series of Imperfects may be compared to a gently undulating curve, and the Perfect to a loop; or where a Perfect interrupts a series of Imperfects there would be a loop among the curves. The continuity is the same in each case; there is no necessary sequence, but the change from wave to loop would arrest and detain the attention.

It surely follows that the methods of stating the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are misleading; those of Bickell and Davidson, as being the whole of their statements on this head, would never lead the student to suppose that the facts were as they have been stated above. As to Müller it may be fairer to give a synopsis of his statements on the subject. According to him the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may follow—

1. A Perfect.
2. Any other tense used where a Perfect would have been admissible.
3. Another expression in a present sense instead of a Perfect.
4. Any word whatever, *which it in a manner elucidates.*
5. It may serve as apodosis to a preceding noun placed absolutely.
6. A simple Imperfect under certain conditions.

If it were not that Müller's anxiety to establish a connection in each case leads him to impose limitations on the use under each head, we might say that his statements might gain in clearness and conciseness if they were summed up in a statement in Gesenius, that the Future with Waw Cons. stands only in connection with something preceding. Even then Gesenius' statement is for most cases a truism, since, as we have pointed out, a form introduced by Waw naturally stands mostly in connection with something preceding; and in historical narrative most sentences stand in connection with something preceding. Doubtless,

Digitized by Google

however, Gesenius intends something more than a truism, as he guards this statement by saying that "If there be any connection with an earlier advent, the Fut. with Waw may even begin a narrative or a section of one." As, however, all narrative has a connection with earlier events, especially in sacred history, unless indeed it be the history of the Creation, this latter statement only removes the truism a stage further back. A single Perfect in the first verse of Genesis would justify Imperfects thence to the end of the Old Testament. In fact such a statement virtually amounts to saying that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. may occur anywhere, and so justifies the position that apart from the Waw there is no conscious dependence of this Imperfect on any previous tense.

In Müller, however, I cannot find any such admission that an Imperfect with Waw may begin a section. We might indeed apply the mathematical interpretation to "any word whatever," and understand it as including "nothing" or "no word at all;" but the limitation "which it in a manner elucidates" shuts us out from this refuge; a series of tenses can scarcely be intended to elucidate "nothing."

Again it is difficult to see how Müller's statements include the numerous instances in which an Imperfect with Waw Cons. resumes the narrative after a long speech in the oratio recta; though as this is virtually beginning a section, it might perhaps be left as another view of the difficulty stated above.

If, however, these gaps in Müller's statement were filled up, we see that they would amount to the elaboration of a truism, and to a virtual admission that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may be used, whatever precedes. If Müller's statement were intended to show how the usage of this form, at a time when its origin in a dependence on the Perfect was forgotten, might be deduced from this origin, it would seem eminently useful and instructive; but an attempt to explain and describe the actual usage as if the authors of these books were conscious of an origin they seem to have entirely forgotten, is as mischievous and misleading as if we tried to make out that people were influenced in their use of a word by some long forgotten etymology.[1]

---

[1] It may be noticed that this statement is almost identical with that by which Driver introduces his chapter on the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" (ch. VI., p. 83):

"By far the most usual method in which a series of events is narrated in Hebrew consists in connecting each fresh verb with the clause which precedes it by means of the so-called *waw conversivum* (ו) and the Imperfect."

Now it has been shown that this mode of describing the usage of the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" involves an important modification of the statements in such grammars as Bickell, Davidson and Mueller. But the student would understand from the general drift of the book that Driver was thoroughly at one with the current views on syntax and would not be likely to notice a modification unless it were dwelt upon as such. A student, for instance, who read Driver after Davidson would be apt to suppose that the words "clause which precedes" were to be understood in the light of Davidson's statement as to the usage of the Imperfect with Waw Cons.; and that some connected and preceding clause would contain the necessary simple Perfect.

Students would be more likely to profit by Driver's careful accuracy of statement, if the same characteristic prevailed in elementary works.

Digitized by Google

WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS.

By Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D.,

Berlin, Germany.

Translated from the German by Rev. O. O. Fletcher, Ottawa, Ill.

I. BIBLICAL STATEMENTS.

There is no direct testimony that the Hebrews were acquainted with the art of writing before the time of Moses. It was not necessary that letters should have been engraved upon the signet ring of Judah (Gen xxxviii., 18); the record in Gen. xxiii. could even be urged as an *argumentum e silentio* for the time of Abraham; and the office of the שֹׁטְרִים, of whom Exod. v., 6 seqq., speaks, does not mean precisely "scribe," but "director, overseer." Nevertheless, it is evident from the way in which mention is made of the writing of Moses,[1] and at the same time of the writing of priests[2] and others,[3] and also of the engraving of names and other words in stone and metal,[4] that the art of writing was then somewhat diffused among the Hebrews, and was, therefore, no new discovery. In the Book of Joshua, we may compare viii., 32 (מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, written upon stones) and xviii., 6, 8, 9 (a description of Canaan drawn up with a view to disposing of it by casting lots). Even in the times of the Judges the knowledge of writing must have been widely extended; for (Judg. viii., 14) a boy of Succoth, accidentally captured, is able to write down the names of seventy-seven princes and elders of that city (cf. 1 Sam. x., 25). Songs, such as those in Num. xxi. and Judg. v., must have been recorded at an early age (cf. also Josh. x., 13, סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר). Consequently the assertion of Hartmann, Vatke, and von Bohlen, that the art of writing could only have become known to the Hebrews shortly before or even after the time of Solomon, is indefensible. From the time of the kings there come to us numerous notices of the employment of writing in public as well as in private life, on the part of adults,[5] and also of children (Isa. x., 19).

From Isa. viii., 1 (חֶרֶט אֱנוֹשׁ) it may be concluded that, in the time of Isaiah, beside the customary script there was a somewhat more cursive, perhaps

[1] Legal, Exod. xxiv., 4, 7; xxxiv., 27; Deut. xxxi., 9, 24; historical, Exod. xvii., 14; Num. xxxiii., 2; Song of Moses, Deut. xxxi., 22; compare also Num. xvii., 18 [E. V. 3].

[2] Num. v., 23.

[3] Only in Deut. vi., 9; xi., 20; bill of divorcement, xxiv., 1, 3.

[4] Exod. xxviii., 9, 36.

[5] 2 Sam. xi., 4; 1 Kgs. xxi., 8, 11; 2 Kgs. v., 5 seqq.; x., 1; Isa. viii., 1; x., 1, 19; xxix., 11 seq.; xxx., 8; xxxvii., 14; xxxix., 1; Jer. xxix., 1; Hos. viii., 12; Hab. ii., 2; Ps. xlv., 2; 2 Chron. ii., 10; xxi., 12; bill of purchase, Jer. xxxii., 10; judicial procedure, Job xiii., 26; xxxi., 35; the State Secretary, סוֹפֵר, 2 Sam. viii., 17; xx., 25; 1 Kgs. iv., 3; 2 Kgs. xii., 11; xix., 2; xxii., 3; the king's annalist, מַזְכִּיר.

Digitized by Google

smaller, script, which could be read only by the more learned. According to many כ'א denotes the ancient Hebrew writing in contradistinction to that which came into Palestine with the Aramaic language,[1] the latter being then indeed very similar to the former, but nevertheless already so different as not to be generally readable.

Ezra IV., 7 (כְּתוּב אֲרָמִית) shows that the Hebrew script differed from the Aramaic at least in the time of Artaxerxes.

We must take it that paper (*χάρτης* 2 John, 12) was the material upon which persons ordinarily wrote. To be sure, this is not expressly affirmed in the Old Testament, but there is just as little indication in it that they used the prepared skins of beasts, though this is a common assumption. For the LXX. have rightly translated Jer. XXXVI. (Sept. XLIII.) *χαρτίον* and *χάρτης*;[2] and as for Num. v., 23, we should take into account that fresh writing in ink can be washed from papyrus also. Papyrus grows abundantly in Palestine even now; for example, beside the sea of Huleh, in the plain of Gennesaret, and beside the Jordan in the vicinity of Jacob's Bridge. Parchment, discovered much later, is mentioned only in the New Testament (2 Tim. IV., 13, *τὰς μεμβράνας*).

The books were in the form of rolls (מְגִלָּה Jer. XXXVI; Ezek. II., 9; III., 1 seqq.; Ps. XL., 8; Zech. V., 1, 2).

They wrote with a reed,[3] cut to a point with the scribe's knife,[4] and with ink.[5] The writing utensils were carried in a girdle (Ezek. as cited above). For engraving on metal or stone, eventually also for carving in wood, an iron style[6] was employed; because of a similar use the חֶרֶט (Isa. VIII., 1) had its name (חרט, to carve, engrave.)

Beside the literature hereafter cited, we may name: E. A. Steglich, *Skizzen ueber Schrift- und Buecherwesen der Hebräer zur Zeit des alten Bundes*, Leipzig, 1876, 4to, pp. 16.

II. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW SCRIPT.

A. The history of writing among the Hebrews is closely connected with that of writing in general, especially Semitic.

The ancient Semitic alphabet was not, indeed, originated by the Hebrews. The names of the letters are not pure Hebrew, neither is there any tradition or legend respecting it. The honor belongs to "a people speaking Canaanite and in intimate intercourse with the Egyptians;"[7] the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings

---

[1] Isa. xxxvi., 11.

[2] "Despite his violent anger the king would not have thrown whole pieces of leather upon the open oriental fire-pan."—*Schlottmann.*

[3] עֵט, Ps. xlv., 2; Jer. viii., 8; *κάλαμος*, 3 John 13.

[4] תַּעַר הַסֹּפֵר, Jer. xxxvi., 23.

[5] דְּיוֹ, Jer. xxxvi., 18; *μέλαν*, 2 Cor. iii., 3; 2 John, 12; 3 John, 13; inkstand, קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר, Ezek. ix., 2, 3, 11.

[6] עֵט בַּרְזֶל, Jer. xvii., 1; Job xix., 24.

[7] Schlottmann, p. 1430*b*.

Digitized by Google

have been suggested. The inventor was certainly acquainted with the hieroglyphs; but, despite their exterior similarity, it is very doubtful whether the Egyptian and the Semitic signs are identical, and the latter, therefore, derived [from the former].

In the Semitic script the principle of acrophony rules; that is, each letter is represented by the picture of an object whose name begins with the letter under consideration: for example, the letter *d* by Δ, the outline of a tent-door, dalth, deleth, dāleth. It is to be further noted, that all the letters are in the first place only consonants. Probably there were not twenty-two letters at the beginning: it is quite possible that ה, ט, ם, צ were developed later from ח, ת, ז, ש, through differentiation, and each of these last four represented two related sounds, as did ע also later, similar to the Arabic ع and غ. At least the meaning of the names of ה, ט, צ, is entirely unknown; and ה and צ break into related groups of letters.[1] The order of the letters is shown to be very old by the alphabetical Psalms (IX. seq., XXV., XXXIV., XXXVII., CXI., CXII., CXLV.), by Prov. XXXI., 10–31, and by Lam. I.–IV., and still more certainly by the ancient Greek alphabet. It has no fundamental plan of arrangement; yet an intentional classification is evident in several places.

In the north-Semitic group of languages, if we except the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform literature, a Western and an Eastern, or a Canaanitic and an Aramaic, development are to be distinguished. The same is true as to the characters used in writing.[2]

B. The oldest known witness, at present, to the development of the north-Semitic script is the thirty-four line inscription of Mesha', king of Moab, found in the year 1868, by the German minister, F. H. Klein, among the ruins of Dibon (Dhibân). It is of the ninth century before Christ (cf. 2 Kgs. III., 4 seqq.). Concerning this inscription of which fragments, unfortunately incomplete, are now in the Louvre in Paris, see in particular: Th. Nöldeke, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab erklärt*, Kiel, 1870, page 38.; Const. Schlottman, *Die Siegessäule Mesa's*, Halle, 1870, 51 pp.; *ZDMG.*, XXIV. (1870), page 253 seqq., 483 seqq., 645 seqq.; XXV. (1871), page 463 seqq.; L. Diestel, in the *Jahrbb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, 1871, page 215 seqq.

Closely related are the characters of the Siloam inscription, discovered in June, 1880, and belonging probably to the time of Hezekiah. Cf. especially, A. Socin, *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, III. (1880), page 54 seq.; E. Kautzsch, *ZDPV.* IV., pages 102–114, 260–271 (with a lithograph); V., pages 205–218; H. Huthe, *ZDPV.* IV., 250–259; *ZDMG.* XXXVI. (1882), pages 725–750 (with a sun-print plate).

---

[1] Schlottmann is inclined also to strike ו and ק from the oldest alphabet.

[2] The attempt made by W. Deecke (*ZDMG.* XXXI. 107 seqq.), to derive the ancient Semitic alphabet from the later Assyrian cuneiform writing, has not found anywhere a lasting endorsement.

Digitized by Google

Twenty seals with ancient Hebrew inscriptions belong probably to the period from the eighth to the seventh century B. C. See particularly M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramäischen, phönizischen, althebr., himjar.....Inschriften*, l. c., 1869, pp. 55, plates 3.

Here we should place the Phœnician inscriptions, concerning which we are now receiving continuous disclosures, in a style worthy imitation, through the Paris *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia inscriptionum et litterarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars prima inscriptiones Phœnicias continens*, of which the first two numbers (Tom. I., fasc. 1, 2), have appeared (1881 and 1883). The epitaph of Eshmun'azar is to be especially noted in this connection. It is certainly of the first half of the fourth century B. C.: C. Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars, Königs der Sidonier*, Halle, 1868, pp. 202, plates 3; C. J. Kämpf, *Phönizische Epigraphik. Die Grabschrift Eschmunazar's, Königs der Sidonier*. Urtext und Uebersetzung, Prag, 1874, pp. 83.

Essentially the same script is on all Hebrew coins, of which we have not a few, perhaps from the time of Simon Maccabæus (143–135),[1] safely from John Hyrcanus I. (135–105),[2] down to the time of Bar Cochba. Cf. especially Fred. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (second volume of *The International Numismata Orientalia*), London, 1881, pp. xi, 329, large 4to, 279 wood-cuts and 1 plate.

This script was the one exclusively used by the Jews up to the time of Ezra. Then, as will hereafter be shown, it was gradually exchanged for (displaced by) the Aramaic.

The Semitic writing is "a younger, calligraphic remodeling of the ancient Hebrew" (Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, page 26). Several specimens of writing may be found in Rosen's essay: "Alte Handschriften des samaritanischen Pentateuch," *ZDMG.*, XVIII. (1864) pages 582–589.

From the foregoing account, we have purposely omitted the portions of an epitomized compilation of Deuteronomy brought to Europe in 1883 by the Jerusalem book-dealer W. M. Schapira. These are written, it is true, with letters very similar to those of the Moabite stone; but, as the writer of this article, who first saw the entire thing, said to the owner, it is an altogether modern production. The appearance of age has been skillfully given it by using the blank upper and lower edges of leather synagogue rolls as material for writing upon. Cf. my letter of August 31, addressed to the publisher of the *Times* (in the number for Sept. 4, 1883); my notice of Guthe's publication, named below, in *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, No. 40; Franz Delitzsch's article, "Schapira's Pseudo-Deuteronomium," in the *Allgem. Ev.-Luther- Kirchenzeitung*, Nos. 36–39; H. Guthe, *Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift, enthaltend Mose's letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel, mitgetheilt und geprueft*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 94. In view of the fact that the pieces of skin (some

[1] Madden, p. 61 seqq.

[2] de Saulcy, Ewald, Derenbourg.

Digitized by Google

years since declared a forgery, by C. Schlottmann, upon the ground of communications made in correspondence by Schapira) and the "Moabitica"[1] were brought to Europe by the same dealer, we may refer merely to the most important literature respecting the latter. Const. Schlottmann, *ZDMG.*, vols. 26–28; H. Weser, *ib.* vols. 26, 28; Ad. Koch, *Moabitisch oder Selimisch?* Stuttgart, 1876, pp. 98; E. Kautzsch and A. Socin, *Die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthuemer geprueft*, Strassburg, 1876. pp. 191.

C. The oldest authenticated documents in respect of the Eastern or Aramaic development of the north-Semitic writing, are the old Aramaic seal inscriptions, which differ but a little from the ancient Hebrew. The main point in these gradual changes can be stated thus: Opening of the closed heads (ב, ד, ר, later also ע), rounding of the angular forms.

The development proceeds very well, if we shall arrange the material at hand for critical examination in the following manner: The Assyrian clay tablets with conventions in the cuneiform character and Aramaic letters. The papyrus written by Aramæans in Egypt during the Persian domination, upon which final letters for כ, ל, נ are already distinguished. The Cilician coins of the fourth century [B. C.]. The stone of Carpentras (in the department of Vaucluse). The Nabatæan and the Palmyrene inscriptions. The inscription of 'Arâq el-Emîr (half-way between Rabbath Ammon and Jericho), probably soon after 176 B. C. The inscription of the priestly family, the בְּנֵי חֲזִיר, on "the Tomb of St. James" (Valley of Kidron), presumably of the first century B. C. The word of Christ (Matt. v., 18), *ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*, has reference, doubtless, not to the ancient Hebrew characters, but to those of the Eastern development. The Kefr Bir'im inscriptions (seven and a half miles NNW. from Safed) which, according to Renan,[2] belong to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, while Levy and Schlottmann maintain that they are older.

Out of this style of writing with its many ligatures, by the isolation of the letters and a tendency to calligraphy, the square character (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע) has arisen.

D. The adoption of the Aramaic script on the part of the Jews, did not occur all at once, but by degrees. The oldest witness which attests the entrance of this script into Palestine, is the 'Arâq el-Emîr inscription, consisting, unfortunately, of only five letters, טוביה: it has the ancient Hebrew Yodh. The later inscription on the so-called "Tomb of St. James," already mentioned, shows only the Aramaic type of writing. Though all Hebrew coins, even those of Bar Cochba, have legends in the ancient Hebrew script, yet we may hardly hold that this is the act of a cultured patriotism which had knowledge of the old national script that had become obsolete, but we must conclude that the ancient script was then

[1] [The Berlin "Moabitica;" to be distinguished, of course, from the Moabite stone. Tr.].

[2] *Journal Astat.*, 1864, Vol. IV., p. 531 seqq.; 1865, Vol. VI., p. 561 seqq.

Digitized by Google

quite generally known; for what is illegible can hardly command the patriotism of the ordinary man, and beside this the writing upon the coins was essentially that of the Samaritans whom the Jews so hated. The knowledge, nay more, the use, of the ancient script follows from the Mishna *Yadayim* IV., 5. Here also are to be noted two statements of Origen by way of citation which can scarcely be assigned to a later period. According to Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt*, I., 86, he says that the Greeks use κύριος for the unpronounceable divine name, and then he continues: καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς νῦν φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἔσδραν ἑτέροις χρήσασθαι μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. And in respect to Ezek. IX., 4 (Montf. II., 282) he says that a baptized Jew told him: τὰ ἀρχαῖα στοιχεῖα ἐμφερὲς ἔχειν τὸ θαῦ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαρακτῆρι. There is no indication whatever that the ancient script has been used by the Jews since the second century of the Christian era.

How is this complete disappearance to be explained? Only upon the hypothesis that earlier than this the Aramaic script (the square character) had come to be considered sacred, the ancient Hebrew profane. Even in the above-cited Mishna, it stands as an incontrovertible dogma that the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible were only to be deemed sacred in case they were written in the square script (אשורית) with ink upon leather (עור), but not if the (ancient) Hebrew writing (כתב עברי) were employed, Whence the sacredness of this script? The view that Ezra brought the square writing with him from Assyria out of the exile—a view attested so early as the second century after Christ (Rabbi Jose, Rabbi Nathan)—is significant in this connection.[1] Even if Ezra did not bring the Aramaic script with him (it came without him, along with the Aramaic language), it is nevertheless most probable that he caused the Aramaic writing to be used in the numerous copies of the law which were made at his procurement. Inasmuch as the letters of the law came more and more to be regarded as divine, and the difference between the two types of writing constantly increased, at a later period such a change in the script would not have been possible.

E. From various statements in the Talmud (e. g., *Sabbath*, 103, 104), we perceive first, that the square writing employed in its time had long since attained a defined form, and second, that the character found in manuscripts and imprints corresponds with it.[2] This stability is explained by the peculiar respect entertained for the law, which was written with these letters.[3] There is a diversity in the characters employed in the manuscripts of the Bible, but one that in no way makes against the correspondence just spoken of. By this diversity we are enabled to determine, often with certainty, as to the nationality of respective

[1] Jerusalem Talmud, *Megilla* i., 11 (Shitomir's edition, i., 9), fol. 71, col. b, l. 56 seqq.; Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 21, col. b.

[2] Cf. A. Berliner, *Beitraege zur hebr. Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 15–26.

[3] Cf. my article "Massora," *PRE.*² ix., 389, and the bibliography given therein, Remark 2.

Digitized by Google

manuscripts or of their transcribers; e. g., it is very easy to distinguish between Spanish and German codices of the Bible. To a far less extent are we able, from the characters used, to speak with assurance respecting the age of a manuscript; many statements in catalogues purporting to be absolute are purely suggestive, and may be in great measure incapable of proof.

As old witnesses regarding the state of the square script in the earlier centuries [of the Christian era], we may here name: the ten tomb inscriptions in Venosa, Lavello and Brindisi—of the first half of the ninth century—published by G. J. Ascoli;[1] and the codex of the prophets with the Babylonian punctuation—of the year 916.[2]

On the contrary we are not to take into account: first, the epitaph of the Mashta found in Aden; for, to the date "29 Seleuc.," we have to restore not only the order of thousands, but of hundreds also (1029 Seleuc. = 717 A. D.);[3] second, very many "finds" of the Karaite, Abr. Firkowitsch, who died at Tschufutkale in the Crimea, 1874, viz., all epigraphs which are said to have been written earlier than the year 916, and almost, if not quite, all epitaphs which now bear date as of the fifth or even the fourth millenary, Jewish chronology (therefore before 1240 or even 240 after Christ). The epitaphs are collected in the ספר אבני זכרון, published by A. Firkowitsch (Wilna, 1872). D. Chwolson has especially maintained the genuineness of the Firkowitsch finds.[4] Cf. on the contrary, what the writer has observed concerning the numerous forgeries of Firkowitsch (also touching upon the history of the punctuation and the Massora) in *A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen. Ein Grabstein den hebr. Grabschriften der Krim*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 44; *Theol. Litztg.*, 1878, No. 25, col. 619 seq.; *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher*, Leipzig, 1879, Introduction; *ZDMG.* XXXIV. (1880), pages 163–168; *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1883, No. 25, cols. 878–880.

Concerning the peculiar embellishments of numerous letters, the so-called תגין or כתרים, cf. Talmud, *Menachoth*, 29, cols. a, b; *Sabbath*, 89, col. a; 105, col. b; ספר תגין, *Sepher Taghin, Liber coronularum....edidit....J. J. L. Barges*, Paris, 1886, pp. xxxi, 42, 55, 16mo.; J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, Vol. IX., pages 242–251.

The literature relating to the punctuation I have given in the article "*Massora*," [PRE.²] Vol. IX., page 390, Rem. 2, and page 393, Rem. 3.

---

[1] *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, greche, latine, ebraische, di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano, edite e illustrate*, Turin and Rome, 1880, pp. 120, 8 sun-print plates.

[2] *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus....edidit Hermannus Strack*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1876.

[3] Against Levy, Stade, Schlottman, and others.

[4] *Achtzehn hebraeische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1865, pp. 135, large 4to, 9 plates; and *Corpus inscriptionum Hebraicarum* (1882) [Title given in Bibliography]. Although the author in the second work concedes that Firkowitsch has forged much, still his point of view is wholly uncritical; and the invectives and charges vociferated against the undersigned do not conceal this from the learned.

Digitized by Google

Facsimiles of Hebrew manuscripts: The Paleographical Society. *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts.* Oriental series. Edited by W. Wright, London; Part I., fol. 13, Hebrew Lexicon of Menachem ben Saruq, of the year 1091; fol. 14, ib. of the year 1189; fol. 15, Rashi, Comment. on the Talmud, 1190; Part II., fol. 30, Moses ben-Shem-Tob of Leon, Sepher ha-Mishkal, 1363–4, Algiers; Part III., fol. 40, Manuscript of the Bible; fol. 41, ib., Jan., 1347; Part IV., fol. 54, ib.; fol. 55, Al-Charisi, Tachkemoni, 1282; fol. 56, Jerusalem Talmud, 1288-9; Part V., fol. 68, Isaac ben-Joseph, Sepher Mitzvoth Katon (סמ"ק), 1401.[1] M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum Hebræorum bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, Leyden, 1858, 11 plates; *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Vol. II., *Verzeichniss der hebr. Handschriften*, Berlin, 1878, 3 plates with 27 specimens of writing; *Die hebr. Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, Munich, 1875, Facsimile of the Talmud Manuscript No. 85. M. S. Zuckermandel gave a facsimile of each of the Erfurt and Vienna manuscripts of the Tosefta (Tosefta, Pasewalk, 1880. Supplement, Treves, 1882). Chwolson, *Corpus etc.* B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, seqq.

Copies of Hebrew epitaphs: Firkowitzsch in אבני זכרון (imperfect); Chwolson in both his works already named; Ascoli, as cited above; The Paleographical Society, etc., Part II., fol. 29, Epitaph of the Mashta, ostensibly of the year 717–8, in reality later (see above). The practiced hand of Prof. Jul. Euting has given a detailed graphical exposition of the history of the Hebrew alphabet three times, in *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar*, by G. Bickell (translated by S. I. Curtiss), Leipzig, 1877; *The Hebrew Alphabet*, *The Paleogr. Soc.*, Part VII., London, 1882; Chwolson, *Corpus etc.*

LITERATURE. Beside the works already cited we may here name, J. L. Hug, *Die Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift, ihr Zustand und fruehester Gebrauch im Alterthume*, Ulm, 1801; U. Fr. Kopp, *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*, 2 vols., Mannheim, 1819 and 1821; W. Gesenius, article "Paläographe," in the *Allgemein. Encyklopädie* of Ersch und Gruber; J. Olshausen, *Ueber den Ursprung des Alphabets*, *Kieler philologische Studien*, 1841, page 4 seqq.; H. Steinthal, *Die Entwicklung der Schrift*, Berlin, 1852, pp. 113; Heinrich Brugsch, *Ueber Bildung und Entwicklung der Schrift*, Berlin, 1868, pp. 30 (a collection of popular scientific productions by Virchow and von Holtzendorff, 3d series, No. 64); H. Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift*, Vol. I., Leipzig, 1872, pp. 782; *Abbildung zur Geschichte der Schrift*, No. 1, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 25, plates 33; J. Evans, *On the Alphabet and its Origin*, London, 1872; Ph. Berger, *L'ecriture et les inscriptions semitiques*, Paris, 1880 (a reprint from Lichtenberger's *Encyclopedie des sciences religieuses*, Vols. IV. and VI.); Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, Cap. 3, pages 24-42; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet. An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters*, 2 vols., London, 1883,

[1] The editors are disposed to hold that the codices used for folios 40 and 54 were written in the twelfth century. It is doubtful whether this is correct.

Digitized by Google

pp. 358, 398 (1st, Semitic Alphabets; 2d, Aryan Alphabets), particularly Vol. I., pages 268–283; A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. des griech. Alphabets*, 3d edition, Berlin, 1877, pp. 168 with illustrations.

Emm. de Rougé, *Memoire sur l'origine egyptienne de l'alphabet phenicien* [written 1859]....publié....par Jacques de Rougé, Paris, 1874, pp. 110; E. van Drival, *De l'origine de l'ecriture*, 3d edition, Paris, 1879, pp. 170; M. de Vogüé, *Melanges d'archeologie orientale*, Paris, 1868; *Syrie centrale. Inscriptions semitiques publiees avec traduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1868 seq.; Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, Paris, 1874; F. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phenicien dans l'ancien monde*, 2 vols., Paris, 1872, 1873; 2d Edition 1875.

Wilh. Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, page 137 seqq. [nearly antiquated]; J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 4th edition, §§ 63–78, 342–377, Göttingen, 1823, Vols. I. and II.; H. Hupfeld, "Kritische Beleuchtung einiger dunkeln und missverstandenen Stellen der alttestam. Textgeschichte," *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, Nos. 2–4, and 1837, No. 3; *Ausfuehrliche hebräische Grammatik* [not completed], Kassel, 1841, § 7 seqq.; Ad. Merx, article "*Schreiber, Schreibkunst*," in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, V., 240–247; H. L. Strack, "Die bibl. und die massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufutkale in der Krim," *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie und Kirche*, 1875, pages 585–624; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik*, Part I. [all], Leipzig, 1879, pages 22–24 [this also treats of other matters of literary interest]; C. Schlottmann, article "Schrift und Schriftzeichen," in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums*, Part XV. (1881), pages 1416–1431 (of great value); D. Chwolson, *Corpus Inscriptiorum Semiticarum*, containing epitaphs from the Crimea and other epitaphs, in the early Hebrew square characters, as also specimens of the script from the ninth to the fifteenth century, St. Petersburg, 1882, 528 cols., folio, 4 photo-lithographs, 2 photo-type plates, and one in script (fails to accomplish its peculiar purpose, the defence of the Firkowitsch "finds;" but is valuable by reason of its specimens of writing and as a collection of much literary material that had else been scattered).

Leopold Löwe, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, 2 parts, Leipzig, 1870, 1871 (alternate title: *Beiträge zur juedischen Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I.), pp. 243, 190. Contents: Material upon which they wrote; Materials and utensils for writing; Scribe; Records.—Noteworthy because of its careful use of the Jewish literature. For the names of the ancient Hebrew script compare moreover, the essay, כתב דעץ and כתב ליבונאה, by Georg Hoffmann, *Ztschr. fuer die alttest. Wissensch.*, 1881, pages p. 334–338.

Digitized by Google

ŠUZUB THE BABYLONIAN AND ŠUZUB THE CHALDÆAN, KINGS OF BABYLON.

By Professor C. P. Tiele,

Leyden, Holland.*

With pleasure I avail myself of the opportunity which has been offered to me to furnish a small contribution to the album which is to be presented to Dr. Leemans. I should be very loth not to take any part in the homage to the esteemed scholar, the friend of my father, who constantly honored me also with his hearty friendship.

I have not, indeed, any important discoveries to communicate, but a short historical-critical contribution to the history of the reign of Sennacherib may suffice.

In the inscriptions of this king, especially in the Taylor-Cylinder (Hexagon) Šuzub occurs several times as the name of an obstinate enemy. But it seems to be difficult to reconcile the various accounts concerning him.

First, in the course of his expedition against Marduk-bal-iddin, of Bît-Yakîn (fourth campaign) the king gains a victory over Šuzub, the Chaldæan, who dwelt in the marshy districts near the sea. Šuzub flees and disappears entirely (ul innamir ašaršu). A few years later (in the sixth campaign) when returning from his adventurous voyage to Nagitu, Sennacherib gains a victory over Šuzub, the Babylonian, who had taken advantage of the disorder and anarchy of the country (ina ešiti mati) to usurp the dominion of Šumer and Akkad, and with him his ally the king of Elam. Šuzub he takes prisoner, brings him in fetters to Nineveh and there shuts him up in the great gate (cf. the Tabl. in Smith's *Sennach.*, p. 105). The account in III. R. 4, that Šuzub fled and fell from his horse probably has reference to this capture. But again a few years later Šuzub still sits on the throne of Babylon, makes an alliance with Ummanmênanu of Elam, and Sennacherib directs against him his eighth campaign, which, according to the Assyrians, results in the defeat and the flight of the allied kings. The Taylor-Cylinder written in 691 B. C. (limu Bel-êmurani, governor of Kargamiš) is still ignorant of his imprisonment. Only the Bavian inscription, composed at a later time, speaks of a second expedition to Babylon (ina šani harraniya) in which the city is destroyed, and Šuzub is taken captive.

On the supposition that all these accounts refer to the same Šuzub, it was supposed that he had either escaped from his prison, or had received mercy at the

* See the note on "The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans," p. 243.

Digitized by Google

hands of Sennacherib. The first is improbability itself, the other is not in accordance with the disposition of the most unmerciful of the Assyrian kings, and if it had occurred it certainly would have been mentioned by him in order to show the ingratitude of Šuzub.

But even a careful comparison of these passages shows plainly that we have to do here, not with one Šuzub, but with two persons bearing the same name. The one is called (Tayl. III., 45 and V., 8) "the Chaldæan" (amelu) Kal-dà-a-a (var.-da-a-a) or (Nebi-Yun. 28) mâr m. Ga-hul, the other (Tayl. IV., 35) "a born Babylonian," tur-ka-dingir-ra-ki (or mâr Bâbîli) which by no means is the same thing. The Chaldæan was originally ruler of a small State in Lower-Chaldæa, who in 699 had rebelled against the governor of Lachir, to whom he was subordinate, and then, after having been defeated by the Assyrian army, had fled to Elam. This is related twice, the second time a little more fully, in the Taylor-Cylinder (III., 45 seq., and V., 8–14). The repetition serves as an introduction to the account of his ascending the throne, and his war against Assyria, in alliance with Elam. The writer of the document from which III., 45 seq. is drawn, did not know whither he had gone; afterwards it appeared that he had taken refuge in Elam, but had fled thence to Babylon, where they crowned him as king. The other was a Babylonian by birth, who reigned at an earlier period. He is mentioned (besides Tayl. IV., 35) Tayl. V., 5, where it is related that the Babylonians, —evil devils,—had shut the gates of their city against the Assyrians after Šuzub had been carried off. Arki Šu-zu-bi is-si-ḫu can not mean: "nach dem Š. sich empört hatte" (Hörning), nor "after Š. was driven away." Smith, but only "after Š. had been carried off." Nasaḫu always, also Deluge II., 45 (where Haupt translates very freely: Dibbara enterfesselt die Wirbelwinde) has the meaning of "conveying, leading," either "conveying to," or "away from." This Š., therefore, is the Babylonian who was imprisoned in the gate at Nineveh. After this the account proceeds to the other Šuzub, the Chaldæan, describes his various vicissitudes, and then comes to its real subject, the eighth campaign of Sennacherib.

This distinction, grounded on an accurate interpretation of the historical texts of Sennacherib, is now, according to my judgment, made certain by the Babylonian Canon recently discovered, and by the fragment of the corresponding Chronicles, found at the same time. See Pinches in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology, May 6, 1884.

There, after Sennacherib's brother there follow first the king Nêrgal-ušezib, who reigned one year and six months (693–2), and whose name has been corrupted to Ῥηγεβήλος in the Ptol. Canon, and after him, during four years (692–689). Mušêzib-Marduk, who is identical with the Μεσησιμορδάκης of the Canon of Ptolemaeus. Both names are compounded with Šuzubar (from êzibu). Probably they were both originally named simply Šuzub, one of the elliptical

Digitized by Google

proper names, so common among the Semites. It seems that the name also occurs in the inscription of Tema, recently discovered by Euting. On ascending the throne they changed this name into Nêrgal-ušêzib and Mušêzib-Marduk, but both continued to be called, with a certain amount of contempt, simply Šuzub by the Assyrians, who did not acknowledge their legitimacy, just as conversely Tiglath-pileser II. and Shalmaneser IV. were called Pulu and Urlûlâi by the Babylonians, for the same reasons.

That what the Babylonian Chronicles relate of the two kings, taking into consideration the different point of view of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, agrees very well with what the Assyrian sources tell us of the two Šuzubs, and that the chronology also admits of no other interpretation is certain, but cannot here be further elaborated.

Digitized by Google

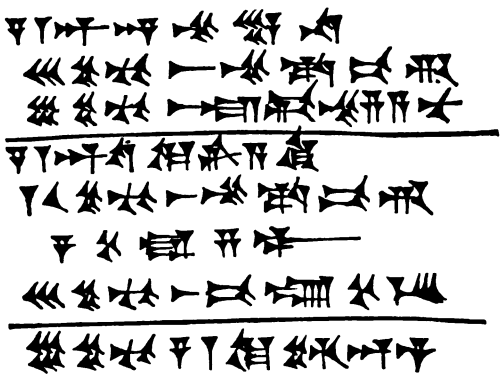
AN ASSYRIAN RECORD OF RECEIPTS OF TAXES.

By Theo. G. Pinches,

British Museum, London, England.

The short text given herewith is one of the tablets of the K. (Konymyïk) collection in the British Museum, discovered by Sir A. H. Layard. It is inscribed on a small tablet, 2¼ inches long by 1⅛ inch broad, six of the eight lines of writing it bears being upon the obverse, and continued, as is usual with tablets of this class, round the edge on the reverse. The style of the writing is Babylonian, and the reproduction here published gives a fair idea of the forms of the characters in the original.

K. 764.



Transcription.

Ša Aššur-šum-iddi-na:—
šelašā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri;
šuššu zērî ina âl ga-mu-za-a-nu.

Ša Šamaš-di-ni-a-mur:—
sibā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri
ša mât Ra-ṣa-pi;
šelašā zērî ina bi-rit šadāni

Šuššu zērî ša Ki-ṣir Šur.

Translation.

From Aššur-šum-iddina:—
30 of seed from the pasture;
60 of seed from the city Gamuzanu.

Digitized by Google

From Šamaš-dîni-âmur:—
70 of seed from the pasture
of the land of Reseph;
30 of seed from the midst of the mountains.

60 of seed from Kiṣir-Šur.

Aššur-šum-iddina "Aššur has given a name."

Mudabiri, oblique case, after ina, of mudabiru, defectively written for mudabbiru, participle-noun from the Pu'ul (dubburu) of dabāru, Hebrew דָּבַר *to lead* (flocks and herds) *to pasture*. Whether mudabiru is the same as mudbaru or not is doubtful—mudbaru has probably the meaning of "desert" only. (Compare מִדְבָּר (1) *a pasture*, (2) *a desert*.)

Al Gamuzānu, probably "the city of cypresses." Compare the Heb. גֻּמְּזוֹ (= גֻּמְזוֹן). Most likely near Reseph.

Šamaš-dîni-âmur, probably "I have seen the Sun of judgment" (= "I have seen the Sungod, the judge"). Šamaš was especially regarded by the Babylonians and Assyrians as "*the* judge."

Mât Raṣāpi, רֻצָּף, Reseph, the well-known district of Palmyra (see Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 297).

Ina birit šadâni, "in the midst of the mountains," probably the district west of Aleppo. The character MAT-MEŠ may also be read mâtāti *countries*, but this meaning does not fit so well.

Kiṣir-Šur is probably for Kiṣir-Aššur, "Aššur's bond," the defective writing indicating either a vulgar pronunciation or a mistake of the scribe.

This interesting little text belongs, probably, to the time of Aššur-banî-apli, and is valuable in showing that the Assyrian dominion over the outlying provinces was at the time real. The three names quoted on the tablet can hardly be other than those of Assyrians; and far though they were from the centre, they had, like all the rest, also to submit to the visits of the tax-gatherer, who was, probably not, at times, over-welcome.

Digitized by Google

THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE DIALECTS.

By Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph. D.,
Capital University, Columbus, Ohio.

That the student of Hebrew who would go beyond the mechanical kāṭàl and search out the *rationale* and spirit of the language as well as learn the bare facts lying upon the surface, must also pay more or less attention to the other Semitic dialects, goes almost without saying. This claim of the sister tongues was accepted even when there was no deeper than a practical interest taken in Hebrew; but it has secured a scientific basis and recognition only in the philological methods of our own day and date. The historico-comparative method is now generally accepted as the correct principle of scientific research. The philosophy of this method consists in this, that it seeks to understand its science as a growth, as the resultant of historical factors and agencies, and does so largely with the assistance drawn from related and allied departments. Although applied most consistently and with the richest results to the natural sciences, it has been employed also with marked success to theological, historical, and other research. In philology this comparative method has, since the introduction of Sanskrit, and chiefly through its instrumentality, revolutionized the study of the languages and culture of the Indo-European nations, and has been the principle means of establishing modern comparative philological science. In the Semitic studies the dialects were appealed to even at an earlier date than was the case with the Indo-European; but this was done rather on the principle of *stat pro ratione voluntas.*[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that order and system was brought into this work, and even to the present day questions of method in this respect have not been settled, so that in regard to both the grammar and the lexicon of the Hebrew language Semitic scholars are not a unit as to the influence and voice which should be accorded to this or that dialect. In fact, the publication of Friedrich Delitzsch's "The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research" (1883), and his "Prolegomena" to a new Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (1886), has, as far as the lexicography of Hebrew is concerned, started anew questions of the deepest fundamental importance.

The study of the dialects by the thorough student of Hebrew is accordingly already demanded by the best scientific method of the day, and this demand is

[1] On the comparative method in general cf. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, 1867, p. 240 seq.; Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 1869, p. 313 seq. *et passim*. The etymological adventures made by some of the Hebrew scholars of two and three centuries ago are as crude as those found in Cicero and other old writers, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 149 seq.; p. 229 seq.

Digitized by Google

fully sustained and emphasized by an examination of the relation and connection sustained by the various dialects to the Hebrew. In this connection it is of prime importance to remember just what position this study should occupy in the Hebrew student's work. It is a fact beyond dispute, but yet one not always remembered or acted upon, that the first thing necessary for the student of Hebrew, or of any other language, is to acquire the facts of that language as they are given in its literature. Nothing is more fatal to a solid and lucid study of a language than to approach it with a preconceived notion as to its origin, character, or relation with other dialects and languages. The right method of learning a language intelligently and correctly is the synthetic and constructive, and the materials that should be employed in this process are not this or that philological hypothesis, or this or that related tongue. Thus the principle and first source from which to draw our knowledge of the Hebrew is the Hebrew itself. In both the grammar and the lexicon of Hebrew this principle has not been allowed full sway. It is one of the weaknesses of Ewald's grammatical system that he approaches the phenomena of the Hebrew language with certain fixed ideas of the character and growth of language in general and of the Hebrew in particular; while it is equally a fault in the antithesis set up against Ewald's ideas by Olshausen, that he first constructs, chiefly upon the basis of the Arabic, a scheme of a proto-Semitic grammar, and explains the Hebrew forms as developments from this, but it has the redeeming feature that, to a great extent at least, this reconstruction of primitive Semitic forms is the result of previous deductions on the basis of correct comparative work. On the other hand, it is the charm of the ever popular grammar of Gesenius that for the most part he takes the facts pure and simple as he finds them in the Sacred Records and seeks to explain them rationally with whatever help he can find in the Hebrew itself, or in the cognate tongues. It is the merit of the inductive method, which is now being adopted by nearly all the Hebrew teachers of the land, that it carries out with a rigor and a vigor hitherto unknown, the idea of making Hebrew its own interpreter, of collecting and systematically arranging the facts of the language, and then from these facts deducing the principles that underlie them. While in no wise despising the help drawn from the cognates or from philological science in general, it nevertheless seeks in all cases to draw first from the Hebrew itself the data for an intelligent conception of Hebrew grammar. While as a system and in its conception of the language it may bear a close resemblance to the ideas of Olshausen and Bickell, yet in the manner of reaching these conclusions it resembles mostly the ways of Gesenius.

In Hebrew lexicography, too, the self-interpreting principle has not always been faithfully observed, and here, probably more than in the grammar, have the dialects been allowed a primary where they should have had only a secondary voice. The temptations here were all the more dangerous to resist, both on account of the meagre material afforded for a full and methodical lexicon by the rem-

Digitized by Google

nants of the literature of the Hebrews preserved to us in the Old Testament, as also because the cognate tongues offer in this regard more complete and in many respects more satisfactory material than they do to the Hebrew grammarian. For a number of reasons the editors of the last two editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, Professors Mühlau and Volck of Dorpat, Russia, have been singled out as the representatives of this false principle in Hebrew lexicography, although they have probably not been the chief of sinners in this regard.[1] These two editions more than any of their predecessors are under the spell of the Arabic school; and the principle of a biliteral basis of large classes of Hebrew roots with one general meaning out of which the various special meanings have been developed has been carried out to such an extent that impossibilities were attempted. The attack of the younger Delitzsch on this feature of the lexicon is in its main outlines certainly justifiable, although many of the etymologies which he proposes for Hebrew words on the basis of the Assyrian are equally unsatisfactory, at least in their present shape. But the principle he pronounces on p. 21 of his *Prolegomena* is certainly correct. There he says: "Hebrew lexicography must in the future also direct its chief attention, without swerving (abschweifen) to the other Semitic dialects, toward getting the meaning of the Hebrew and the Biblical-Aramaic words first of all from the Old Testament *usus loquendi*. Only when this has been done and found fruitless, has the time come for consulting the related languages." Delitzsch was not the first to enunciate this principle, but he was the first to give it such general application. His forthcoming Hebrew lexicon must yet show whether he has not, pendulum-like, swung to the other extreme and given to Assyrian privileges which he justly denies to Arabic.

The Hebrew has many *cruces* which even the Assyrian, now seemingly regarded by some as a panacea for all the ills that Hebrew grammar and lexicography are subject to, may not solve. Kautzsch's programme on the word צרף and Baudissin's on קדש are fair examples of the manner of determining the meaning of Old Testament words on the basis of a full and fair comparison of the words as found used by the Old Testament writers, without assigning to the etymology—true or imaginary—of the word the decisive voice in determining the signification. Indeed philology in general demonstrates, beyond any fair doubt, that the etymology of a word in itself, and even if this be based upon the most learned research in the related tongues, cannot settle the actual meaning of a word. This can be done only by the *usus loquendi* of a people, however important testimony as to this use may be offered by the dialects, especially in regard to ἅπαξ λεγόμενα and other rare words. Following only the etymology of a word as a

[1] Far more arbitrary, only in a somewhat different direction, have been Fuerst and his followers. Delitzsch, Sr., also in his *Jesurun*, 1838, took a very radical stand-point. His work was written as a Prolegomena to the concordance of Fuerst and "*contra Ewaldum et Gesenium*," (see title page).

Digitized by Google

guide, even if that etymology is the correct one, may lead the investigator to an altogether false idea. For an independent student of Hebrew a concordance is as necessary as a dictionary.

But among the secondary helps of the Hebrew student the dialects undoubtedly hold the first position, both in grammatical and in lexicographical research. No thorough student of a language is, of course, satisfied with the mere mechanical acquisition of the facts of the language as such; he aims to understand the genius, the character, the growth of the language, in other words, to understand it philosophically and intelligently as the expression of thought. It is one thing to be able to conjugate a verb and another thing to be able to determine what elements enter into the composition of each form of the verb and each conjugation, and how these elements combine to express the shape and shades of thought actually conveyed by them. It is only when a language can be intelligently analyzed, both as to its forms and as to the peculiarities of its syntax, that it can be said to be understood by the student.[1] In order to be able to do this in Hebrew, a greater or less knowledge of the related tongues is indispensible; and this for the simple reason that these tongues are so closely related that one will naturally throw a great deal of light upon the growth and character of the other; they all will combine to form a clear idea as to the peculiarities of the Semitic class of languages over against the Indo-European and the Turanian, and this knowledge of the whole class will throw a reflected light upon the nature of the individual members of this class and help to solve the enigmas suggested by an examination of its etymology and syntax. These tongues are all closely related and connected with one another and show the same general character and spirit; but the one or the other has developed more extensively and more consistently some one special feature of the whole class, while in a second dialect this feature may show itself only enough to perplex the student, who can relieve himself of his perplexity only by following out this feature in its more developed form in the related dialects. Thus the various Semitic dialects are supplementary and complementary to each other. Examples of where the Hebrew receives a flood of light from the related tongues will occur at once to those who have an acquaintance with these tongues. Gesenius, in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817) has, probably with a greater fullness than any other grammarian, compared the Hebrew forms with those of the other dialects, and while his work may at places require some changes, yet it as a whole stands without a rival and is simply indispensable to the accurate student of Hebrew. By other authors work of a similar kind has been done, though not as extensively. As far as the Semitic verb is concerned Wright's Arabic Grammar in two volumes (1875) offers much and good material for comparative purposes. Naturally the least progress has been made in comparative work in the

[1] On the difference between the practical and the philosophical study of a language, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 1 seq.

Digitized by Google

syntax, as there are but few who venture to undertake the laborious task of writing a Hebrew syntax—laborious chiefly because but little material has as yet been collected for the work—although we have been promised three from competent hands, namely, from Stade and König, in Germany, and Harper, in America. But what can be done by the comparative method in syntax also, when elaborately carried out, can be seen from the excellent little volume of Driver on the Hebrew Tenses. Of the work done, and to be done, by this method in Hebrew lexicography, we have already spoken, and mention here only the fact that a wealth of material for this purpose is found in another work of Gesenius, namely in his *Thesaurus*, completed by Rödiger. The dialects, methodically and scientifically applied to the elucidation of Hebrew, are yet a mine full of rich treasures.

Digitized by Google

HEBREW SYNTAX.

JAMES STRONG, S. T. D.,

Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

I.

A vernacular knowledge of any language has the immense advantage over a book knowledge of it, in the sure and intimate acquaintance with the *facts* and forms of speech; but it is certain that in a scientific and philosophical acquaintance with the *principles* of dead languages, modern scholars are greatly in advance of the ancients who spoke those tongues. The blunders and inaccuracies of Roman authors in treating the etymology and structure of Latin are often amusing; and a Greek grammar of the days of Homer or Demosthenes, if such there were, would be a literary curiosity in more senses than one. In like manner Hebraists of the present day have investigated the peculiarities of "the sacred tongue" with a thoroughness and a comprehensiveness unknown to any other age. Not even the Massorites, who possessed next to a living knowledge of Hebrew, and who have fixed its vocalization for all time, exhibit anything comparable to the minute analysis and searching comparison of forms and constructions that characterize the latest inquiries into Hebrew grammar. The department of syntax especially has hitherto been defectively treated, and students therefore have occasion to welcome the introduction into schools of Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, which the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh made accessible to English readers by translating in 1879 that part of the learned German's *Ausfuerliches Lehrbuch*. We will not have space, in the two short papers which we propose to devote to the subject, to examine in detail the many important suggestions and elucidations of this comprehensive and ingenious book; we will therefore confine our attention to the doctrines and relations of the so-called *tenses*, especially the "Future" (or, as Ewald prefers to call it, the "Imperfect"); which is confessedly the most difficult and least satisfactory point in modern treatises on Hebrew grammar.

The author sets out with an admirable statement of the ground difference in these two verb-forms:

"The simplest distinction of time in an action is, that the speaker first of all merely separates between the two grand and opposite aspects under which every conceivable action may be regarded. Man has first acted, passed through an experience, and sees before him something that is finished, or has taken place; but this very fact reminds him of that which does not yet exist, that which is behind and is expected. The former, or positive side, is that of experience, objective contem-

Digitized by Google

plation of action; the latter or negative side, is the higher subjective side of human thought and inference" (p. 1). Here the basal distinction of the *objective* (or past), and the *subjective* (or future) is clearly and truthfully drawn. But when the author proceeds, as he does in the very next sentence, and thereafter throughout his discussion, to draw the division thus: "Hence, with reference to action, the speaker views everything as already *finished*, and thus *before* him, or as *unfinished* and non-existent, but possibly *becoming* and coming," we conceive that he has materially departed from his former line of separation; for a positive action is not necessarily finished, nor is a negative one in the process of becoming at all. The exact and essential distinction had already been indicated, namely, the objective fact, and the subjective conception. This, and not the other, namely, of complete or incomplete execution, we find to be the true key to the intricacies of Hebrew usage with regard to the verb-forms. When the author proceeds to remark (p. 3) that "the names 'Preterite' and 'Future' are unsuitable, and have merely been derived from modern languages," we do not quite agree with him; for it is certain, even according to his own basis and the passages which he meanwhile has himself cited, that these are often, if not predominantly, the actual meanings of the two forms. But when he adds, "We designate them *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, understanding these names, however, not in the narrow sense attached to them in Latin grammars, but in a quite general way," we entirely disagree with him, and that for two reasons: 1. These names do not indicate the primary and real distinction; which is not the degree of completeness in an act, but the point of view from which it is regarded by the speaker (backward or forward, outward or inward), as Ewald himself set out by defining; 2. They, just as much as "Praeter" and "Future," are borrowed from other languages, with which the Hebrew has comparatively little analogy; and they are hampered with the additional disadvantage that, as Ewald himself confesses in adopting them, they must be taken, not as ordinarily understood in grammar, but in a peculiar and "quite general," i. e., very indefinite, way. We gain nothing, but lose much, by such a substitution. In proposing a new nomenclature, if we must entirely cut loose from conventional names, let us call them at once the Objective and the Subjective forms of the verb, and then we shall say just what we mean, and hit the nail on the head, and the right nail, too.

We have but little criticism to make on Ewald's further specifications of the use of the Praeter, but when he says (p. 6), that in such expressions as "they almost consumed me" (Ps. CXIX., 87), it means "they would have killed me;" "one of the people almost lay with thy wife," as meaning "might have lien," etc., we demur; for in our judgment the intention of the verb-form being not so much to express a *perfect* act, or, as the French say, *un fait accompli*, but rather an objective one, the meaning is that these acts really did come near being effected, not by reason of an actual attempt, but because there was a direct opportunity

Digitized by Google

and provocation therefor. The danger or proximity (כִּמְעַט) was real, and not imaginary or even hypothetical; as it would have been represented had the Future been employed. It was not merely true that the calamity might *possibly* have occurred; but it was in fact imminently nigh. Nothing but the "almost" intervened. So we often say, "I almost fell," not meaning "I partly fell," or "I might have fallen," but "I came near falling," or "I was on the point of falling," by reason of some positive occurrence, which, however, did not include any actual *degree* of falling at all, although it did involve the *fact* of falling outright. That event was obviated, not by any subjective cause, but by an objective intervention. This last distinction is in harmony with our view of the essential distinction between the two Hebrew verb-forms.

Turning now to the second and more idiomatic of these, the so-called Future, Ewald's Imperfect, we shall note his two divisions of this latter idea, and then the subdivisions under them. We will take them up in his order: first as notations of *time*, i. e., tenses (pp. 7–13); and secondly as indications of *manner*, i. e., moods (pp. 14–25).

The equivalent of a *present tense* he evolves out of the notion of incipiency still continued. As an illustration he cites תֵּצְאוּ (1 Sam. XVII., 8), which he translates "ye are marching out." But we would render the clause thus, "Why *should you come out*," etc. The purpose there is not to express the fact of marching, nor yet its mode, much less its time or degree; but simply to demand its reason or cause; and as this lay in the feelings of the enemy, the subjective verb-form is the appropriate one. Ewald goes on to compare מֵאַיִן בָּאתָ (or its equivalent) with מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא (or its equivalent) as interchangeable, both meaning "Whence comest thou?" But this obliterates a nice distinction intended by the two phrases; for in each instance the former denotes (besides the question as to the locality) the (objective) fact of a journey, while the latter indicates its (subjective) purpose. This is especially obvious from the first passage which he cites (Gen. XVI., 8), where they (in substance) occur together, and are clearly contrasted, "And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, from whence *hast thou come* (אֵי מִזֶּה בָּאת)? and whither *wilt thou go* (וְאָנָה תֵּלֵכִי)?" This passage is singularly inappropriate as an instance of the *present tense;* for one part of the journey was past and the other future.

A similar fallacy inheres in the author's extension of this principle of equality to the exchange of the two tenses in the respective members of poetic parallelism. This is a very common occurrence. Ewald cites but two examples, remarking that the interchange is made "merely for the sake of variety;" and this is the common supposition. But we apprehend that such a view does injustice to the genius of the usage. A real difference is always meant, although perhaps not an essential one; and the prevalent practice of translators, who plane out the distinction by the convenient use of the English present tense, is a vicious one,

Digitized by Google

detrimental to the delicate shade of signification. Thus, in the first of the two examples, Prov. XI., 7, "In the death of a wicked man hope will perish (תֹּאבֵד), and the confidence of iniquities has [then] perished (אָבְדָה)," the common idea is disappointment, but the former clause regards the sinner prospectively as counting upon the future, while the latter contemplates him retrospectively as now no longer to be counted upon. So in the second passage cited, Prov. XIV., 18, "Simple ones have [always] inherited (נָחֲלוּ) folly, but cunning ones—they shall crown themselves with (יִכְתְּרוּ) knowledge;" the contrast is with respect to character and success, the former clause under the figure of an inheritance (which points backward to the bequest), and the latter under that of coronation (pointing forward to a reign thus begun). In like manner, we think we could show that in every such supposed case of equation, there is a skillful shifting in the kaleidoscope of parallelism, not only by the variety of terms employed (which are studiously non-synonymous), but also in the tenses used to enhance their effect. It is a great pity that versions will go on perpetually confounding and obscuring what the original meant to be diverse and perspicuous. This scholastic artifice of introducing a present tense, which the language systematically ignores, has robbed Hebrew poetry of a subtle significance, and greatly stripped it of its terse beauty. But whether the distinction in question can be made palpable in a translation or not, it certainly lies on the face of the text; and plain English readers are entitled to be made aware of its existence, instead of having it effaced by the substitution of an intermediate present tense. The two verb-forms were evidently not employed by the sacred writer at random; and we see no other way of reproducing them so simple and truthful as by means of the corresponding tenses in English. These surely would not be the Perfect and the Imperfect, but some form of the Preterite and the Future or Conditional.

When Ewald goes on to argue that the Hebrew Future may "indicate what was becoming realized in the past," we still more emphatically object to his doctrine of its use, although we recognize the subjective principle to which he ascribes this usage, "animated description," "the fancy of the speaker." The poetical passages which he cites do not require or sustain this view. In Job III., 3, "The day in which I was born" (אִוָּלֵד), is not "in which I was *to be* born," but is simply the usual conditional relative, when the fact is assumed. In Job III., 11, "Why did I not die?" (אָמוּת), is rather "Why should I not have died?" and, by the way, the second member does not carry on the question and the negative, but reads "From a womb I issued, and I should [then] have expired." Ewald's other poetical passages, Job XV., 7; Ps. CXXXIX., 16, are merely additional instances of the Future in relative clauses and in additional statements. He admits that this construction is rare in prose, and confined to certain combinations, especially with the particles טֶרֶם, אָז, etc. To these has often been attributed a *conversive* force, but that explanation is unnecessary, although Ewald seems to favor it.

Digitized by Google

With טֶרֶם this sort of *attraction* is most striking. It is resolvable, however, by the ordinary influence of a relative clause; for this particle is really a noun, and its construction is elliptical, q. d., "there was a *not-yet* that it should," etc. Hence, like all other relative phrases, it is occasionally used with a past tense, when the fact is intended to be definitely and independently asserted. The construction of the verb with אָז usually exhibits nothing very peculiar; the particle simply marks exactness of time, whether past or future. We note here a curious fallacy respecting it into which Delitzsch has fallen in his commentary on Job XXXVIII., 21 (Clark's edition, II., 318), where he cites Ewald here "on the Future joined with אָז regularly in the signification of the *Aorist*," and accordingly translates "thou knowest it, for then thou wast born (תִּוָּלֵד)." Now to render the sense appropriate we need a Pluperfect, not an Aorist, "thou then hadst been born," for a child just born at the time would have known nothing. But this is not the force of the Future here. It is subjective, as ever, and therefore highly ironical, "For at that time thou *must* [on thy own presumption] have been born!" The sarcasm does not lie in יָדַעְתָּ, "thou knowest" (a preteritive, strictly *past ascertained;* like *οἶδα* from *εἶδον*), which is simply declarative, as laying the basis for the demand of an answer. That אָז with a Future does not necessarily form an Aorist is plain from Ps. II., 5, where no one would think of rendering יְדַבֵּר "he spoke." See also Ps. XCVI., 12, etc. The conversive force of אָז, in the comparatively few cases where it occurs, seems to depend upon the fact that a corresponding tense (the Praeter) precedes, with which it is co-ordinated, imitating in this respect the law of ו conversive, e. g., with a Future, Exod. XIV., 1; Num. XXI., 17; Deut. IV., 41; Josh. VIII., 30; X., 12; 1 Kgs. VIII., 1; but not with the Praeter, for Exod. XV., 15; Judg. V., 11, are not to the point. In the above passage of Job, however, this co-ordination is not found.

While upon this matter of ו conversive, we wish to call attention to what we conceive to be an error in grammarians and translators, who neglect the above law of co-ordination in its use. Even with the Future tense, despite the distinctive pointing which it always then has, we find the verb often rendered as a Future still; and yet more frequently is the connection with the preceding Praeter disregarded. Some go so far indeed as to deny the necessity of this last condition altogether. But although it is obscure in some cases, we believe it is never entirely absent; and that if the reader will diligently search he will always find the antecedent Past tense, either expressed or implied. A remarkable example occurs in Ps. VIII., where the first verb in verse 6 [English, 5] (וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ) is co-ordinated parenthetically with אָמַרְתִּי implied before verse 5, as a part of the *oratio directa*, which is likewise resumed in the second member of verse 7 (שַׁתָּה); while the intermediate verbs (תַּעֲטְרֵהוּ and תַּמְשִׁילֵהוּ) are co-ordinated with the *oratio obliqua* in verse 5. The observance of these connections adds variety to the language, and illustrates the bearing of the declarative (objective) statements

Digitized by Google

upon the *constitution* of man in creation, and of the dependent (subjective) ones upon his *position* in providence. Rare instances, we admit, may be cited in which there is no appearance whatever of a Praeter antecedent in co-ordination with a converted Future; but these are due to the highly elliptical nature of the Hebrew language, which allows constructions of its laws difficult to make appreciable in English. For example, in Hosea VIII., we have a converted future (וַיֹּאכְלוּ) immediately following a simple future (יִזְבְּחוּ), "They will sacrifice flesh, and have eaten." But it should be noticed that an incomplete clause (זִבְחֵי הַבְהָבַי) "the sacrifices of my holocausts," precedes, which is put forward as an absolute statement (like a *nominative independent*), and is therefore regarded as equivalent to a Praeter tense. We may therefore resolve the construction, by filling up the sentence thus, "[They have taken] the sacrifices of my holocausts, [which] they [are pleased to] sacrifice [as] flesh; and they have eaten [them]." This brings out the crime of these formalists, who went through the routine of worship perfunctorily, sacrificing the victims merely *as* flesh, and eating them accordingly; even when these should have been wholly consumed as a burnt-offering. Other instances may similarly be resolved on the principle of an elliptical or undeveloped *protasis*, as is often the case with simple ו consecutive. They do not, therefore, invalidate the law of co-ordination.

It would be a curious and interesting question why the Hebrew alone of all the Semitic family exhibits this feature of ו conversive. Perhaps it would be found to be because it adheres more closely than any of its sisters to the distinctive use of the two tenses. The Aramaean, for example, which was its nearest neighbor and most intimately allied to it historically—for Laban spoke Aramaean (Gen. XXXI., 47), and that was probably the vernacular of Abraham himself (cf. Deut. XXVI., 5, where Jacob is called an Aramaean by descent)—has no trace of it; and this is very lax in its constructions of the verb, going so far—at least in its later forms—as to construct a new Praeter out of the Participle.

Digitized by Google

MICAH, I., 5.

By PROFESSOR A. KUENEN,

Leyden University. Translated from the Dutch.

The true reading of this prophetic word has been preserved in more than one ancient version, and after Houbigant[1] a few have substituted it for that of the Massoretic text.[2] But there are still commentators of note who do not follow it in their explanation of Micah,[3] or even pass it by without mention,[4] and the corrupt *textus receptus* serves as a proof-text in the history of the religion of Israel. It does not seem to be superfluous, therefore, once more to treat the critical problem *ἀνωθεν*, and, if possible, reach some permanent conclusion concerning it by a careful consideration of its pros and its cons.

After Micah has depicted the appearance of Jahwe in its fearful effects (I., 3, 4) he continues as follows, according to the Massoretic text:

בפשע יעקב כל־זאת
ובחטאות בית ישראל
מי פשע יעקב הלוא שמרון
ומי במות יהודה הלוא ירושלם

The meaning is clear: Jahwe comes to exercise judgment over his people; the apostasy of Jacob and the sin of Israel cause his wrath. In the second member the first word has been regarded, certainly erroneously, as plural,[6] and therefore it was written with wāw. חטאת corresponds to פשע, and this was the reading of the LXX. among others. But otherwise the first half of the verse is perfectly clear. The Synonyms "Jacob" and "House of Israel," are used to designate the nation as a whole, and thus including the two kingdoms. In the second half, when they are named separately, each with its capital, Jacob stands for the northern kingdom, but the southern must be designated by its own proper name, Judah. The question: "Who is the apostasy of Jacob? Is it not Samaria!" is logically not strictly justifiable, because Samaria was not itself "the apostasy" of Northern Israel. But psychologically it is easily explained and justified. For Micah, the countryman, the sin of his people is concentrated in the capital and its corrupt aristocracy, and what he regards as certain in respect to Jerusalem, he also applies unhesitatingly to Samaria.

---

[1] *Notae Crit. in V. T. libros* II., 570 seq.

[2] J. A. Dathe, *Proph. Minores ed.*, p. 211. T. Roorda, *Comment. in Val. Michae*, pp. 11-14. T. K. Cheyne, *Michah* (1882) pp. 18, 19.

[3] Among others, Hartmann, Justi, van der Palm.

[4] Among others, Ewald, Bunsen, Caspari, Umbreit, Hitzig-Steiner, Keil.

[5] E. g., by R. Smend (1875), *Moses apud Prophetas*, p. 55 seq., 57, 61. C. J. Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten* (1881), p. 167.

[6] Of course, in connection with the reading במות in the fourth member, concerning which I shall speak presently.

Digitized by Google

There remains the fourth member, which we desire especially to treat: "And who [are] the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem!" Let us suppose for an instant that an entirely unanimous tradition bears witness for these words. Even then we should decide that Micah could not have written thus. In the first place, we have the parallel of Jerusalem and the high places of Judah, in the plural—a mistake in the form which surprises us, at least in the case of this prophet. But in the second place, the idea itself, the identification of those high places with Jerusalem strikes us as much more strange. Even though the capital had its bamôth,[1] yet it had fewer of them than any other city in Judea, because it had the temple, which is opposed to the bamôth, and in whose interest these were put away by Josiah[2] if not before this by Hezekiah.[3] To make Jerusalem responsible for that which took place outside of its walls, and in opposition to its wishes —this certainly could not occur to Micah. The relation of the members of the verse furnishes a further difficulty. Just as the third corresponds to the first, so also the fourth must refer to the second. But then it ought to read: "and who is the sin of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem!" There is really no one who denies this. But it is thought that the prophet has purposely expressed this idea in another form, and so enriched it with a new element. Hitzig expresses this as follows: "Die Fortsetzung sollte eigentlich lauten: *und wer* die *Suenden* Israels u.s.w. Statt dessen benennt Micha diese Sünden; über das Präd. hinaus eilt er zum Subj., welches er als Präd. eines neuen Subj. erscheinen lässt." Thus: the worship of the high places proceeding from Jerusalem, and = the sin of Judah! How strange the first must have sounded to his contemporaries we have already remarked. But now the second: Is it possible that Micah has identified the bamôth with the sin of his people? That would have been formidable enough even for the Deuteronomist and for the Redactor of the Book of Kings, but for Micah it is inconceivable. He does not name the bamôth once. It is true, he expects that Jahwe in the future shall put away from the midst of his people not only the horses and chariots, the fortified cities and the forts, but also the graven images, the maççebas and the asheras.[4] But who warrants us to seek these things only in the bamôth,[5] and even if we were warranted in this, to take for granted that in their use the prophet saw *the sin* of Judah? He himself forbids us this. The perverting of justice, murder, corruption of judges, priests and prophets—these constitute, in his own words, "the apostasy of Jacob, and the sin of Israel," against which, filled with the spirit of Jahwe, he must prophesy.[6] No one who interprets him by his own words can permit the bamôth in chap. I., 5, to stand. But also the tradition obliges us to take them away. They belong to the official text, established in the second century after Christ. It is true, a few MSS. have

---

[1] 2 Kgs. xxiii., 8. [2] 2 Kgs. xxii. [3] 2 Kgs. xviii., 4; cf. verse 22 and Isa. xxxvi., 7. [4] Chap. v., 9–13. [5] Compare rather 2 Kgs. xxiii., 4. 6, 7, 11. [6] Chap. iii., 8, cf. verses 9–11, and 1 seq.

Digitized by Google

חטאת for במות,[1] but this can hardly be any thing else but a correction, either involuntary, or carefully weighed, and at any rate perfectly justifiable. For Symmachus[2] rendered τὰ ὑψηλά, and two centuries later Jerome *excelsa*.[3] Neither is there any indication of a Talmudic variant. But opposed to the manuscript which was followed by the Palestinean scribes, we have the much older one whose reading is given by the LXX. With some unessential variations *all* the Greek Codices read: καὶ τίς ἡ ἁμαρτία οἴκου Ἰούδα; also the descendants of the LXX. as far as we can consult them, defend this reading.[4] But above all it is confirmed both by the Peshitto, and by the Targum, whose free translation (איפא חטו דבית יהודה הלא ירושלם) can be based only on חטאת בית יהודה. The last testimony especially seems to be very noteworthy, and when taken in connection with the other considerations, decisive. He who depends upon *authority* for the establishment of the text, has in truth no choice.

But, it is objected, even in this case the textus receptus deserves the preference. For: "probabilis prae ceteris ea est lectio, quae reliquarum ansam dedisse vel etiam earum elementa in se continere videtur."[5] Undoubtedly, but also this highest canon of textual criticism must be applied with discrimination. The possibility that במות was changed to חטאת on account of the parallelism I have already granted. But במות can just as easily have arisen from חטאת. First, an accident may have taken place; בית יהודה may have been changed to במת יי,[6] and when this had taken place חטאת had to yield. But another supposition is more probable, namely, that a congenial spirit to the Deuteronomist added "bamôth" *in margine* to "the sin of the house of Judah," and a later copyist inserted this, to him, correct explanation, and then omitted בית for the sake of euphony. The one possibility seems to stand opposed to the other; but only as long as it is thought possible, (which we have seen can not be supposed), that Micah wrote במות יהודה. He who has been convinced by the foregoing that these words do not furnish a correct sense can not regard them as original, and must acknowledge the true reading to have been: ומי חטאת בית יהודה הלא ירושלם

[1] See Kennicott.

[2] According to a marginal note in the *Versio Syr. Hexaplaris*; cf. *Origenis Hexapl.*, ed. II., 988. The version of Aquilla and of Theodotion have not come down to us, probably because they did not depart from the LXX.

[3] Roorda (p. 12), names him among the witnesses for the reading חטאת. Unjustly, as *excelsa* in the reading of all the MSS. of the Vulgate, and is expressly cited by Jerome as the reading of the Hebrew as opposed to that of the LXX. See his *Comment. in Michaeam* (Opp. ed. Vollers. T. VI., 483).

[4] Vetus Lat. (Sabatier. T. II.: 944. *Fragm. Vers. Antehier.* Ed. Ranke, II., p. 16) Arm., Syr., Hexapl., Arab. (cf. Ryssel in Tal. W. V.: 102 seq.).

[5] Tischendorf in *Proll. ad. Ed. N. T. Tam.* majorem, p. xxxiii, coll. xlii, seq.

[6] Just as, on the other hand, Vollers (Tal. W. IV: 3) supposes that בית is a mistake for במות and that ἁμαρτία was subsequently added by the translator, from the preceding. His meritorious work on the *Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, would have gained in value, both here and elsewhere, if he had examined the "plus und minus des Alexandriners" and his "Varianten" at the same time, and so had presented them to the reader.

Digitized by Google

ON THE TEXT OF PSALMS XIV. AND LIII.

By Edward G. King, D. D.,

Madingley Vicarage, Cambridge, England.

A study of parallel texts might, I believe, throw much light on questions of Old Testament criticism.

I offer the following suggestions on the origin of the variations in Pss. XIV. and LIII. in the hope that other students may be induced to follow out or to controvert the views here suggested.

I omit the headings and superscriptions as not belonging to the original texts. All other variations as they exist in the Massoretic texts will be seen in the following table:

Ps. XIV.	Ps. LIII.
אמר נבל בלבו..אין אלהים	
השחיתו התעיבו עלילה..אין עשה־טוב	עָוֶל
יהוה משמים השקיף..על בני אדם	אלהים
לראות היש משכיל..דרש את אלהים	
הכל סר	כלו סג
יחדו נאלחו	
אין עשה טוב	
אין גם אחד	
הלא ידעו	
כל פעלי און	(omit כל)
אכלי עמי	
אכלו לחם	
יהוה לא קראו	
שם פחדו פחד	
	לא היה פחד
כי אלהים בדר צדיק	כי אלהים פזר
עצת עני תביישו	עצמת חנך [חָנֶף .LXX] הבישתה
כי יהוה מחסהו	כי אלהים מְאָסָם

The Psalm begins with an elegiac movement of four pentameters of accented syllables, after which it breaks into a rapid movement expressive of indignation. This movement consists chiefly of triplets and is continued to the end of the Psalm.

The words הלא ידעו were, I believe, originally אֶל לֹא יָדְעוּ, a copyist having been misled by similarity of sound (cf. Ps. LXXXV., 7, where the LXX. evidently read אֶל לֹא for הֲלֹא). If this emendation be admitted the rhythm is

Digitized by Google

improved and we observe a remarkable alternation in the Divine Names, אלהים and יהוה occurring alternately *three times* before and three times after the name אֵל. This adaptation of Divine Names may, of course, be the work of a reviser, but it should be compared with the name יְהוָה, אֵל אֱלֹהִים in Ps. L., 1.

A point, however, of much greater interest is the text which underlies the strange variation in the last three lines of our Psalm.

The common theory of a later Psalmist adapting the words of an existing Psalm to some special needs of his own time cannot possibly account for the variations in Ps. LIII.

It requires, indeed, a large credulity to believe that an inspired writer should have alterd בְּדַר into פִּזַּר, omitted the word corresponding to צדיק, changed עצת *counsel* into עַצְמוֹת *bones!* עני into חנך, besides other changes of similar sounding letters and all to destroy all possibility of rhythm and, in the end, to get such a sense as this:— "For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee; thou hast put them to shame, because God hath rejected them." (RV.)!

A writer would scarcely speak of an enemy whose bones had been scattered as afterwards "put to shame" and "rejected."

But, apart from this, we have a better text suggested by the LXX., which evidently read חָנֵף *hypocrite* instead of חנך *him that encampeth against thee.*

But though the text in Ps. LIII. is in confusion, we cannot, therefore, assume that the parallel passage in Ps. XIV. represents the original text.

כִּי in one clause doubtless corresponds to כִּי in the other; so that we are not justified in translating

"*for* God is in the generation of the righteous".....

"*because* the Lord is his refuge."

Again, who are they that are addressed in the disconnected words "The counsel of the poor *ye* put to shame"?

There is then a strong *a priori* probability in favor of a common text from which these two texts diverged.

Towards the construction of such a text I offer the following suggestions:

A verb is needed where בדר now stands. The parallel text (LIII.) suggests פִּזַּר. Now the Chaldee בדר (Dan. IV., 11) signifies *to scatter* and is only another form of פִּזַּר.

If any one should object that בדר is *Chaldee*, I suggest בִּזַּר which is another synonym of פִּזַּר (see Ps. LXVIII., 31) and which might easily have been mistaken for בדר and then pointed בְּדַר.

Again, instead of צדיק which unfortunately has no equivalent in the parallel text of Ps. LIII., I suggest עריץ, making indeed the same correction which all critical scholars agree to make in the text of Isa. XLIX., 24, where עָדִיק is undoubtedly a very old mistake for עָרִיץ.

Digitized by Google

Again, on comparing the parallel texts, עִצָּה is more likely to be a correction than עִצְמַת; consequently I retain the latter, but point it עַצְמֹת[1] "weighty counsels."

Of the three readings עָנִי (Ps. XIV.), חנך (Ps. LIII.) and חָנֵף (LXX. on Ps. LIII.) I prefer the latter. So the whole passage, as I propose to restore it, would run,

כִּי ה בִּזַּר עָרִיץ
עַצְמֹת חָנֵף הֵבִישׁ
כִּי יי מְאָסָם

i. e., "For God hath scattered the proud,
The weighty counsel of the hypocrite he hath put to shame,
For the Lord hath despised them."

The historical allusion being probably to the frustration of the counsel of Ahithophel (2 Sam. XV.).

---

[1] See Isa. xli., 21, "bring hither your weighty counsels עַצְמוֹתֵיכֶם saith the king of Jacob."

Digitized by Google

MORE PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

By Professor Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.,

Metropolitan Museum, New York.

The principal purpose in presenting the following Cesnola inscriptions here is to correct mistakes of various sorts, which appear in former publications. Sometimes fragments of the same object have been separated, as if belonging to different objects, some have been incorrectly read, and one, at least, had not been read or deciphered at all. The labors of other decipherers, however, are not to be undervalued. When Rödiger and Schröder tried their hands at them, the problem was more difficult than after they left them.

Former publications of these inscriptions, to which reference is here made, have been made, in whole or in part, and with various degrees of correctness, by Ceccaldi, in the *Revue Archæologique*, at various times from 1869–1871; by Rödiger, in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264–272; by Schröder, in the same for May, 1872, pp. 330–341; By W. Hayes Ward (a few omitted by Schröder) in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1874, p. lxxxv; by di Cesnola, in *Cyprus*, Appendix, pp. 441, 442, and plates 9–12; and by Renan, in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Tom I., Pars Prima, p. 44 seq., and Tabulæ V.–VIII.

In citing these publications, I give only the author's name and the number by which he designates the object. Ceccaldi I have not cited, as his work was scarcely that of a decipherer.

Two, and perhaps three, inscriptions formerly published I have omitted. One is Schröder's No. 9, or Rödiger's XLIX. *d.*, which I do not remember ever to have seen in the collection, and which does not appear in Cesnola's Cyprus. Renan gives it as his own No. 24, from a squeeze by Ceccaldi. It reads ....אשמנמל...., being identical in matter with parts of other inscriptions; as of Ward's No. 3, Cesnola's No. 10. The other is Rödiger's "Cit[iensis] XLIX. *b*, which Renan gives as his own No. 26, copying it from a squeeze taken by Ceccaldi, and remarking its absence from the present collection, as well as from Schröder's and Cesnola's publications. Schröder (pp. 333, 334) had remarked already, in 1872, that he could not find it, though he had searched for it diligently, for days, among all Cesnola's Phœnician objects in Cyprus. Schröder shows (it will also be seen below) that in several instances Rödiger published two, or even three, different copies of the same inscription, supposing them to be of different objects. This one reads ....מלקרתי...., which is to be found on other and actual inscriptions. The third is Rödiger's XLIX. *n*, which Renan gives as his own No. 38,

Digitized by Google

from a drawing by Ceccaldi. It reads קלם.... as there given. The numbers here used to designate the inscriptions are those which the objects now bear in the museum.

The following are the inscriptions. They are all from the temple of Eshmun-melqarth, near Citium, and are votive inscriptions. The additions in brackets are only made where the missing matter seemed obvious.

II. (Schröder, 2; Cesnola, 4; Renan, 15.) Marble fragment. Two lines, obscure and fragmentary.

....יתן · חננב [על....
....א[ש] נ[ד]ר על בן נא....

".... Hananba'al (i. e., Hannibal) gave.... which he vowed in behalf of [his] s[on...."

III. *a.* (Rödiger, xlix. *a.*; Schröder, 7; Cesnola, 14; Renan, 16, *a.*)

III. *b.* (Rödiger xliii. and xliv.; Schröder, 3; Cesnola, 1; Renan, 16, *b.*)

Parts of the same inscription, though not continuous. On the rim of a marble bowl.

....ן מלכיתן ... (*b.*) [יתן עבד [א]דני לאדני לאשמנמלק[רת (*a.*)

"....so]n of Melekyathon.... my Lord's servant gave to my Lord, to Eshmun-Melq[arth." The first part doubtless belongs to the date sometime in the reign of Pumiyathon son of Melekyathon, king of Citium and Idalium. In the second part, instead of "my Lord's servant," may be read the proper name 'Ebedadoni. The full legend of this inscription may be gathered from inscription No. I, the longest in the collection, which was published in HEBRAICA Vol. I., p. 25.

IV. (Ward, 2; Cesnola, 11; Renan, 19.) On the straight rim of a marble dish. Letters of very fine strokes.

.... מלך כתי ואד[יל ....

".... king of Citium and Ida[lium...."

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

V. *a.* (Rödiger, xliii. and xlvii.; Schröder, 4; Cesnola, 3; Renan, 23.)

V. *b.* (Cesnola, 12 (?) Renan, 17, *a.* and *b.*)

V. *c.* (Schröder, 20; Cesnola, 13; Renan, 20.)

All are parts of the same inscription, but not continuous, except that V. *b.* is in two continuous pieces. On rim of marble dish.

...ואדיל מ[נח (*c.*)...למלך מלכ[יתן].... ו ו (*b.*)...לירח ו ו ו ו[בימי]ר ו ו ו (*a.*)...

"[In the day] 19 of the month...[in the year] 4 (?) of king Melek[yathon king of Citium] and Idalium, an off[ering.....

The number of the year is uncertain, but it was 4 or more.

VI. (Rödiger xlv.; Schröder, 5; Renan, 22.) On rim of heavy marble bowl.

.... יתן מלץ כרסים · ל ....

".... the royal interpreter gave to ...."

Digitized by Google

VII. (Renan, 39.) Fine letters on edge of marble bowl, much obscured, but perfectly legible.

.... עבר]מלקרת לאדני לאשמנ]מלקרת ....

"....['Ebed-]melqarth to his Lord, to Eshmun[-melqarth...."

VIII. (Rödiger, xlvi.; Ward, 3; Cesnola, 10; Renan, 23.) On rim of gypsum bowl or vase.

.... לאדני לאשמנמל]קרת ....

".... to his Lord, to Eshmunmel[qarth ...."

IX. (Rödiger, xlviii.; Schröder, 6; Renan, 18.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... למ]לך מלכיתן מלך ....

".... [of ki]ng Melekyathon, ki[ng of Citium and Idalium] ...."

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

X. (Rödiger, part only, xlix. *l.;* Schröder, 15 and 21; Ward, 1; Cesnola, 21 and 30; Renan 25.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנמל]קרת יברך

".... to Eshmunmel]qarth. May he bless."

End of a votive inscription.

XI. (Rödiger, xlix. *c.;* Schröder, 8, Cesnola, 15; Renan, 27.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנמל]קרת יבורך ....

".... to Eshmunmel[qarth. May he ble[ss]."

XII. (Rödiger, xlix. *o.;* Schröder, 17; Cesnola, 16; Renan, 34.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... נדר צלם ....

".... vowed an image ...."

XIII. (Rödiger, xlix. *k.;* Schröder, 14; Cesnola, 23; Renan, 37.) On convex outer surface of marble bowl. Two lines. (The bowl may have been the same of which No. XII. is a fragment.)

.... א

.... לא

The first line, perhaps "L[ord]," or the beginning of a proper name; the second, "to [his] L[ord]," or "to E[shmunmelqarth]."

XIV. (Rödiger, xlix. *i.;* Schröder, 13; Cesnola, 20; Renan, 29.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... ס]מל אז ....

".... this image (or, fictile object) ...."

XV. *a.* (Rödiger, xlix, *h. q. f.;* Schröder, 11; Cesnola, 19; Renan, 31.)

XV. *b.* (Rödiger xlix. *m.;* Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 35.) Parts of the same inscription, but not continuous. On rim of marble bowl.

Digitized by Google

. . . ת בן א [עבדמלקר] (*b.*)....אש יתן....(*a.*)

". . . . . which [Eb'edmelqar]th son of A.... gave....."

XVI. (Renan, 30.) On rim of gypsum vase or bowl.

.... מנח[ת ז א]ש ....

".... an offe]ring this, which ...."

XVII. (Rödiger, xlix. *e.*; Schröder, 10; Cesnola, 6; Renan, 32.) On rim of blue marble bowl. The last letter partly broken off, and uncertain.

.... מקאחת

Uncertain.

XVIII. (Rödiger, xlix. *g.*; Schröder, 12; Cesnola, 5; Renan, 33.) On rim of marble bowl, and apparently the end of an inscription.

.... ח ת.

preceded by a letter which may be ר, ד, ב, or ק. Wholly uncertain, but probably of similar purport to XVII.

XIX. (Rödiger, xlix. *p.*; Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 28.) On rim of fine marble bowl.

.... לאש[מנמל]קרת ....

".... to Esh]munmel[qarth ...."

XX. "Schröder, 19; Cesnola, 22; Renan, 36.) On a splinter from the rim of a fine marble bowl.

.... בן ....

Probably, ".... son ...."

Digitized by Google

NOTES FOR BEGINNERS.

By William R. Harper.

II.

The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew.—In the study of etymological forms, we must start with the fact, *for it is a fact*, that all vowel-sounds of whatever quantity, character, or value, can be traced back to one of the three short vowels ă, ĭ, ŭ. In the case of every long vowel, therefore, we must ask the questions:—(1) From what original (short) vowel has this vowel come? (2) What influence was exerted to make it long? It is taken for granted that a vowel which was originally short would have remained short, had there not been some reason for its change. All long vowels, therefore, may be classified under four heads:—

1. Those which have arisen from the contraction of two distinct vowels; here belong

(*a*) â (= *a*+*a*), as in קָם = qâm = qă-ăm for qă-wăm; so also שָׁת = šâth for šā-yăth.

(*b*) î (= *i*+*y* or *y*+*i*), as in יִישַׁן = yî-šăn = yĭy-šăn, and יָקִים = yā-qîm = yăq-yĭm for yăq-wĭm.

(*c*) û (= *u*+*w* or *w*+*u*) as in הוּסַר = hû-ṣăr = hŭw-ṣăr, and תָּשׁוּב = tā-šûbh tăš-wŭbh.

(*d*) ê (*a*+*i*= or *y*), as in בֵּין = bên = băy(ĭ)n; פְּנֵי = p'nê = p'năy; תֵּיטִיב = tê-ṭîbh = tăy-ṭîbh; עֲשֵׂה = 'ªsê = 'ªsăy.

(*e*) ô (= *a*+*u* or *w*), as in יוֹם = yôm = yăwm; הוֹלִיד = hô-lîdh (= hăw-lîdh).

In an exhaustive treatment there must also be included under this class the comparatively rare ֵ (*e*) which, like ֵ, everywhere comes from a contraction of *ay*.*

As the result of *contraction*, therefore, arise a very large number of the Hebrew long vowels. This is a principle common to all languages.

2. A second class includes those which have become long, as being characteristic of a nominal form; here belong

(*a*) â (from an original ă) as in גָּנָּב = gănnâbh, כְּתָב k'thâbh.

(*b*) î (from an original ĭ) as in יָמִין = yā-mîn = yă-mĭn; חָסִיד = ḥā-ṣîdh = ḥă-ṣĭdh.

(*c*) û (from an original ŭ) as in קָטוֹל = qā-ṭûl = qă-ṭŭl; כְּרוּב = k'rûbh = kŭ-rŭbh, or kĭ-rŭbh.

---

* This vowel, indicated for the sake of distinction, by an italicized *e*, is found (*a*) in ל״ה Imperfects and Imperatives before the fem. plur. term. נָה, and after the analogy of these forms, also as the separating vowel in similar ע״ע and ע״י forms; (*b*) in forms of plural nouns before the suffixes ךָ and הָ.

Digitized by Google

(*d*) ô (obscured from â, which is from an original ă) as in קָטוֹל (קָטַל) = qā-ṭôl = qă-ṭâl = qă-ṭăl; קָדוֹשׁ = qā-dhôš = qă-dhâš = qă-dhăš; קוֹטֵל (קֹטֵל) = qô-ṭēl = qâ-ṭĭl =qă-ṭĭl.

It will be worth our while here to note carefully the origin of the forms of the Qăl Inf. abs. and Part. act., viz., קָטֹל, קֹטֵל, or, as they are often, but improperly, written, קָטוֹל, קוֹטֵל.

The original stem-form, after the loss of the final ă, is qă-ṭăl; to get a *noun*-form, which shall serve as an infinitive, the ultimate ă is lengthened *characteristically* to â. Subsequently, because of certain euphonic laws in force every where in Hebrew, the penultimate ă is heightened to ā, the â is obscured to ô. Compare, now, the corresponding forms in Arabic and Assyrian qăṭâl and qă-ṭâl(u), which are, indeed, identical with the ground-form of קָטַל.

Starting again with the stem qă-ṭăl, by a *characteristic* lengthening of the penultimate ă, there was obtained a second nominal form qâ-ṭăl, which served as a participle. Here again by the working of the laws of heightening and obscuration qâ-ṭăl becomes (through qâ-ṭĭl) qô-ṭēl. With the intermediate form qâ-ṭĭl compare the Arabic and Assyrian participles, which have precisely this form.

It is to be remembered that vowels which became long as being *characteristic* of a nominal form belong to the primitive Semitic; that is to say, these vowels arose before the Arabic, Assyrian and other Semitic languages had become separate tongues. We do not mean to say that every instance of each of these formations was in existence before these languages had become separate; but that the use of a long (unchangeable) vowel to mark a nominal form originated in the so-called primitive Semitic tongue, and that all instances of this in these languages have arisen in accordance with this original usage. A distinction something like this is seen in דָּבַר the verb and דָּבָר the noun; in נָקַטַל the verb and נָקְטָל the noun (participle).

By the principle of *lengthening* (which is the change of ă to â, ĭ to î, ŭ to û, not that of ă to ā, ĭ to ē, ŭ to ō) we may therefore explain a very large number of long vowels in Hebrew, the lengthening, in these cases, being understood to *characterize* the nominal form.

3. The third class includes those which have been *lengthened* (not heightened) in compensation. The cases are few and doubtful. As examples may be cited קִיטוֹר for קִטוֹר, קִימוֹשׁ for קִמוֹשׁ. Under ordinary circumstances a vowel is *heightened* in compensation for the loss of a consonant, but in a few cases real lengthening takes place. Forms also like נָקוֹם, which = năqâm = năqwăm = nă-qăm, contain a vowel lengthened in compensation for the loss of ו. This class, however, needs no further notice.

4. The fourth class includes those vowels which have become long through the operation of that great euphonic law, the law of the tone; here belong

Digitized by Google

(*a*) ā (always from an original ă and standing directly before or under the tone*) as in דָּבָר from dă-bhăr; אָכַלְתָּ from 'ă-khăl-tă; יַבָּשָׁה from yăb-bă-šăth; מָקוֹם from măq-wăm.

(*b*) ē (from ĭ, and standing directly before or under the tone), as in בֵּן from bĭn (for בִּנְי); לֵבָב from lĭ-bhăbh; זֵקֶן from ză-qĭn; סֵפֶר from ṣĭphr; יֵשֵׁב from yĭ-šĭbh (for yĭw-šĭbh).

(*c*) ō (from ŭ. and standing directly before or under the tone) as in קָטֹל from q'ṭŭl; כֹּל from kŭll; גֹּרֶשׁ from gŭr-răš; חֹשֶׁךְ from ḥŭšk.

(*d*) é (always from an original ă, and standing directly before or under the tone†) as in אֶחָד from 'ă-ḥădh; עֶרֶב from 'ărb; נַעֲשֶׂה from nă-'ăsăy; תְּקָרֵאנָה from tĭq-ră-nā.

The vowels of this class have arisen by heightening, not lengthening. The term *heightening* is a technical one; the change is an artificial increment, or strengthening, brought about by the introduction of a foreign element, viz., an *a*-sound (cf. the guna in Sanskrit). The original vowel in these cases is therefore increased, *heightened* (e. g., ĭ to ē, ŭ to ō), and not merely prolonged, *lengthened* (e. g., ĭ to î, ŭ to û). These vowels may be described more distinctly as follows:—

(1) They are *tone*-long; i. e., their length is due to the tone or accent of the word. They are long because of their proximity to this tone.

(2) They are *artificially* long; i. e., they are not long by nature, or by origin. They *were* short, and would now be short but for the tone. Contracted long vowels and characteristically long vowels are so *by nature*, tone-long vowels are so *by position*.

(3) They are *euphonically* long; i. e., they are long merely for the sake of euphony. The heightened form has no meaning. It sounds better, and hence it is preferred.

(4) They are *changeable;* i. e.. if the tone, to which they are indebted for their very existence, should be moved, they no longer have any reason for existence and so must suffer change.

(5) They are, for the most part, *tonic* and *pretonic;* i. e., they must stand with the tone or before it. The most important euphonic law of the Hebrew language, connected with this, may be stated thus: A short vowel standing directly‡ before or under the tone must be heightened.

It is to be noted in connection with this very brief and general statement of the law, (*a*) that heightened vowels occur sometimes in the antepretone, and likewise

---

* This ā stands rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הָאָדָם, where, however, it is protected by Methegh; and, sometimes, in the post-tone syllable, as in קָטַלְתָּ.

† As in the case of tone-long *a*, this vowel occurs rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הֶעָפָר, where, also like *a* it is maintained by means of Methegh.

‡ That is, without an intervening consonant.

Digitized by Google

in the post-tone yllable; and (*b*) that, within certain rigid limitations a short vowel is allowed to stand in a tone-syllable. All cases, however, of either of these seeming variations from the general law are capable of satisfactory explanation.

By the principle of heightening, therefore, we may explain a large number of long vowels; and this principle, like that of contraction and lengthening, is one common to all languages.

Repetition of Words.—We frequently find a word repeated in Hebrew, e. g.:

1) Gen. XVII., 2 בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד *in high degree, high degree;*
   1 Sam. II., 3 גְּבֹהָה גְּבֹהָה *proudly, proudly.*
2) Gen. VII., 2 שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה *seven by seven;*
   Exod. XVII., 16 מִדֹּר דֹּר *from generation to generation.*
3) Gen. XIV., 10 בְּאֵרֹת בְּאֵרֹת *many wells;*
   2 Kgs. III., 16 גֵּבִים גֵּבִים *many ditches.*
4) Gen. XV., 18 הַנָּהָר הַנָּדֹל נְהַר פְּרָת *the great river, the river Euphrates.*

From the study of these cases, it will be noted that different ideas are conveyed by the repetition. In the first cases cited (cf. also Gen. X., 21; XXII., 20) the idea is that of *emphasis* or *intensity*. In the second class (cf. also Gen. XXXII., 17; Exod. XVI., 5; XXIII., 30; XXV., 35; XXXVI., 4), there is indicated the idea of *distribution, entirety*. In the third class the idea indicated is that of *multitude*. The fourth class (cf. also Gen. XXV., 30; XXXV., 14) is quite different from the preceding classes. Here the noun is repeated in order to make it possible for a new idea to be added without rendering the construction a faulty one.

A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause.—This construction may at first trouble the beginner. Note the following examples:

Exod. VI., 28 בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יְהוָה *On the day* (that) *Jehovah spake.*
1 Sam. XXV., 15 יְמֵי הִתְהַלַּכְנוּ אִתָּם *the days we walked with them.*
Ps. LVI., 4 יוֹם אִירָא *the day I fear.*

Cf. also Gen. XXXIX., 20; XL., 3; Exod. IV., 13; 1 Sam. III., 13; 1 Kgs. XXI., 19.

It will be seen (*a*) that the clause is a relative one, though the relative may be omitted; (*b*) the noun which stands thus is one expressing a general idea of *place, time*, or *manner*.

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Some Hebrew Lines.—It was my good fortune to take a volume in my hands in which I found the lines I give below. They are, I think, very beautiful, and may interest you as well as the readers of HEBRAICA.

לֹא דִבְרֵי מְלִיצָה
לֹא שִׁירָה כָּתַבְתִּי;
אַךְ יָשַׁנְתִּי וָאָקִיצָה
וּמֵחֲלוֹמִי נֶעֱצַבְתִּי
וּבְרוּחִי נִדְכֵּיתִי
וָאֶאֱנַח אֲנָחָה
וָאֲשִׁיחָנָּה בְּקַנְטֶרְסִי
וַיִּרַח לִי רְוָחָה:

Read and accentuated as it would be by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, the meter reminds one of the lesser Sapphic, and indeed of the Sapphic stanza as employed by Horace.

Excepting the last word in the seventh line, the language is classical. I append a paraphrase:—

No word of wisdom,
No song have I written.
But I have slept, and then awoke,
And am by my dream, with dim dread possessed;
And in spirit am I broken,
And with sorrow sorely pressed.
Then I sighed it to this leaflet,
And relief did then release me.

B. BERENSON.

Harvard College, Dec. 22, 1885.

The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans.—A unique and valuable collection of articles on biblical, Assyriological and other antiquarian topics has lately made its appearance in Europe, from which I have selected one or two for translation for HEBRAICA. It seemed to be desirable to publish an English translation of them not only because the articles which I have translated are in the Hollandish language, understood by only a few of our Semitic scholars in America, but also because there are only a very few copies of the collection in the country. The occasion of publishing the collection was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the appointment of Dr. C. Leemans as Director of the Archæological Museum of Leyden, Holland. A circular was sent to the various Oriental and other scholars of Europe asking for a short contribution on some topic on which they had made recent original investigations. The articles thus obtained were collected in one volume, only a limited number of which was printed, and dedicated and formally presented to Dr. Leemans on December 3, 1885.

ABEL H. HINZINGA.

Digitized by Google

The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20.—You will permit a reader of your valuable quarterly, who, while not disputing for a moment the scholarship of Dr. John P. Peters, of Philadelphia, must positively take exception to some of his assumptions, and notably to one advanced in the number of HEBRAICA for April, 1886. In a note under the name "Hebrew use of Numbers," Dr. Peters directs attention to the biblical use of certain numbers for certain words; as, for instance, "five" for "few," etc. But his suggestion concerning 1 Sam. XVI., 20, where for חמור he would substitute חמישה would seem to lack any authority. For, while the Hebrew construction of the verse which begins

ויקח ישי המור לחם.....

is certainly very peculiar, if not incorrect, I can perceive no warrant for the change, other than a mere conjecture; nor do the commentators consulted on this point appear to favor any such substitution.

I know full well that Dr. Peters is not one of those who are given to flimsy, ridiculous, and even destructive ideas about the sacred text, so common now-a-days. It is, therefore, in a spirit actuated by high regard for his abilities that I humbly disagree with him on the matter in question.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 7, 1886. HENRY S. MORAIS.

An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20.—In reading my Hebrew Bible yesterday, for a wonder I found an error of the press. A. Hahn's 8vo edition, Lipsiae, 1833, in Dan. II., 4, has לְעָלְטִין for לְעָלְמִין. I mention it that others may not be puzzled by it as I was.

Then in verse 20 of the same chapter I was delighted to find an Assyrian—or if you prefer it, a Babylonian—Precative mood, which is formed by prefixing lu or li to any one of the forms of the Aorist. (Prof. A. H. Sayce's Assyrian Grammar, p. 66.) The form in Dan. II., 20 is לֶהֱוֹא.

Prof. Gesenius says of it in his Lexicon (Boston, 1844, p. 252, col. 2 Note.) "In the formation of the future of this verb there occurs this singularity, that in the third person singular and plural is found the prefix ל where we should expect the preformative י; and this with the regular and usual signification of the future or subjunctive." Then he refers to this passage among others and adds "forms of the same kind are found in the Targums. From all this it appears that the forms are not Infinitives, as is sometimes supposed, but that in such examples either the ל is put for the nun of the Syrians, or else these forms have arisen out of the Hebrew usage which began to put לִקְטֹל instead of יִקְטֹל."

The learned professor, had he lived to see the light shed on the Hebrew by the cuneiform inscriptions, would have found a far better and perfectly simple explanation of the form which perplexed him. Prof. A. H. Sayce says in his "Lectures on the Assyrian language and syllabary," p. 91, "The precative is generally used only in the third person; occasionally, however, it is found in the first and once or twice in the second." The third person singular precative of sakanu is liiskun, and here we have lehevae with precisely the precative meaning. "Let the name of God be blessed from eternity to eternity," or literally, "Let it be that the name of God be blessed," etc.

It is a beautiful illustration of the help afforded by the Assyrian to the right understanding of the Hebrew scriptures. THOMAS LAURIE.

Providence, Dec. 14, 1885.

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Hebrew in College.—For several years there has been a steadily increasing demand for Hebrew instruction in the College. There has never existed a really good reason why such instruction should not be offered. Those especially interested have been the professors of Hebrew and the Old Testament in the theological seminaries. For the sake of the strictly biblical work, which is crowded out by the necessity of giving time to the study of the language, for the sake of the linguistic study itself, which has suffered greatly from the lack of time given it and from the lack of interest which necessarily accompanies the unfavorable circumstances under which it has been pursued, a strong plea has been made for the introduction of Hebrew into the College curriculum as an elective. The results of the agitation made in this line already begin to show themselves. Within five years, it may safely be predicted, every first-rank institution in the land will have made provision for the study of Hebrew. With such instruction already offered in Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Princeton and others, Brown, Dartmouth, Williams, Rochester, Ann Arbor and the colleges of equal rank cannot afford much longer to delay making similar provision.

The Summer Schools of Hebrew.—At this date, July 20th, the Philadelphia School of Hebrew is past, the Chicago School is approaching its close, and the New England School is just opening. Thus far, the Schools of 1886 are in very many respects ahead of those of 1885.

It was supposed by many, and the supposition was a well-grounded one, that after one or two years the interest in such Schools would die out. The facts in the case seem to indicate the very opposite. Satisfactory as was the first session of the Philadelphia School, the second session, just closed, in point of numbers, interest and results accomplished, far exceeded it. Of the six sessions of the Chicago School, the one now in session is, by all, conceded to be the the most encouraging. It is too early to speak definitely concerning the New England School. Its outlook. however, as well as that of the two remaining Schools (Chautauqua and Southern) is much better than last year.

It is sometimes suggested that there are too many Schools; that it would be better to consolidate them. There would be some advantages, it must be confessed, in such a plan. But when we consider that only by means of a School in a given section of the country, can that section be interested in this particular work, that not the least among the results accomplished by the Schools is the bringing together of the teachers, and the mutual profit which they thereby obtain, that in this work, everything else being equal, the greatest good will be accomplished by reaching the largest possible number of students, it may be doubted whether the consolidation of the Schools would not practically defeat the very ends sought for in the work of the Institute of Hebrew.

There is a measure of disappointment when the attendance in any school falls below fifty. It should be remembered, however, that with the establish-

Digitized by Google

ment of each new school, the territory of each school already established is narrowed. Five schools with an attendance of fifty each will accomplish far more than one with an attendance of one hundred. Nor is the success of the work to be measured by the results directly manifesting themselves. A public sentiment is being created in the several sections in which schools are established, which in time will do much toward bringing about the ends directly sought in the work of these schools. Were it not for the extreme difficulty of obtaining means with which to carry on the work, it is certain that still other schools might be inaugurated with great advantage.

And further, are there not many institutions in the country fully equipped with instructors, the number of whose students does not reach fifty? There is no reason why we should not have a hundred or more students in each of our Summer Schools; but so long as fifty can be brought together for work in a line which has hitherto been so neglected, there is real ground for encouragement. What we need is, not a less number, but a greater number of schools, and the indications are that the number will increase.

Professors of Hebrew.—In the several numbers of the present volume of HEBRAICA, there have been published the names of the various professors of Hebrew (and kindred subjects) in this country, in Britain and on the continent. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that in these lists no mistakes have been made and no names omitted. They furnish, however, a comparatively accurate idea of the number of men engaged in this department of study. A careful study of these lists is not without profit. Many of the names have become very familiar to all Bible-students. Others, now unknown to many, will become famous in the years to come. From one stand-point, we may be surprised that so many men are engaged in a department which to the world seems narrow and unproductive. But when we compare the number with the vastly greater number at work in nearly every other line of scientific and theological study, and when we consider the magnitude of the department and the extreme practical importance of many of the questions which must be settled in it, we must at once feel that there is room for many more workers.

Those engaged in Semitic work should find in the examination of these lists much encouragement. With so large a number of men at work in a given line, surely valuable results may be expected.

Assyrian Manual.—When this number of HEBRAICA reaches its readers, the *Assyrian Manual* by Prof. D. G. Lyon, published by the American Publication Society of Hebrew, will be ready for delivery to purchasers. The distinguishing feature of this work is that it makes transliterated Assyrian inscriptions the basis on which the beginner is to build. While making it possible, by reading largely in transliterated texts, to gain a good knowledge of Assyrian grammar and the lexicon, without the task of memorizing the cuneiform signs, the *Assyrian Manual* also supplies ample means for acquiring the signs and for practice in reading texts in the original. The book will prove a welcome aid to those Hebrew students who for linguistic or theological reasons desire to make the acquaintance of a great literature cotemporaneous with the Jewish, and presenting many of the most interesting points of contact with the Old Testament.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

A REVIEW OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF EZECHIEL.*

This book breaks new ground. It flows in rich land, but sometimes throws up an unprofitable subsoil over the productive upper layers. It is the first systematic attempt made on the basis of the best critical material available, and with a learned acumen found only in few gifted scholars, to restore the Hebrew text of Ezechiel as far as possible to its original form. It is a critical text of the prophet, the author attempting, as he himself repeatedly states, to edit this text in the same manner and method in which thorough classical scholars edit Latin and Greek authors. It is thus an attempt to solve the most difficult problem of lower or textual criticism in the case of one of the greater prophets, and thus to apply to practice what the theoretical discussions of European and American scholars, especially since the publication of the revised translation of the Old Testament, have proved a *pium desiderium*. What New Testament scholars have in the last century, and especially in the last three decades, done for the text of the New Testament, that now is to be attempted in the case of the Old also, and Cornill is the first to step forward with the results of his studies.

Starting out from the hypothesis of Lagarde, maintained with a great deal of learning in his "Remarks on the Greek Translation of Proverbs" in 1863, "that our Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament are based upon a single copy, the corrections of whose errors in writing they also copy as corrections, and whose accidental incompleteness they have adopted," Cornill expects little or no help for the restoration of the primitive from the Hebrew MSS., especially as this Hebrew prototype manuscript dates back probably only to the times of Hadrian, all the more importance must therefore be attached to the earlier and other critical helps; in the first place, to the Septuagint, which represents a text three hundred and fifty years earlier than the Massoretic archetype, and in the second place, to the Targums, the Peshitto and the Vulgate. As the leading stress is laid upon the Septuagint, and the value of this aid can be estimated and utilized only when the acknowledged corrupt form of the Greek translation is sifted, weighed and corrected, the greater portion of the Prolegomena of 175 pages is devoted to the discussion of the Septuagint as a critical help to restore the original text of Ezechiel. This discussion covers pages 13–109, and it must be pronounced probably the fullest and most satisfactory, though rather sanguine, treatment of the troublesome problem. The whole Prolegomena are indeed a model of industry and of patient and painstaking detailed investigation. In studying them we were impressed by the fact that Cornill has done nearly all of this work with literary aids which are also at the disposal of scholars on this side of the Atlantic. With the exception of the treatment of the Ethiopic translation made from the Septua-

* DAS BUCH DES PROPHETEN EZECHIEL, herausgegaben von Lic., Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill, A. O. Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrich*. 8vo, pp. xii, 515.

Digitized by Google

gint, we do not think that any portion of his argumentation is based upon manuscript authority. In America the problem of textual criticism and the correction of the Massoretic text has been discussed in its whole length and breadth. The manner of Cornill's research shows that American scholars have also tools at hand with which to engage in similar work.

On the basis of these critical aids Cornill has then given us what in his judgment is a text as near as possible to the original as this came from the hands of the prophet himself. The text of Ezechiel has always been acknowledged to be of a troublesome character, and Cornill has made wide use of his critical pruning-knife. His changes and departures from the Massoretic text are exceedingly many, and but comparatively few verses have been left in the traditional shape. Thus, e. g., in chapter I. only verses 19 and 28 are left unchanged; in chapter II., only verses 1 and 7; in chapter IV., only verses 1, 2, 15, 16, 17; in chapter V., only verses 1, 3, 10; in chapter XIX., only verses 3, 4, 6; in chapter XXV., only verses 1, 2, 4, 5, 11. Sometimes a chapter undergoes fewer alterations, as, e. g., chapter III., where verses 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24 and 26 are left intact. We think, though, that on the average at least from twenty to twenty-five changes are made in every chapter, so that the forty-seven chapters of Ezechiel will show up more than one thousand departures from the received text. Many of the changes are quite radical, e. g., chapter I., 1 is considered a gloss, as are also some verses in nearly every chapter, e. g., VIII., 8; X., 1, 5, 8–18 (entire); XI., 11, 12; XII., 10 (almost the entire verse); XVI., 21, 27, 42; XX., 29; XXII., 8; XXIII., 26; XXXII., 25; XL., 12, 40, 41, and others. These are all inclosed in brackets and at once recognized. It must be remembered that these are rejected on subjective grounds alone, and against the unanimous voice of the critical apparatus. Where omissions are made on the basis of this or that ancient authority, or changes are made which are sanctioned by even one of these authorities, no special note is made of it in the text, and the difference in the reading can be learned only by a comparison of the traditional text with the proposed revision. Occasionally an entirely new arrangement of the verses or sections of verses is made. Thus, e. g., in chapter VII., the following is the order: 1, 2, 6 (part), 7 (part), 8, 9, 5, 6 (part), 10, 7 (part), 11, 12, etc.; in chapter XLI. the following order is found: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (part), 6 (part), 5 (part), 7 (part), 6 (part), 7 (part), 9, 11, 8, 10, 12 (part), 15, 12 (part), 13, etc.

As to the merits of the result it may be difficult to judge. We certainly have a smoother and an easier text than the traditional; but have we one that is more historical and correct? In many respects most assuredly, but just so assuredly not in all. Cornill presupposes that Ezechiel of a necessity wrote a model and classical Hebrew; and on the score of style, and it seems to us on the basis of modern and not ancient rhetoric, he allows himself to make alterations, and especially omissions, that do not seem warranted by a cautious criticism. We were especially astonished at the number of omissions made from the Massoretic text; and in the first six chapters, which we examined especially with a view to this feature, we are inclined to think that Cornill reduces the bulk of the Ezechiel text by one-twelfth or one-fifteenth. The additions made to the text, marked by asterisks, are comparatively rare, and never embrace more than one or two words. The result is that Cornill's text is considerably shorter than the traditional; and with our knowledge of the origin and history of the Massoretic text we do not think this entirely justified. We are convinced that Cornill has

Digitized by Google

omitted matter on the ground of style and for the purpose of securing clearness, which the great prophet himself penned. This is but one ground on which we object to the multitude of changes made. Other reasons could also be urged. But notwithstanding this we cordially welcome this work. Its purpose is excellent and its method good, only it seems to us not cautious and careful enough. But as the critical apparatus is complete, the reader has the means at hand to control the alterations and correct wherever necessary. We are glad to hear that the author proposes to publish the text of Isaiah and Jeremiah in a similar manner.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE.

A NEW COMMENTARY UPON THE BOOK OF JOB.*

The Book of Job, which in regard to its linguistical structure as well as in regard to its contents is one of the most difficult in the whole Hebrew Bible, has found a new and, let us say it right here in the beginning, a fully competent commentator in the erudite Dr. Szold, who is a rabbi in one of the Jewish congregations of Baltimore. Our only desire, here, is to call the attention of Bible students to this excellent commentary. In his introduction the author treats upon many interesting points. He discusses the questions, What is the real purport of the Book of Job? Is it based upon real historical facts, or is it only a didactic poem, the fundamental story of which is but a parable? To what class of literature is the book to be assigned? At what time was it written? Is it originally the production of a Hebrew writer, or is it a translation from the work of an elder non-Hebrew author? and so forth. As to the purport of the book, Dr. Szold comes to the conclusion that it is not a so-called Theodicy, as has been and still is commonly supposed; that it is not a vindication of Divine Providence; not an attempt to solve the ancient riddle, Why is the way of the wicked happy, and *vice versa*? Its purpose, according to Szold, is rather to demonstrate that and how a truly God-fearing man remains steadfast and firm in his piety amidst all tribulations. A metaphysical problem is not to be solved by the Book of Job, but its aim and intent are to give an important moral lesson. The running commentary to the book itself is very lucid and instructive, and many difficult and dark passages are made clear by it. That here and there explanations should have been given, to which we might not so readily consent, is certainly to be expected. But at any rate, Szold's exegetical labors command fullest consideration. With the previous exegetical literature on Job the author is familiar. He is not polemical, yet it soon becomes evident that he has studied the commentaries of Delitzsch, Ewald, Hitzig, Schlottmann, Dillmann, etc., as well as those of the elder and later Jewish commentators, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, the Qimḥides, Moses ben Naḥman, Luzzatto, Malbim, and others.

Szold's commentary is written from beginning to end in neo-hebraic language. But the language is flowing and easy. Bible-students who have had not much practice in reading Hebrew post-biblical or neo-hebraic books, can be assured that they will find the study of Szold's commentary easy enough and at the same time highly profitable, after having devoted some hours to the same. The excellent typographical execution of the book deserves our special appreciation.

B. FELSENTHAL.

* THE BOOK OF JOB WITH A NEW COMMENTARY. By Benjamin Szold. Baltimore: *H. F. Siemers*, 1886. Pages xxiv and 498.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BARZILAI, G. D. Ideografia Semitica e transformazione della radice ebraica nelle lingue indo-europee. Trieste: *tip. del. Lloyd Austro-Ungarico.* 8vo. pp. ii, 399.....L. 15

BEZOLD, C. Kurzgefasster Ueberblick üb. die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur, nebst e. chronolog. Excurs, zwei Registern u. Index zu 1700 Thontafeln d. Britisch Museums. Leipzig: *Schulze*.....M. 12

BLEEK, F. Einleitung in die heilige Schrift. I. Thl.: Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Hrsg. v. J. Bleek u. A. Kamphausen. 5. Aufl., besorgt v. J. Wellhausen. Berlin: *G. Reimer.* Large 8vo, pp. viii, 634.....M. 13

BROWN, CHARLES R. An Aramaic Method. *Reformed Quarterly Rev.*, April, '86.

BRUCKER, J. La chronologie des premiers âges de l'humanité d'après la Bible et la Science. *La Controverse et le Contemporain VI.*, mars '86; *VII.*, mai '86.

CORNILL, HEINRICH. Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel. *Sunday School Times* ("A new departure in biblical criticism"), July 10, '86.

Diwân d. Abraham ibn Esra m. seiner Allegorie Hai ben Mekiz. Hrsg. v. J. Egers. Frankfurt-a-M.: *Kauffmann*.....M. 4

DUVAL, EMILE. A Hittite Cylinder in the Musée Fol at Geneva. *American Journal of Archæology*, June, '86.

DVORAK, R. Ueber die Fremdwörter im Korán. Wien: *Gerold's Sohn.*

FROTHINGHAM, A. L., JR. Babylonian and Assyrian Archæology. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, '86.

——— Summary of Recent Discoveries and Investigations in Africa and Asia. *American Journal of Archæology*, June, '86.

Handbuch, kurzgefasstes exegetisches, zum Alten Testament. II. Lfg.: Die Genesis. Von der 3. Aufl. an erklärt von A. Dillmann. 5. Aufl. Leipzig: *Hirzel.* Large 8vo, pp. xxii, 472.....M. 7.50

HARPER, WILLIAM R. Elements of Hebrew by an Inductive Method. *Bib. Sac.*, *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, '86, and *Andover Review* (G. F. Moore), June, '86.

——— Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, '86. *Andover Review* (G. F. Moore), June, '86.

HIRSCHFELD, H. Das Buch Al-Chazarî d. Abû-l-Hasan Jehuda Hallewi. Im arab. Urtext, sowie in der hebr. Uebersetzg. d. Jehuda ibn Tibbon. 1. Hälfte. Leipzig: *Schulze:*.....M. 5

KAUTZSCH, E. Die ursprünglische Bedeutung des Namens יהוה צבאות. *Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch.*, '86. Heft I.

LATTES, M. Miscellanea postuma. Fasc. II. Terzo Supplemento al Lessico talmudico ר"—ע'. Milano: *Bernardoni die C. Rebeschini e C.* 8vo. pp. 49-69.

Lessons in Hebrew. *Methodist Pulpit and Pew*, June–July, '86.

MENANT, M. JOACHIM. Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale. Cylindres de la Chaldée, Assyrie, Médie, Asie-Mineure, Perse, Egypte et Phénicie. (A. L. Frothingham, Jr.). *American Journal of Archæology*, June, '86.

MERRIAM, AUGUSTUS C. Two Ptolemaic Inscriptions. Mummy Tablets. *Ib.*

NETELER, B. Untersuchung der geschichtlichen u. der kanonischen Geltung d. Buches Judith. Münster: *Theissing.* Large 8vo, pp. 37.....M. 0.50

Digitized by Google

NEUBAUER, AD. Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Jew's College London. Compiled by A. N. Oxford. Printed for private circulation, 1886. 8vo, pp. viii, 64.

OSGOOD, HOWARD. Strack's "Hebrew Grammar;" Delitzsch's "Hebrew New Testament;" Silkinson's "Hebrew New Testament." *Baptist Quarterly Review*, April, '86.

PETRIE, W. M. FLINDERS. Tell Defenneh (Egypt Exploration Fund.) *Academy*, June 26, '86.

PIEPENBRING, CH. Théologie de l'Ancien Testament. Paris: *Fischbacher*. 8vo, pp. 315.....7 fr. 50.

PRAETORIUS, F. Aethiopische Grammatik m. Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie u. Glossar. Karlsruhe: *Reuther*.....M. 6

Quinque volumina: Canticum canticorum, Ruth, Threni, Ecclesiastes, Esther. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor F. Delitzsch. Leipzig: *B. Tauchnitz*. Large 8vo, pp. viii, 100.....M. 1.20

RIGGS, EDWARD. The Languages of Asia Minor and their study as related to Missionary Work. *Presbyterian Review*, July, '86.

ROSEN, BARON V. Remarques sur les manuscrits orientaux de la collection Marsigli à Bologne suivies de la liste complète des manuscrits Arabes de la même collection. Rome: *l'Academie Royale des Lincei*. 4to, pp. 136.

SCHULTZE, M. Zur Formenlehre d. semitischen Verbs. Wien: *Konegen*...M. 2

SPERLING, A. G. Apion der Grammatiker u. sein Verhältnis zum Judentum. Dresden: (*v. Zahn & Jaensch*). Large 4to, pp 20.....M. 1

STRACK, HERMANN L. Hebrew Grammar. *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, '86.

——— Hebräische Grammatik. (Kautzsch.) *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.*, May 1, '86.

STRASSMAIER, J. N. Wörterverzeichniss zu den babylonischen Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool, nebst anderen aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezar bis Darius. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*.....M. 8

TAYLOR, C. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with Illustrations from the Talmud. (C. J. H. Ropes). *Andover Review*, July, '86.

The Massorah compiled from manuscripts alphabetically and lexically arranged by Chr. D. Ginsburg. Vol. III. Supplement. London. Fol., pp. 283....$18.00

The Revision of the Old Testament. Opinions of eminent German Hebraists on the Revision of the Massoretic Text, published for the use of the American Committee. New York: *Scribner's Sons*. 8vo, pp. 62.

Verzeichniss der Bücher, Landkarten, etc., welche vom Juli bis zum Dezember, 1885, neu erschienen oder neu aufgelegt worden sind. Leipzig: *Hinrichs*. M.4

VIGOUROUX, F. Die Bibel u. die neuern Entdeckungen in Palästina, in Aegypten u. in Assyrien. III. Bd. Mainz: *Kirchheim*. 8vo, pp. 508.....M. 6.30

WARD, WILLIAM HAYES. Two Seals with Phœnician Inscriptions. *American Journal of Archæology*, June, '86.

——— On Recent Explorations in Babylonia. *Johns Hopkins Univ. Cir.*, May, '86.

WEILL, A. Vie, doctrine et gouvernment authentiques de Moïse d'après des textes hébraïques de la Bible jusqu'à ce jour complètement incompris. 3e et dernier fascicule du Pentateuque Selon Mosïe et du Pentateuque selon Ezra. 8vo, pp. 215–418.....3 fr.

WHITELAW, THOMAS. The Patriarchal Times.—VIII. The Table of Nations. *Monthly Interpreter*, July, '86.

Digitized by Google

General Index.

עבר and its Compounds in the Hexateuch, The Use of..... 9
Assurbanipal, Inscriptions of, from a Barrel Cylinder found at Aboo-Habba. V. Rawl. 62. No. 1..... 87
Assyrian Record of Receipts of Taxes..... 221
Ballantine, Prof. W. G., Suggestions toward a more exact Nomenclature and Definition of the Hebrew Tenses..... 53
Bennett, Wm. H., Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses..... 193
Bibliography, Semitic.....63, 127, 191, 255
Bissell, Prof. E. C., The Use of עבר and its Compounds in the Hexateuch.. 9
Book Notices: Brown's Aramaic Method, 189; Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke, 61; A Criticism of Driver's Hebrew Tenses, 121; An Unpointed Text of Genesis, 121; The Early Chapters of Genesis, 121; Some Newly Discovered Tamanite and Nabatean Inscriptions, 189; Socin, Arabic Grammar, 59; Strack's Hebrew Grammar, 124; A Review on the Hebrew Text of Ezechiel, 252; A New Commentary upon the Book of Job, 254.
Briggs, Prof. Chas. A., The Attitude of the Revised Version toward the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament..... 65
Hebrew Poetry. I..... 164
Cheyne, Rev. T. K., Notes on Genesis I., 1 and XXIV., 14..... 49
On Genesis I., 1–3..... 116
Contributed Notes: *Cyrus Adler*, Qamḥi, 116; *Prof. Chas. R. Brown*, A Note on the Relative (אשר), 117; *Prof. T. K. Cheyne*, On Gen. I., 1–3, 116; *Benjamin Douglass, Esq.*, A Prayer in Hebrew, 116; *Abel H. Hinzinga*, The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans, 248; *Thos. Laurie, D. D.*, An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20, 249; *Henry S. Morais*, The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20, 249; *B. Berenson*, Some Hebrew Lines, 248.
Craig, Jas. A., Inscription of Assurbanipal, from a Barrel Cylinder found at Aboo-Habba..... 87
Throne-Inscription of Salmanassar II..... 140
Divine Names as they occur in the Prophets, The..... 109
Driver, Canon S. R., Grammatical Notes 33
Editorial Notes: Assyrian, An Important Help for the Study of, 56; Friedrich Delitzsch's Prolegomena, 187; To Hebrew Students, 120; Hebrew Vowel System, The Study of the, 119; Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar, 187; The Minor Prophets, 186; Lists of Old Testament and Semitic Professors, 188; Proof-Reading, 56; Summer Schools of Hebrew, 186; A Winter School of Hebrew, 187; Second Volume, 56; Semitic Helps, 58; Thanks, 186; An Unpointed Text of Genesis, 188; Hebrew in College, 250; Summer Schools of Hebrew, 250; Professors of Hebrew, 251; An Assyrian Manual, 251.
Emendations of the Hebrew Text of Isaiah..... 39
Gardiner, Prof. Frederic, Advantages of a Slight Knowledge of Hebrew..... 90

Digitized by Google

Genesis I., 1 and XXIV., 14 49
Grammatical Notes—On Gen. II., 9b; On מֵאֵין נָמוֹךְ (Jer. X., 6, 8); On Sam. I., 5 (אַפַּיִם) 33
Hall, Prof. Isaac H., A Note in reference to the "Massora among the Syrians" 95
Some Phœnician Inscriptions in New York 7
More Phœnician Inscriptions in New York 240
Harper, Robert F., Inscription of Assurbanipal, from a Barrel-Cylinder found at Aboo-Habba 87
Harper, Prof. Wm. R., Notes for Beginners 178, 244
Haupt, Prof. Paul, On the Etymology of Matninu 4
On the Penitential Psalm "De Profundis" 98
Hebrew, Advantages of a Slight Knowledge of 90
Hebrew and the Dialects, The Study of 223
Hebrew Poetry, I 164
Hebrew Syntax 228
Hebrew Synonyms בָּקַשׁ and דָּרַשׁ, The 162
Hebrew Tenses, Driver on the 107
Hebrew Tenses, Notes on the use of 193
Hebrew Tenses, Suggestions toward a more Exact Nomenclature and Definition of the 53
Kuenen, Prof. A., Micah I., 5 234
"Kidron," The Word 176
King, Dr. Edward, Moriah 93
On the Text of Psalms XIV. and LIII 237
Kohler, Rev. Dr. K., Emendatations of the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 39
Laurie, Rev. Thos., The Word "Kidron" 176
Massora among the Syrians, The 13
"Massora among the Syrians," A Note in reference to the 95
Micah I., 5 234
Miscellaneous Notes: Amos V., 6, 175; Amos VI., 2, 175; The Date of Sargon of Akkad, 173; Hebrew Use of Numbers, 174; Isaiah VII., 14, 175; Nebuchadrezzar I., 171; Eine unedirte Nebukadnezar-Inschrift, 173.
Modern Ideas in Hebrew 52
Moriah 93
Mutninu, On the Etymology of 4
Nordell, Rev. Phillip A., The Hebrew Synonyms בָּקַשׁ and דָּרַשׁ 162
Notes for Beginners: Circumstantial Clauses, 180; In General, 178; The Nominative Absolute, 179; Origin of Various Vowel Sounds, 178; Relative Occurrence of Vowel Sounds, 178; The Word לֵב or לֵבָב, 179; The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew, 244; Repetition of Words, 247; A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause, 267.
Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied 24, 129
Penitential Psalm "De Profundis," On the 98
Peters, Prof. John P., Miscellaneous Notes 171
Phœnician Inscriptions in New York 7
Phœnician Inscriptions in New York, More, ... 240
Pick, Rev. B., Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied 24, 129

Digitized by Google

Pinches, Theo. G., An Assyrian Record of Receipts of Taxes..... 221
Price, Ira M., University Notes from Abroad.....111, 183
Psalms XIV. and LIII., On the Text of..... 237
Relative (אשר), A Note on the..... 51
Revised Version, The Attitude of the, toward the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament..... 65
Sayce, Dr. A. H., A Note on the Relative (אשר)..... 51
Schodde, Prof. Geo. H., The Study of Hebrew and the Dialects..... 223
Semites, The..... 147
Semitic and Old Testament Professors—In the United States and Canada.—In Great Britain and Ireland.—In Continental Europe..... following pages 64, 192, 260
Schrader, Dr. Eberhard, A South-Babylonian Aramaic-Greek Bilingual..... 1
Sippara..... 79
South-Babylonian Aramaic-Greek Bilingual, A..... 1
Strack, Prof. Hermann L., Writing Among the Hebrews..... 209
Strong, Prof. James, Driver on the Hebrew Tenses..... 107
Hebrew Syntax..... 228
Šuzub the Babylonian and Šuzub the Chaldean, Kings of Babylon..... 218
Taylor, Prof. Barnard C., The Divine Names as they occur in the Prophets.. 109
Throne-Inscription of Salmanassar II..... 140
Tiele, Prof. C. P., Šuzub the Babylonian and Šuzub the Chaldean, Kings of Babylon..... 218
University Notes from Abroad.....111, 183
Volck, Prof. W., "The Semites." (Translated by Prof. D. M. Welton.)..... 147
Ward, Dr. Wm. Hayes, Sippara..... 79
Warfield, Prof. Benj. B., The Massora Among the Syrians..... 13
Welton, Prof. D. M., Translation of "The Semites" by Prof. W. Volck..... 147
Willner, Mr. W., Modern Ideas in Hebrew..... 52
Writing Among the Hebrews..... 209

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC INSTRUCTORS IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

By Ira M. Price,
Leipzig, Germany.

Remarks.—1) All titles, except rank as Instructors, are omitted. 2) Instructors in Theological Faculties are lecturers in Old Testament department. 3) Instructors in Phil. Faculties are lecturers in Semitic or Egyptian languages. 4) Undesignated Theological Faculty is the Faculty of the state religion of country under consideration.

GERMANY.

Ahlwardt, A., Prof. ordinary in the Theological Faculty of the University of Greifswald.
Bachmann, J., Prof. ord. in the Theol. Faculty, University of Rostock.
Baethgen, F., Prof. extraord. in the Theol. Faculty, University of Kiel.
Bardenhewer, O., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, Academy of Muenster.
Barth, J., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
Baudissin, Graf y., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Marburg.
Baur, G., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Bertheau, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Goettingen.
Bezold, C., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Munich.
Bredenkamp, D., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Greifswald.
Budde, C., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Bonn.
Caspari, Lic., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Erlangen.
Cornill, C. H., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Marburg.
Delitzsch, Frdr., Prof. ord. honorary in Phil. Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Delitzsch, Frz., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Dieterici, F., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
Dillmann, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Berlin.
Duemichen, J., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Strassburg.
Duhm, B., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Goettingen.
Ebers, Geo., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Ecker, J., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, Academy of Muenster.
Eisenlohr, A., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Heidelberg.
Erman, A., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
Euting, J., Prof. honorary in Phil. Faculty, University of Strassburg.
Fleischer, H. L., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Fraenkel, S., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Breslau.
Giesebrecht, F., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Greifswald.
Gildemeister, J., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Bonn.
Gosche, R., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Halle.
Guthe, H., Prof. extaord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Haupt, P., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Goettingen.
Hilgenfeld, A., Prof. ord. hon. in Theological Faculty, University of Jena.
Himpel, F. v., Prof. ord. in Catholic-Theological Faculty, University of Tuebingen.
Hirschfeld, G., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Koenigsberg.
Hoffmann, G., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Kiel.
Hoelemann, H. G., Prof. ord. hon. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
Hommel, F., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Munich.
Jahn, G., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
Kaehler, M., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Halle.
Kamphausen, A. H. H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Bonn.
Kaulen, F., Prof. ord. in Catholic-Theological Faculty, University of Bonn.
Kautzsch, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Tuebingen.
Kessler, G. E. C., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Greifswald.
Kleinert, P., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Berlin.
Klostermann, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Kiel.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

KNEUCKER, J. J., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Heidelberg.
KOEHLER, P. A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Erlangen.
KOENIG, F. E., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
KOENIG, J., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Freiburg.
KREHL, L., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Leipzig.
KUEBEL, R., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Tuebingen.
LAGARDE, P. DE, Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Goettingen.
LAUTH, J., Prof. hon. in Phil. Faculty, University of Munich.
LEY, Prof. in Phil. Faculty, University of Marburg.
MEINHOLD, I., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Greifswald.
MERX, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Heidelberg.
MUELLER, A., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Koenigsberg.
NOELDEKE, TH., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Strassburg.
NOWACK, W. G., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty in University of Strassburg.
OSWALD, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty in "Lyceum Hosianum" in Braunsberg.
PHILIPPI, F., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty in University of Rostock.
PRAETORIUS, F., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty in University of Breslau.
PRYM, E., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Bonn.
RAEBIGER, J. F., Prof. ord. Theological Faculty, University of Breslau.
RANKE, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Marburg.
REUSCH, F. H., Prof. ord. in Catholic-Theological Faculty, University of Bonn.
REUSS, E. W. E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Strassburg.
RIEHM, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Halle.
RYSSEL, V., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leipzig.
SACHAU, E., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
SCHLOTTMANN, C., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Halle.
SCHMIEDEL, P. W., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Jena.
SCHOENFELDER, J., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Munich.
SCHOLZ, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Wuerzburg.
SCHOLZ, P. F., Prof. ord. in Catholic-Theological Faculty, University of Breslau.
SCHRADER, EB., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Berlin.
SCHULTZ, F. W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Breslau.
SCHULTZ, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Goettingen.
SCHULTZE, V., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Greifswald.
SIEGFRIED, C., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Jena.
SOCIN, A., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Tuebingen.
SOMMERS, J. G., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Koenigsberg.
SPIEGEL, F. v., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Erlangen.
STADE, B., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Giessen.
STICKEL, J. G., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Jena.
STRACK, H. L., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Berlin.
THORBECKE, R., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Halle.
WEIL, G., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Heidelberg.
WELLHAUSEN, J., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Marburg.
WUESTENFELD, H. F., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Goettingen.

SWITZERLAND.

EGLI, C., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Zurich.
FURRER, C., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Zurich.
HEIDENHEIM, M., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Zurich.
HERZOG, E., Prof. ord. in Catholic-Theological Faculty, University of Berne.
LADAME, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Neuchatel.
MONTET, E., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Geneva.
OETTLI, S., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Berne.
ORELLI, K. v., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Basel.
PERROCHET, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Neuchatel.
SMEND, R., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Basel.
STECK, R., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Berne.
STEINER, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Zurich.
VUILLEUMIER, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Lausanne.

Digitized by Google

Semitic and Old Testament Instructors.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

GERMAN AND SLAVIC UNIVERSITIES.

Bacher, W., Prof. ord., Rabbi Seminarium, Budapest.
Bickell, G., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Innsbruck.
Chatkowski, W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Krakau.
Fraidl, F. S., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Graz.
Goldziher, I., *Privatdocent*, University of Budapest.
Hatala, T., Prof. ord., University of Budapest.
Kaempf, S. I., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Prague.
Kamory, S., Prof. ord., Lyceum of Pressburg.
Kanyurszky, S., Prof. ord., University of Budapest.
Kaufmann, H., Prof. ord., Rabbi Seminarium, Budapest.
Lotz, W., Prof. ord. in Evangelical-Theological Faculty, University of Vienna.
Mueller, D. H., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Vienna.
Neumann, W., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Vienna.
Onciul, J. v., Prof. ord. in Greek-Church-Theological Faculty, University of Czernowitz.
Peter, E., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Prague.
Rohling, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Prague.
Sarnicki, Cl., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Lemberg.
Watzka, J., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Lemberg.
Zschokke, H., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Vienna.

RUSSIA.

Chwolson, D. A., Prof. of Hebrew Language and Literature, University of St. Petersburg.
Girgass, W., Prof. of Arabic, University of St. Petersburg.
Gottwaldt, J. M. E., Prof. in University of Kazan.
Harkavy, A., Prof. of Oriental History, University of St. Petersburg.
Knauer, F., Prof. in University of Kiew.
Muehlau, F., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Dorpat.
Nitzulesku, N., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Bukarest.
Radloff, W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Kazan.
Olsnitzki, Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, Greek Academy in Kicad.
Troitzki, Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, Greek Academy in Moscow.
Volck, W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Dorpat.

FRANCE.

Amiaud, A., Prof. of Assyrian Language and Antiquities in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.
Barbier de Meynard, Prof. of Arabic Language and Literature, College of France, Paris.
Berger, Ph., Prof. of Hebrew and Exegesis in Theological Faculty, Academy of Paris.
Berger, S., Prof. of Biblical Translations in Theological Faculty, Academy of Paris.
Bruston, M., Prof. of Hebrew in Protestant-Theological Faculty, Academy of Montauban.
Carriere, A., Prof. of Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac Languages in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.
Clermont-Ganneau, Prof. of Oriental Archæology in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.
Darmesteter, J., Prof. of Persian Language and Literature, College of France, Paris.
Derenbourg, J., Prof. of Semitic Languages in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools. Paris.
Derenbourg, H., Prof. of Arabic Language and Literature in Special School of living Oriental Languages, Paris.
Devic, M., Prof. of Arabic, Academy of Montpellier.
Guieysse, M., Prof. of Egyptian Philology and Antiquities in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.
Halevy, J., Prof. of Ethiopic in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.
Hassan-Gelal, Sheikh, Prof. of Modern Arabic in Special School of living Oriental Languages, Paris.
Heuzey, Leon, Superintendent of Oriental Antiquities, Museum du Louvre, Paris.
Houdas, M., Prof. of Modern Arabic in Special School of living Oriental Languages, Paris.
Maspero, G., Prof. of Philology and Egyptian Archæology, College of France, Paris.
Montet, F., Prof. of Semitic Languages in Theological Faculty, Academy of Paris.
Montet, M., Prof. of Semitic Languages and Literature, Academy of Lyon.
Oppert, J., Prof. of Philology and Assyrian Archæology, College of France, and in Historical and Philological Section of the Special Schools, Paris.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

PERRAT, G., Prof. of Archæology, Academy of Paris.
RENAN, E., Prof. of Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac Languages, College of France, Paris.
THOMAS, M., Prof. of Hebrew Language, Academy of Toulouse.
WABNITZ, M., Prof. of Sacred Exegesis and Criticism in Protestant-Theological Faculty, Academy of Montauban.

BELGIUM.

CHAUVIN, CH. Prof. ord. (of Hebrew and Arabic) in Phil. Faculty, University of Liege.
FORGET, Y., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Louvain.
LAMY, TH., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Louvain.

DENMARK.

BUHL, F. T. W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Copenhagen.
MEHRER, A. F. VAN, Prof. ord in Theological Faculty, University of Copenhagen.
SCHMIDT, V., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Copenhagen.

HOLLAND.

DILLOO, F. W. J., Prof. of Semitic Languages in Literary Faculty, Free (Calvinistic) University of Amsterdam.
GOEJE, M. J. DE, Prof. ord. (Arabic) in Literary Faculty, University of Leiden.
HAM, F. J. VAN DEN, Prof. ord. (Semitic Languages) in Literary Faculty, Univ. of Groningen.
HURGROUJE, C. S., Prof. ord. (Mohammedan Law) in Law Faculty, Indian Institution in Leiden.
JONG, P. DE, Prof. ord. (Semitic Languages) in Literary Faculty, University of Utrecht.
KUENEN, A., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Leiden.
LAND, J. P. N., Prof. ord. (Aramaic) in Literary Faculty, University of Leiden.
LITH, P. A. VON DER, Prof. ord. (Mohammedan Law) in Law Faculty, University of Leiden.
MATTHES, J. C., Prof. ord. (Semitic Languages) in Literary Faculty, University of Amsterdam.
OORT, H., Prof. ord. (Hebrew) in Literary Faculty, University of Leiden.
SCHEFFER, J. G. DE HOOP, Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Amsterdam.
TIELE, C. P., Prof. ord. (Religions of Western Asia) in Theol. Faculty, University of Leiden.
VALETON, JR., J. J. P., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Utrecht.
WILDEBOER, G., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Groningen.

ITALY.

BONAZIA, L., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Naples.
CASTELLI, D., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Florence.
CUSA, S., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Palermo.
DE BENEDETT, S., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Pisa.
GUIDI, IGN., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Rome.
LA GUMINA, B., Prof. *incaricato* in Phil. Faculty, University of Palermo.
LASINIO, F., Prof. ord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Florence.
LOLLI, E., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Padua.
SCHIAPARELLI, C., Prof. extraord. in Phil. Faculty, University of Rome.
VALERGA, P., *Privatdocent* in Phil. Faculty, University of Turin.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

ALMKVIST, H. N., Prof. ord. in Comp. Phil., University of Upsala.
BERGGREN, J. E., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Upsala.
BRAG, M. F., Adjunct in Oriental Languages, University of Lund.
CASPARI, C. P., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Christiania.
EKMAN, J. A., *Privatdocent* in Theological Faculty, University of Upsala.
MALMSTROM, A. M., *Privatdocent* of Semitic Languages, University of Lund.
MYRBERG, F., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Upsala.
NORDLING, J. T., Prof. ord. of Semitic Languages, University of Upsala.
ROSENIUS, M. G., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Lund.
RUDIN, W., Prof. extraord. in Theological Faculty, University of Upsala.
SKARSTEDT, K. W., Prof. ord. in Theological Faculty, University of Lund.
TEGNER, E., Prof. ord. of Oriental Languages, University of Lund.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY.

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOLUME III.

OCTOBER, 1886—JULY, 1887.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Great Britain, - - 9*s.* 6*d.* | *Germany*, - - - *M.*9.50

France and other countries, 11.50*frs.*

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

HEBRAICA:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., P. O. Drawer 15.

For Sale by CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 743-745 Broadway, New York.

TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, Printers, New Haven, Conn.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

OCTOBER.

I. THE ALLEGED COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF EXODUS I., II. *By Prof. W. Henry Green, D. D., LL. D.* 1-12

II. THE LAW OF INHERITANCE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA. *By Theo. G. Pinches* 13-21

III. NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HERREW TENSES. II. *By William Henry Bennett* .. 22-29

IV. OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE. *Py Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 30-38

V. THE PASSIVE OF QAL. *By L. N. Dembitz* 39, 40

VI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—Diqduq, *Nathaniel West, D. D.*—Notes on Malachi, *H. J. Weber.*—Abraham Firkowitsch, *Henry S. Morais.*—Mr. Bennett's Articles on the Hebrew Tenses.—An Examination on Psalms XL.-LXXII. 41-48

VII. EDITORIAL NOTES:—A New Volume.—The Present Number.—Dr. Jastrow's Dictionary.—A Little Knowledge of Hebrew.—Comparison of Greek and Hebrew.—An Essay on the Book of Proverbs.—A Note from Prof. Hall.—The Study of Syriac 49-52

VIII. BOOK NOTICES:—Lyon's Assyrian Manual, *Charles Rufus Brown.*—Lansing's Arabic Manual, *George H. Schodde.*—Bezold's Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, *Morris Jastrow, Jr.*—Practorius' Grammatica Æthiopica, *Robert F. Harper.*—Neubauer's Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts, *M. Friedlaender* 53-61

IX. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY 62-64

JANUARY.

I. NOTES ON A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF PSALM XVIII. AND 2 SAMUEL XXII. *By William Henry Bennett* 65-86

II. MENE, TEKEL, PERES, AND THE FEAST OF BELSHAZZAR. *By Prof. M. Clermont-Ganneau. Translated by Robert W. Rogers* 87-102

III. JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. *By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.* 103-106

IV. ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEKASIM. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 107-110

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D.* 111-116

VI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament, *M. A. Altschueler.*—An Old English Semitic Series, *Isaac H. Hall* 117-119

VII. BOOK NOTICES:—Jewish Literature, *H. P. Smith.*—Friedrich Delitzsch's Prolegomena, *R. D. Wilson.*—Smend and Socin: Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab, *Morris Jastrow, Jr.* 120-126

VIII. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY 127-128

Digitized by Google

APRIL.

I. ON THE SYNONYMS עדה AND קהל. *By Rev. Philip A. Nordell, D. D.*..... 129–135

II. KOTTEK'S "DAS SECHSTE BUCH DES BELLUM JUDAICUM." *By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.*..... 136–151

III. THE STROPHICAL ORGANIZATION OF HEBREW TRIMETERS. *By Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D.* 152–165

IV. INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, VARIANTS OF AN UNPUBLISHED DUPLICATE OF THE NEW YORK CYLINDER. *By Rev. J. F. X. O'Conor, S. J.*..... 166–170

V. JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. *By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.*..... 171–174

VI. NOTES ON כַּבּוֹל, נְפִילִים, ETC. *By Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D. D.*..... 175, 176

VII. SOME CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXTS OF CYLINDERS A AND B OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS AS PUBLISHED IN I R., 45-47, AND III R., 15, 16. *By Robert F. Harper, Ph. D.*..... 177–185

VIII. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—Neubauer's Etymologies, *Henry S. Morais.*—Syriac and Assyrian, *Richard J. H. Gottheil*..... 186, 187

IX. BOOK NOTICES:—Vatke's Old Testament Introduction, *Henry P. Smith.*—S. A. Smith's Asurbanipaltexte, *William R. Harper*..... 188–190

X. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 191, 192

JULY.

I. THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH. *By Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, D. D.*..... 193–200

II. THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SALMANESER II. *By James A. Craig, Ph. D.*.... 201–232

III. TIKKUN SOPHERIM. *By Rev. Oliver Turnbull Crane*..... 233–248

IV. A SYNOPSIS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY BY BAR 'EBHRÂYÂ. *By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.*..... 249–254

V. S. J. FINN'S NEW HEBREW DICTIONARY. *By Rabbi B. Felsenthal, Ph. D.*..... 255–260

VI. NOTES ON PS. LXXIV. 4, 5. *By Rev. F. H. Woods, B. D.*..... 261, 262

VII. GENESIS II. 25 AND XLVIII. 10. *By Rev. John Edwards*..... 263, 264

VIII. OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.*..... 265–268

IX. CONTRIBUTED NOTES:—"Prof. Peters' Notes," *Cyrus Adler*..... 269

X. BOOK NOTICES:—Bezold's Babylonish-Assyrische Literatur, *R. F. Harper.*—Derenbourg's La Science des Religions et l'Islamisme, *Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.*.... 270–272

XI. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 273, 274

XII. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. III..... 275–276

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. III. OCTOBER, 1886. NO. 1.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

CHICAGO:

The American Publication Society of Hebrew, Chicago.

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

B. Westermann & Co., New York; H. B. Garner, 710 Arch St., Phila.; J. B. Hill, San Francisco; Theodore Stauffer, Leipzig; Elliott Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. The Alleged Composite Character of Exodus I., II. *By Prof. W. Henry Green, D. D., LL. D* 1–12

II. The Law of Inheritance in Ancient Babylonia. *By Theo. G. Pinches* 13–21

III. Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses. II. *By William Henry Bennett* 22–29

IV. Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied by the Ancient Synagogue. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D* 30–38

V. The Passive of Qal. *By L. N. Dembitz* 39–40

VI. Contributed Notes 41–48

Diqduq, *Nathaniel West, D. D.*—Notes on Malachi, *H. J. Weber.*—Abraham Firkowitsch, *Henry S. Morais.*—Mr. Bennett's Articles on the Hebrew Tenses.—An Examination on Psalms XL.–LXXII.

VII. Editorial Notes 49–52

A New Volume.—The Present Number.—Dr. Jastrow's Dictionary.—A Little Knowledge of Hebrew.—Comparison of Greek and Hebrew.—An Essay on the Book of Proverbs.—A Note from Prof. Hall.—The Study of Syriac.

VIII. Book Notices 53–61

Lyon's Assyrian Manual, *Charles Rufus Brown.*—Lansing's Arabic Manual, *George H. Schodde.*—Bezold's Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, *Morris Jastrow, Jr.*—Praetorius' Grammatica Æthiopica, *Robert F. Harper.*—Neubauer's Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts, *M. Friedlaender.*

IX. Semitic Bibliography 62–64

☞ *Editorial Correspondence* should be addressed to Prof. Wm. R. Harper, Ph. D., P. O. Drawer 15, New Haven, Conn.

Business Correspondence should be addressed to Hebraica, Morgan Park, Ill.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH.D., D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. III. JANUARY, 1887. NO. 2.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

(In Foreign Countries, except Canada, $2.25 a year.)

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

The American Publication Society of Hebrew, Chicago.

P. O. Address, MORGAN PARK, ILL.

Entered at the Post Office, Chicago, Ill., for mailing at second-class rates.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. NOTES ON A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF PSALM XVIII. AND 2 SAMUEL XXII. *By William Henry Bennett*..... 65–86

II. MENE, TEKEL, PERES, AND THE FEAST OF BELSHAZZAR. *By Prof. M. Clermont-Ganneau. Translated by Robert W. Rogers*.. 87–102

III. JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. *By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D*..... 103–106

IV. ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEKASIM. *By Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph. D.* 107–110

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES. *By Prof. John P. Peters, Ph. D*..... 111–116

VI. CONTRIBUTED NOTES..... 117–119

Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament, *M. A. Altschueler*.—An Old English Semitic Series, *Isaac H. Hall*.

VII. BOOK NOTICES..... 120–126

Jewish Literature, *H. P. Smith*.—Friedrich Delitzsch's Prolegomena, *R. D. Wilson*.—Smend and Socin: Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab, *Morris Jastrow, Jr.*

VIII. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 127–128

SPECIAL NOTICE.—HEBRAICA will hereafter be published from New Haven, Conn. All communications and remittances should be sent to WILLIAM R. HARPER, P. O. Drawer 15, New Haven, Conn.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY.

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. III. APRIL, 1887. NO. 3.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Great Britain, - - 9*s.* 6*d.* | *Germany*, - - - *M.*9.50

France and other countries, 11.50*frs.*

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

HEBRAICA:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., P. O. Drawer 15.

For Sale by CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 743-745 Broadway, New York.

TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, Printers, New Haven, Conn.

Entered at the Post-office, New Haven, Conn., for mailing at second-class rates.

Digitized by Google

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. On the Synonyms עדה and קהל. *By Rev. Philip A. Nordell, D. D.* 129–135

II. Kottek's "Das Sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum." *By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.* 136–151

III. The Strophical Organization of Hebrew Trimeters. *By Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D.* 152–165

IV. Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, Variants of an Unpublished Duplicate of the New York Cylinder. *By Rev. J. F. X. O'Conor, S. J.* 166–170

V. Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages. *By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.* 171–174

VI. Notes on מבול, נפילים, Etc. *By Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D. D.* 175, 176

VII. Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R., 45–47, and III R., 15, 16. *By Robert F. Harper, Ph. D.* 177–185

VIII. Contributed Notes 186, 187

Neubauer's Etymologies, *Henry S. Morais.*—Syriac and Assyrian, *Richard J. H. Gottheil.*

IX. Book Notices 188–190

Vatke's Old Testament Introduction, *Henry P. Smith.*—S. A. Smith's Asurbanipaltexte, *William R. Harper.*

X. Semitic Bibliography 191, 192

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY.

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE INSTITUTE OF HEBREW.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

The editors are not responsible for the views expressed by contributors.

VOL. III. JULY, 1887. NO. 4.

$2.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 65 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Great Britain, - - 9*s.* 6*d.* | *Germany*, - - - *M.*9.50

France and other countries, 11.50*frs.*

All subscriptions are continued until notice to discontinue is received.

HEBRAICA:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., P. O. Drawer 15.

For Sale by CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 743-745 Broadway, New York.

Entered at the Post-office, New Haven, Conn., for mailing at second-class rates.

TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, Printers, New Haven, Conn.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA, JULY, 1887.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH. *By Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, D. D.* 193–200

II. THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SALMANESER II. *By James A. Craig. Ph. D.* 201–232

III. TIKKUN SOPHERIM. *By Rev. Oliver Turnbull Crane.* 233–248

IV. A SYNOPSIS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY BY BAR 'EBHRÂYÂ. *By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.* 249–254

V. S. J. FINN'S NEW HEBREW DICTIONARY. *By Rabbi B. Felsenthal, Ph. D.* 255–260

VI. NOTES ON PS. LXXIV. 4, 5. *By Rev. F. H. Woods, B. D.* 261, 262

VII. GENESIS II. 25 AND XLVIII. 10. *By Rev. John Edwards.* 263, 264

VIII. OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE. *By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.* 265–268

IX. CONTRIBUTED NOTES 269

"Professor Peters' Notes," *Cyrus Adler.*

X. BOOK NOTICES 270–272

Bezold's Babylonish-Assyrische Literatur, *R. F. Harper.*—Derenbourg's La Science des Religions et l'Islamisme, *Morris Jastrow, Jr.*

XI. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY 273, 274

XII. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. III 275, 276

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. III. OCTOBER, 1886. NO. 1.

THE ALLEGED COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF EXODUS I., II.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN, D. D., LL. D.,
Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

The character and cogency of the arguments for the critical division of Exodus may be illustrated by testing them in their application to the opening chapters of this book. Exodus I.–XI. contain an account of Israel in Egypt until the institution of the Passover and the plague of slaying the first-born on the night of the departure out of the land. This may be conveniently divided into three sections, viz., (1) I., II., the multiplication of Israel, their oppression, the birth of Moses and his flight to Midian; (2) III. 1—VII. 7, the call and mission of Moses; (3) VII. 8—XI. 10, the plagues of Egypt.

The first section is parcelled by different critics as follows:

Knobel, Elohist, I. 1-7, 13, 14; II. 23-25.
Jehovist, I. 8-12, 15-22; II. 1-22 (he follows the *Kriegsbuch* in II. 11-22).

Kayser, Elohist, I. 1-4, 5*b*, 7*, 13, 14; II. 23*b*-25.
Jehovist, I. 6, 8-12, 15-22, II. 1-23*a*.
Redactor, I. 5*a*.

Nöldeke, Grundschrift, I. 1-5, 7*, 13, 14*; II. 23 (from ויאנחו)-25; VI. 2 seq.
Second Elohist, I. 6, 8-12.
The Redactor has inserted from B in I. 7 (וישרצו...ויעצמו) see verse 9, and from other sources in I. 14 (בחמר ובלבנים or at least ובלבנים) see chapter V.

Dillmann, A, I. 1-5, 7, 13 seq.; II. 23*b*-25; VI. 2 seq. (I. 6 probably does not belong to A).
B, I. 8-12, 15-22; II. 1-14.
C, II. 15-23*a*.

Wellhausen, Q, I. 1-5, 7* (except וירבו ויעצמו see verses 9, 20), 13, 14* (except second half of 14*a* and prefixing 14*b*); II. 23*b*-25; VI. 2 seq.

* An asterisk attached to a figure indicates that the verse is not retained in its original form, but has undergone more or less modification.

Digitized by Google

JE, I. 6, 8–12, 15–22 (some words from verses 7, 14*a*); II. 1–23*a*.

J, I. 6, 7* (וירבו ויצצמו), 8–10, (בחמר ובלבנים ובכל עבדה בשדה) 14*a**, 20*b*, 22; II. 11–22.

E, I. 11, 12, 15–20*a*, 21; II. 1–10.

Schrader, Annalist, I. 1–6, 7, 13, 14; II. 23*b*–25.

Theocratic, I. 8–12, 15–22; II. 1–14.

Prophetic, II. 15–23*a*.

According to these critical schemes the Elohist says nothing whatever of the birth of Moses, or the cruel edict of the king of Egypt to slay the Hebrew children, nothing of Moses being found by Pharaoh's daughter or brought up by her, and nothing of his flight to Midian. He is not once mentioned, until God suddenly reveals himself to him in Egypt without any antecedent explanation (VI. 2 seq.) and commissions him to be the deliverer of Israel. The Elohist's account preceding the call of Moses is limited to a brief recapitulation of the sons of Jacob, who came with him and with their households into Egypt, and their immense multiplication (verse 7). Upon this follows without any further explanation the statement (verses 13, 14) of their being grievously oppressed by the Egyptians; then (II. 23*b*–25) their sighing by reason of their bondage and God's gracious purpose to deliver them; whereupon he reveals himself to Moses and summons him to this work (VI. 2 seq.) without the reason having been told that such a person as Moses existed. Kuenen (*Hexateuch*, p. 69) owns that Moses could not have been so abruptly introduced. "This revelation must have been preceded by some details concerning Moses, which have not been able to hold their place by the side of the more elaborate narrative of Exod. II.–V. drawn from other sources."

These verses thus arbitrarily sundered from the context in which they stand, and where they are in every case appropriate and suitably connected, are assigned to the Elohist on the ground of their alleged peculiar style and diction and allusions which they contain to other parts of the Elohim document. The name Elohim occurs in the last three of these verses (II. 23*b*–25), but so it does in I. 17, 20, 21, which are not referred to him, and in fact Elohim is the only name of God that occurs in the course of these chapters, so that it affords no criterion of partition. The genealogical list of the sons of Jacob (I. 1–5), it is said, must belong to the Elohist, since he is partial to genealogies and it is he that invariably records them. And yet the critics differ among themselves on this point. The detailed list of Jacob's family that went with him into Egypt (Gen. XLVI. 8–26) is indeed referred to the Elohist by Dillmann, Schrader and Nöldeke; but Hupfeld and Böhmer assign it to the Jehovist, to whose preceding statements it contains many manifest allusions (Kays. p. 30, note), and Kayser maintains that it belongs neither to the Elohist nor to the Jehovist, but has been inserted by the Redactor (p. 31, yet see his statement p. 36 that all such lists belonged to the Jehovist). In this conflict of opinion the list of names of itself can hardly be regarded as deciding in

Digitized by Google

favor of the Elohist in this instance; nor can the expressions (I. 5) "souls" in the sense of persons, and "came out of the loins of," which are common to both lists, be classed as peculiarly Elohistic. Kayser, in fact, claims (p. 36) that the first part of I. 5, in which these expressions occur, viz., "and all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls" is an insertion by the Redactor, because it interrupts the connection; and that the last clause of verse 5 should be joined directly with verse 4. Exod. I. 5 יֹצְאֵי יֶרֶךְ and Gen. XLVI. 26 יֹצְאֵי יְרֵכוֹ are the only passages in which this phrase occurs; in Gen. XXXV. 11 מֵחֲלָצֶיךָ יֵצְאוּ the same idea is somewhat differently phrased, and the critics would cite this in evidence of diversity of writers if it suited their purpose. And further, the affirmation that this list (Exod. I. 1–5) belongs to the Elohist because that in Gen. XLVI., upon which it is evidently based and from which it is condensed, belongs to him, is directly in the face of the critical dictum that parallel passages are an indication of distinct writers, and that one renders the other superfluous.

In I. 7 the vast multiplication of the children of Israel is expressed by heaping together a number of synonymous terms and adding intensive adverbs, פָּרוּ וַיִּשְׁרְצוּ וַיִּרְבּוּ וַיַּעַצְמוּ בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד, "were fruitful and increased abundantly and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty." Now this would answer very well for the Elohist, who is said to be very diffuse in his expressions and to be very fond of multiplying words, an instance of which is alleged in I. 1; and all of these words but עָצַם occur singly or together in other Elohistic passages. But the perplexing thing about it is that some of these same words are used with evident reference to this passage in the verses that immediately follow, which are by the critics assigned to an independent writer. In verse 9 the king of Egypt says, "the children of Israel are רַב וְעָצוּם more and mightier than we," a plain allusion to the וַיִּרְבּוּ וַיַּעַצְמוּ of verse 7. So verse 20, וַיִּרֶב הָעָם וַיַּעַצְמוּ מְאֹד "and the people multiplied and waxed very mighty" alludes to וַיִּרְבּוּ וַיַּעַצְמוּ בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד of verse 7, "multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty." The natural inference from these cross references would be that chapter I. is continuous throughout, the product of a single writer. But the critics have decreed otherwise, though they show their perplexity by their lack of unanimity as to the mode of dealing with this difficulty. As "be fruitful and multiply" פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ often occur together in Elohistic passages (Gen. I. 22, 28; XVII. 20; XXVIII. 3; XXXV. 11; XLVIII. 4), Nöldeke claims that these were the only verbs in the verse in its original form as it stood in the Elohim document, and that the other two וַיִּשְׁרְצוּ....וַיַּעַצְמוּ were inserted by the Redactor from the other document, which must have contained a parallel statement. Each writer spoke of the multiplication of the children of Israel and used two different verbs to describe it. But the Redactor (or compiler) has fused both sentences together and retained all four of the verbs; though it is somewhat singular that in doing so he should thrust one verb from each writer between the two of the other, taking the first and third from one, the second and

Digitized by Google

fourth from the other. But as שָׁרַץ also often occurs in the Elohist (I. 20, 21, etc.), and that too in immediate connection with פָּרָה and רָבָה, e. g., Gen. VIII. 17; IX. 7, Knobel thinks that these three verbs were in the verse in its original form and only the remaining one (עָצַם) was supplied by the Redactor. This, however, loses sight of the fact that both רָבָה and עָצַם are plainly alluded to in the רַב וְעָצוּם of verse 9, which is attributed to the other document. Accordingly, to make the critical jargon complete, Wellhausen pares away both of these verbs from verse 7, leaving only פָּרָה and שָׁרַץ "were fruitful and increased abundantly" to it in its original form; although these two are never joined together elsewhere without רָבָה accompanying them.

There is a critical disagreement also about verse 6, "And Joseph died and all his brethren and all that generation." Hupfeld (p. 86) and Schrader leave it with the passage assigned to the Elohist, to which it naturally belongs and of which it is an appropriate part. But this evidently prepares the way for verse 8 and the narrative that follows, thus binding the whole together as one continuous passage. Consequently Nöldeke, followed by Kayser, Dillmann and Wellhausen, felt it to be necessary to cut verse 6 out of its proper connection and assign it to the other document as the beginning of the account continued in verses 8 seq.

With this diversity among the critics themselves, and the facts of the case being as already stated, it can scarcely be said that any very clear proof has been given that the opening verses of this chapter are to be sundered from what follows, and assigned to a separate Elohist document.

I pass now to the next passage which the critics unanimously assign to the Elohist, verses 13, 14. Here we suddenly find without any intimation of a change of policy that the Egyptians, who with their king were so friendly to Jacob and his descendants, "made the children of Israel to serve with rigor." This needs for its explanation the very verses which have here been cut out and assigned to the other document, verses 8–10. But it is alleged that verses 13, 14 simply repeat what is already contained in verses 11, 12, and moreover they have a peculiar diction which shows them to belong to the Elohist. But these verses are not superfluous in connection with what precedes. It is evident on inspection that there is no mere tautology, nor even unnecessary redundancy, but rather an endeavor on the part of the writer to impress his readers with the severity of the bondage imposed on the Israelites; so that he dwells upon the subject, using more intense expressions and adding fresh particulars. That the one passage is not a bare repetition of the other is further apparent from the confession of some of the critics themselves, who claim that these verses imply a different conception of the tasks imposed upon the Israelites from the preceding. One passage speaks of "burdens" or loads which they had to carry and of cities which they helped to build, the other of "hard bondage in mortar and brick and in all manner of service in the field." But this is no contrariety in the view taken of Egyptian bondage; it is simply an

Digitized by Google

additional item in its description, and involves therefore no suspicion of a diversity of writers. The mention of "brick," verse 14, evidently prepares the way for the account in chapter V. of the tasks demanded of them in making bricks (associated V. 4, 5 with "burdens," as "burdens" I. 11 with "bricks" verse 14), which binds this passage with that, and yet chapter V. is by the critics referred to the Jehovist. So that Nöldeke thought it necessary to strike out וּבִלְבֵנִים "and in brick" or perhaps בְּחֹמֶר וּבִלְבֵנִים "in mortar and in brick," as not belonging to I. 14 in its original form, but introduced by the Redactor. Wellhausen even thinks it advisable to expunge the entire latter part of the first clause, and then to transpose the remainder with the second clause, which is closely related in its expressions to the preceding verse, so that the text thus doctored will read, "And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor: all the service wherein they made them serve was with rigor; and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage." In regard to which we can only say that if the critics are allowed to remodel the text at their pleasure and erase whatever stands in their way, they can probably prove any point that they wish to prove.

Knobel points out two expressions in verses 13, 14, which he says are Elohistic, viz., פָּרֶךְ *rigor* and עֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה *hard bondage*. The former, which occurs twice here, is found in but one other passage in the Pentateuch, where it is three times repeated, Lev. XXIII. 43, 46, 53, and is probably employed with definite reference to the passage before us. "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor," carries with it the thought, thou shalt not deal oppressively with him as Egypt did with Israel. Besides this the word is used but once in the entire Bible, viz., in Ezek. XXXIV. 4, where the AV. has "cruelty," but the Revision "rigor." The whole mind of this prophet was steeped in the earlier Scriptures, and he often revives the obsolete expressions of the Mosaic law. It is obvious that so rare a word as this is no criterion of style. If it is found in but two Elohistic sections in the Pentateuch and is absent from every other section by the same author, it is not surprising that it should not occur in the Jehovist sections, seeing that the writer found no occasion for its employment. The other expression עבדה קשה is found but twice besides in the Pentateuch, in Exod. VI. 9, where it is also referred to the Elohist, and in Deut. XXVI. 6, where the critics refer it to an entirely distinct writer, the Deuteronomist. We, on the contrary, refer it to the same writer every time whom we believe to be no other than Moses himself. Nöldeke compares "they made their lives bitter" וַיְמָרְרוּ אֶת־חַיֵּיהֶם verse 14 with מֹרַת רוּחַ "bitterness of spirit" or grief of spirit in Gen. XXVI. 35, an Elohistic passage; but a much more analogous expression is וַיְמָרְרֵהוּ "they made it bitter for him," Gen. XLIX. 23, a Jehovist passage, as the critics reckon it, and the only other place in the Pentateuch in which the peculiar form of the verb is used which is here employed.

Digitized by Google

I pass now to the next passage which is assigned to the Elohist II. 23*b*-25. Here I remark that by lopping away the first clause of verse 23, this passage is made to begin in the middle of a sentence. The fact that this is capable of being attached to I. 14 and yet make good sense does not prove this to have been its original connection. It might with an equally good result be joined to the first clause of verse 11, which the critics say belonged to an entirely different document. The scene at the burning bush in chapter III., though attributed by the critics to the Jehovist, is filled with allusions to these verses. "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," III. 6, corresponds with the mention, II. 24, of God's "covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and with Jacob." Jehovah says (III. 7), "I have seen," and "have heard," and "I know," which corresponds precisely with "God heard" (verse 24), "God saw" and "God knew" (verse 25) (AV. "looked upon" and "had respect unto," verse 25). "The cry (צַעֲקַת) of the children of Israel is come (בָּא) unto me" (III. 9) corresponds in thought, if not in exact verbal expression, with "they cried (וַיִּזְעָקוּ), and their cry came up (וַתַּעַל) unto God" (II. 23). Such a number of coincidences could not occur in totally independent documents, but they are altogether natural in contiguous paragraphs by the same writer.

These verses have their root likewise in what is recorded in the Book of Genesis. The "covenant with Abraham" (verse 24) plainly refers back to Gen. XVII. (but see also XV. 18 of the Jehovist). The covenant with Jacob may refer to Gen. XXXV. 9 seq., also an Elohim passage, though one might more naturally think of Gen. XXVIII. 13 seq., which is Jehovistic. But there is absolutely no covenant with Isaac mentioned in any Elohim section, for it is plain that Gen. XXV. 11, to which Kayser appeals (p. 37, note) cannot be so considered. The only covenant with Isaac is that recorded Gen. XXVI. 2 seq., 24 seq., and these passages are Jehovistic. So that according to the division made by the critics, we have here an Elohist paragraph in Exod. II. 24 referring back to something recorded in the Jehovist document, which is inconsistent with any form of the divisive hypothesis ever yet proposed. Knobel cites two words in these verses as belonging to the diction of the Elohist. The first is נַאֲקָה, a rare word, which is found but once besides in the Pentateuch, Exod. VI. 5, where it is used with direct reference to this place, and which therefore can give no criterion of a writer's habitual style. The second is זָכַר *remember*, said of God. God is several times spoken of as remembering in Elohist passages, e. g., Gen. VIII. 1; IX. 15, 16; XIX. 29; Exod. VI. 5; Lev. XXVI. 42, 45. But that it is not peculiar to the Elohist is plain from Gen. XXX. 22, which Knobel is alone in referring to him; (Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Kayser, Schrader, Dillmann ascribe it to a different document); as well as from Exod. XXXII. 13, which is universally attributed to the Jehovist.

It can scarcely be said that the separatist hypothesis has a very strong foothold in the alleged Elohist passages of the first two chapters. Let us turn now to

Digitized by Google

the remaining sections of these chapters. Here an account is given of the cruel edict of the king of Egypt directing that every Hebrew child should be put to death, which Knobel considers utterly improbable, and numbers this among the reasons why this must have been written by the romancing Jehovist. It further records the infancy of Moses, the peril to which he was exposed, his being found and taken in charge by Pharaoh's daughter, his fleeing to Midian and his abode there, where he married the daughter of the priest of Midian. Of all this it is said that the Elohist knows nothing whatever.

In fact, the critics tell us, the account which is given of the parentage of Moses in II. 1 is at variance with that given elsewhere by the Elohist; so that this must be taken from quite a different document (so Dillmann). According to II. 1 the father and mother of Moses are unnamed persons of whom nothing further is known than that they belonged to the tribe of Levi. But the Elohist in Exod. VI. 20 and again in Num. XXVI. 58, 59 not only gives the names of both the father and mother of Moses, Amram and Jochebed, but says that the former was the grandson and the latter the own daughter of Levi. This, it is said, is quite a different representation from the other, and implies that the account in Exod. II. cannot be from the Elohist. With this I. 15–22 is indissolubly connected, because it is necessary to explain the circumstances under which Moses was born and the perils to which he was subjected in his infancy. Now, as Elohim is the name of God used in this paragraph (I. 17, 20, 21), it cannot be from the Jehovist, but by the other Elohist, and this, it is said, is confirmed by its peculiar diction. Dillmann notes four words that occur here as characteristic of the second Elohist יָלַד I. 17 seq.; II. 3, 6–10; דַּעַת II. 4; אָמָה II. 5; כֹּה in the sense of *here*, II. 12; two of these, יָלַד and דַּעַת, Knobel adduces with equal confidence as characteristic of the Jehovist. So that the proof from diction of diversity of authorship rests on very slender grounds. And the alleged contrariety as to Moses' parentage is of no force, for it amounts simply to this, that their names are not mentioned when they are first referred to, but afterwards they are. The Amram who was Moses' father was not Levi's grandson, and Jochebed was not Levi's own daughter, any more than when Jesus Christ is called the son of David, or a Jew at the present day is called the child of Abraham, we are to understand that immediate offspring is intended in either case. And the argument for diversity of authorship in I. 6, 8–12 is just as flimsy. We have seen already that I. 13, 14 is not superfluous beside I. 11, 12, and that there is no diversity of view to preclude their proceeding from a common source. And the only additional consideration that verses 8–12 betray an intimate knowledge of Egyptian affairs is of no force, unless it can be shown that the Elohist was deficient in this respect. If, however, without demanding further proof we assent to the partition of chaps. I. and II., and allow the assumption of a different writer from the one first considered, the disagreements and the difficulties of the critics in maintaining their hypothesis have only begun.

Digitized by Google

After the Elohist verses, which have been already reviewed, are sundered from these chapters, Knobel assigns all the rest to the Jehovist, finding abundant indications of his diction and style in verses which others impute to the second Elohist, and even claiming as Jehovistic criteria what other critics class as criteria of a distinct writer. He also counts it among the Jehovist's characteristics that etymologies are given (II. 10) of the name Moses and (II. 22) of Gershom; that the names of the midwives (I. 15) are given, an exaggerated statement made of the numbers of the Hebrews (I. 9), improbable commands attributed to the king (I. 16, 22), while the fact that Moses' father-in-law in II. 18 is called Reuel and in III. 1 Jethro does not prevent his assigning both these passages to the Jehovist. How weak these arguments are in the esteem of other critics appears from the fact that in spite of them, they assign the greater portion of this passage not to the Jehovist, but to a different writer, the second Elohist.

Further, while Knobel attributes this passage to the Jehovist and finds abundant indications of his style and diction, he nevertheless discovers many peculiar expressions which he can only explain by assuming that the Jehovist has here drawn his materials from pre-existing documents which contained special accounts of Israel's condition in Egypt, and that he has imported these peculiarities from them. It ought here to be observed how this building hypothesis upon hypothesis weakens instead of strengthening the cause which requires to be supported in this manner. One of the grounds on which we are asked to believe in the existence of these hypothetical writers is that the sections assigned to each respectively have their own peculiar diction and style. But here the section assigned to the Jehovist departs so seriously from what is alleged to be his ordinary style that he must be supposed to be borrowing from some other treatise.

The section assigned by Knobel to the Jehovist is by Schrader and Dillmann parcelled between the second Elohist and the Jehovist, called by Dillmann B and C and by Schrader the Theocratic and the Prophetic narrators; to the former as far as II. 14, to the latter from II. 15 onward the flight into Midian and Moses' residence there. In the section attributed to the second Elohist, however, Dillmann finds several words and expressions which are commonly regarded as characteristic of the Jehovist. He infers from this that the Jehovist document must have contained an account of the very same matters as are found in this paragraph taken from the second Elohist, and that the Redactor, who is always ready on an emergency, while copying mainly from the one document, introduced a few words here and there from the other.

Moreover, while the visit to Midian and Moses' marriage there (II. 15–23*a*) is taken from the Jehovist document, the second Elohist must have recorded the very same facts. This is shown by his repeated allusions to them (III. 1 seq.; IV. 18; XVIII. 1 seq.). It seems, therefore, that the writer of I. 8–12, 15—II. 14 must have narrated substantially what is found in II. 15–23*a*; and the writer of II. 15–

Digitized by Google

23*a* must have narrated substantially what is found in the preceding section. This is certainly adapted to awaken the suspicion that the critics have sundered what belongs together; that the missing sections are purely imaginary, and that these successive paragraphs have emanated from one and the same writer.

The reasons adduced to show that II. 15 seq. are by a different writer from the preceding verses, seem to have very little stringency. Thus Schrader says that II. 14 suggests one motive for Moses' flight and verse 15 another. According to the former Moses was afraid because his killing the Egyptian had become publicly known. According to the latter he fled because Pharaoh sought to slay him. But these reasons are not only perfectly consistent, but really identical. The reason that Moses feared the publicity of his act was lest it should come to the ears of Pharaoh. Dillmann accordingly dismisses this as of no weight whatever; and he makes no account of the occurrence of גֵּרֵשׁ II. 17, which Knobel claims as Jehovistic, but which occurs, Gen. XXI. 10, in a passage assigned to the second Elohist. He lays all the stress upon the fact that Moses' father-in-law is in successive paragraphs called by different names, Reuel in II. 18, Jethro in III. 1, holding that this is clear evidence of distinct writers. Knobel, as we have seen, does not regard this as decisive. He thinks the same writer used them both. And in fact there is no difficulty in this assumption, for while "Reuel" was his name, properly speaking, "Jethro" was his official title, meaning as it does "his Excellency;" so that the alternation is just as natural as though some one were to speak of President Cleveland, and then immediately after refer to him as "his Excellency."

Further, the alleged Jehovah verses II. 15–22 are most intimately related both with what precedes and with what follows, although Dillmann refers these to a different writer. The flight to Midian related by the Jehovist is in consequence of his killing the Egyptian which is related by the second Elohist. So too his keeping the flocks of his father-in-law, as told by the Jehovist, is pre-supposed in the account of God's manifestation to him in the bush at Horeb given by the second Elohist. All forms part of one continuous narrative, every portion of which is essential to the understanding of the rest.

The identity of the expressions in II. 22 (Jehovist), and XVIII. 3 (second Elohist) explaining why Moses called his son's name Gershon, "for he said, I have been a stranger in a strange land," shows plainly that these verses have not been independently conceived. And the occurrence (II. 16) in a Jehovist connection of the rare word רְהָטִים *troughs* elsewhere used by the second Elohist (Gen. XXX. 38, 41) leads Dillmann to infer that these verses, though taken by the Redactor from the Jehovist document, had been borrowed with some modifications by the Jehovist from the prior document of the second Elohist. According to Dillmann then we have in II. 15–23*a* a Jehovist paragraph interposed between two second Elohist paragraphs, forming parts of one closely connected narrative, no portion of which

Digitized by Google

is intelligible without the other; and there are clear indications beside that this Jehovist paragraph came originally from the second Elohist. And yet all this jumble of different writers is assumed on the sole ground that Reuel is called by his proper name (II. 18), and by his title Jethro, or his Excellency (III. 1). And when in addition to all this we find the Jehovist in IV. 19 referring back to this narrative, and are told that both the Jehovist and the second Elohist must have given complete and similar accounts of this whole matter, the suspicion very naturally arises that perhaps the Jehovist and second Elohist may be the same person, notwithstanding all this mystification.

Wellhausen again deals with the non-Elohistic portion of the chapters before us in his own peculiar fashion. While he agrees with Knobel in referring it all to the Jehovist, he maintains that this Jehovist document is itself composite, being made up of two prior sources, and thus is so far brought into accord with Dillmann and Schrader. The division which he actually makes, however, is quite distinct from theirs, and his nomenclature as well as his symbols are peculiar. His J, the Jahvist, corresponds to Dillmann's C, or what other critics call the Jehovist. His E, the Elohist, to Dillmann's B, or what other critics call the second Elohist.

He assigns to J I. 6, the words "were multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty" in verse 7; also verses 8–10, because of their general resemblance in style to Gen. XI. 6, 7. But verses 11, 12 are referred to E, because there is a different phrase for "taskmasters" in verse 11, שָׂרֵי מַסִּים from that which is used III. 7; V. 6, 10, 13, 14, נֹגְשִׂים and because קוּץ *to loathe* is in verse 12 used in the peculiar sense of *being afraid of*. How little weight Dillmann and Schrader attach to these considerations and to the division which is built upon them, appears from their assigning verses 8–12 to the same writer variously denominated E or B or the second Elohist. And in the following paragraph which Dillmann and Schrader assign entire to the same writer, Wellhausen deviates so far as to sever 20*b* as disturbing the connection between 20*a* and 21, and attaching the former to verse 22. This he regards as merely a varied repetition of what had already been stated, verses 15–21, and consequently attributable not to E, but to J, which is further confirmed by the words (20*b*) "multiplied and waxed very mighty," which are identical with those which he attributes to J, in verse 7. And in fact, verse 7 furnishes the key-note of the entire chapter; it is the spring in which all that follows takes its rise, and there are repeated allusions to it and repetitions of its language iu subsequent verses, 9, 10, 12, 20, thus binding all into unity and showing the critical attempts at partition to be wholly unfounded.

In I. 14 the words בחמר ובלבנים ובכל עבדה בשדה are assigned to J in preparation for chapter V., and stand in contrast with a different conception by E, verse 11. But the Redactor could have seen no contrariety, or he would not have put them together in the same continuous narrative. And at any rate the arbitrary sundering of these words from their connection is but a shift to evade

Digitized by Google

the evidence which they furnish, that the paragraph in which they are found is from the same pen as chapter V., and a confession that this evidence cannot be set aside by any less violent method.

In chapter II. he makes a different partition from Schrader and Dillmann, assigning verses 1–10 to E, and verses 11–22 to J, thus recognizing the fact which they disregard, that verses 11–14 cannot be sundered from the verses that follow. While thus attributing the account of Moses' birth and infancy to E, and his residence in Midian to J, he nevertheless concludes that J and E alike must have recorded both, leaving us to wonder whether E's missing account of the life in Midian is not after all that which he has imputed to J, and whether J's missing story of Moses' birth is not that which he has ascribed to E, and whether the chapter is not one indivisible narrative, whose different portions are so necessary to each other that even after the critics have sundered it in two, they are straightway obliged to assume that each part had originally just such a complement as they have severed from it. Wellhausen, however, thinks it quite impossible that it could have been the same writer who said, verse 10, וַיִּגְדַּל הַיֶּלֶד "and the child was grown," and then immediately after in the next verse וַיִּגְדַּל מֹשֶׁה "and Moses was grown." This, however, did not disturb Dillmann and Schrader, and it need not disturb us. It requires but little experience to discover that the critics have an abundance of arguments which they can employ if they have any end to be answered by them; but to which they pay no attention if they do not suit their immediate purpose.

E's account of the infancy of Moses is, however, in Wellhausen's opinion full of inconsistencies and incongruities, which show that we have not the story in its primitive form, but that some later account has been intruded into it. According to II. 1, 2 "a man of the house of Levi took a wife and she conceived and bare a son;" from this he infers that Moses was the eldest child, and yet (verse 7) mention is made of an older sister. In verse 6 she saw the child הַיֶּלֶד and lo! a weeping boy נַעַר;—the two different terms applied to the infant could scarcely, he thinks, have come from one pen. Further in the same verse "she had compassion on him" is, as he conceives, strangely thrust in between clauses which belong together. "She saw the child....and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children." Again the name was presumably given to the child as soon as he was found, but (verse 10) it is postponed until after he was grown. Now while Wellhausen confesses that he cannot carry a division through upon this basis, he infers from the particulars just recited that there was another version of the story which has been mixed up with the account here given,—a version which knew nothing of the older sister or of the nursing by the mother, but simply said "lo! a weeping boy, and she had compassion on him (verse 6) and (verse 10) he became her son, and she called his name Moses, because she had drawn him out of the water."

Digitized by Google

It is needless to reply to such baseless conjectures; only it does not say much for the intelligence of this supposititious writer E if he could unwittingly confuse together two such different accounts of the same transaction; or if he saw the contrariety, it does not say much for his honesty, that he should have covered it up as he has done, until Wellhausen discovered the fraud. And further, if these contrarieties and improbabilities and varying diction can exist in a paragraph, which, Wellhausen confesses, all came from the pen of E, why must we conclude from the same sort of contrarieties, improbabilities and varying diction, which the critics fancy that they discover elsewhere, that there has been more than a single writer. The ingenious critic has simply exposed the weakness and fallacy of the critical arguments.

A similar confusion, though not to the same extent, is found by Wellhausen in the portion of chapter II., which he attributes to J, verses 11–22. Inconsistent reasons are given (verses 14, 15) for the flight of Moses; and the last two clauses of verse 15 are not continuous—Moses' sitting down by the well must have preceded his dwelling in the land of Midian, though it is mentioned after it. The puzzle about the name of Moses' father-in-law he undertakes to solve by conjecturing that J mentioned no name in his account, that Jethro was inserted by the Jehovist, but that the Reuel of II. 18 cannot be the same with the Reuel (or Raguel) of Num. X. 29. The father of Hobab spoken of in the latter passage does not correspond with the priest with his seven daughters in the former.

The divisions made of chapters I., II. by the principal critics of the reigning schools have now been recited, together with the reasons on which they base these divisions. I think it can scarcely be said that they are very plausible, much less conclusive. So extensive a hypothesis cannot, it is true, be judged by the inspection of one brief passage. The grounds on which it professedly rests extend through the entire Pentateuch, and it is only after a full examination that we can pronounce finally and decisively upon its truth or its falsity. But we can at least say that, so far as we have seen in this specimen passage, there is not much to commend it to sober and judicious minds. It may be very ingenious, and may set forth a long array of arguments. But we have found no proof that it is true.

Digitized by Google

THE LAW OF INHERITANCE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA.

By Theo. G. Pinches,

British Museum, London, England.

In the study of the manners and customs of the ancient nations who of old inhabited the plains of Mesopotamia lies a charm seldom to be found either in their history (which is often dry and uninteresting where it does not throw light upon facts already known to us from the Bible or from the classical authors), or in the philology of their languages, important and deeply interesting as it is. This great charm probably arises from the fact that we get all our information at first hand—from the documents left by the people themselves, enabling us to see them as they were, not as others saw them. The material is plentiful, and it is therefore our own fault if the idea which we get be imperfect or malformed. Time, and much time, will be needed to enable us to understand thoroughly what they have to tell us about themselves; but in the end, by patient research, we may hope to succeed in the work to the very fullest. A beginning has been made, and, no doubt, scholars will add to what we know as time goes on.

The text to which I now draw attention is a legal document of an exceedingly interesting nature, on account of the light it sheds in the direction above indicated. The principal part was obtained by Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward in Mesopotamia, whilst conducting the Wolfe expedition; and it forms part, therefore, of the very valuable collection of tablets brought home by the talented explorer. Prof. Ward was so kind as to allow me to copy this document during his stay in London in June, 1885; and owing to this, I was able, shortly after, to identify a fragment acquired by the British Museum (with a number of other Babylonian antiquities) on the 30th of April, 1885, as a part of this very tablet, adding considerably to the text. The American fragment has twenty-one lines, six of them being imperfect, and gives the beginning of the obverse and the end of the reverse. The English fragment has sixteen lines, all imperfect at the ends, but almost completing the obverse. The tablet probably contained, when perfect, about fifty lines, of which thirty-three remain. Of the wanting lines, about fourteen probably belonged to the text proper, the remainder being the names of the witnesses.

The text refers to an application made by Bêl-kaṣir to his father Nadinu, to be allowed to adopt Bêl-ukîn, son of his wife Zunnâ by a former husband, as his own son. Nadinu objects on the ground that the property of the family ought to go to his own second son, who, failing heirs lawfully begotten by Bêl-kaṣir, was the one really entitled to it. As the end of the text is lost, we cannot tell what was the result of the application, but it probably ended either in a refusal on the part

Digitized by Google

of Nadinu, or else in a compromise. The document is dated at Babylon, the 15th day of Sebat, in the 9th year of Nabonidus king of Babylon (546 B. C.). Most of the witnesses of the transaction were members of the family of Saggillâa, the family to which Nadinu and his son belonged. This interesting text therefore presents us with a picture of a kind of family gathering, before which the son makes his application, and the father gives his answer, and which could, most likely, make an expression of its opinion upon the merits or demerits of the case. This custom of getting the members of the family to attend as witnesses in family matters was not uncommon in Babylonia,[1] and probably helped greatly the just settlement of all questions affecting individual members.

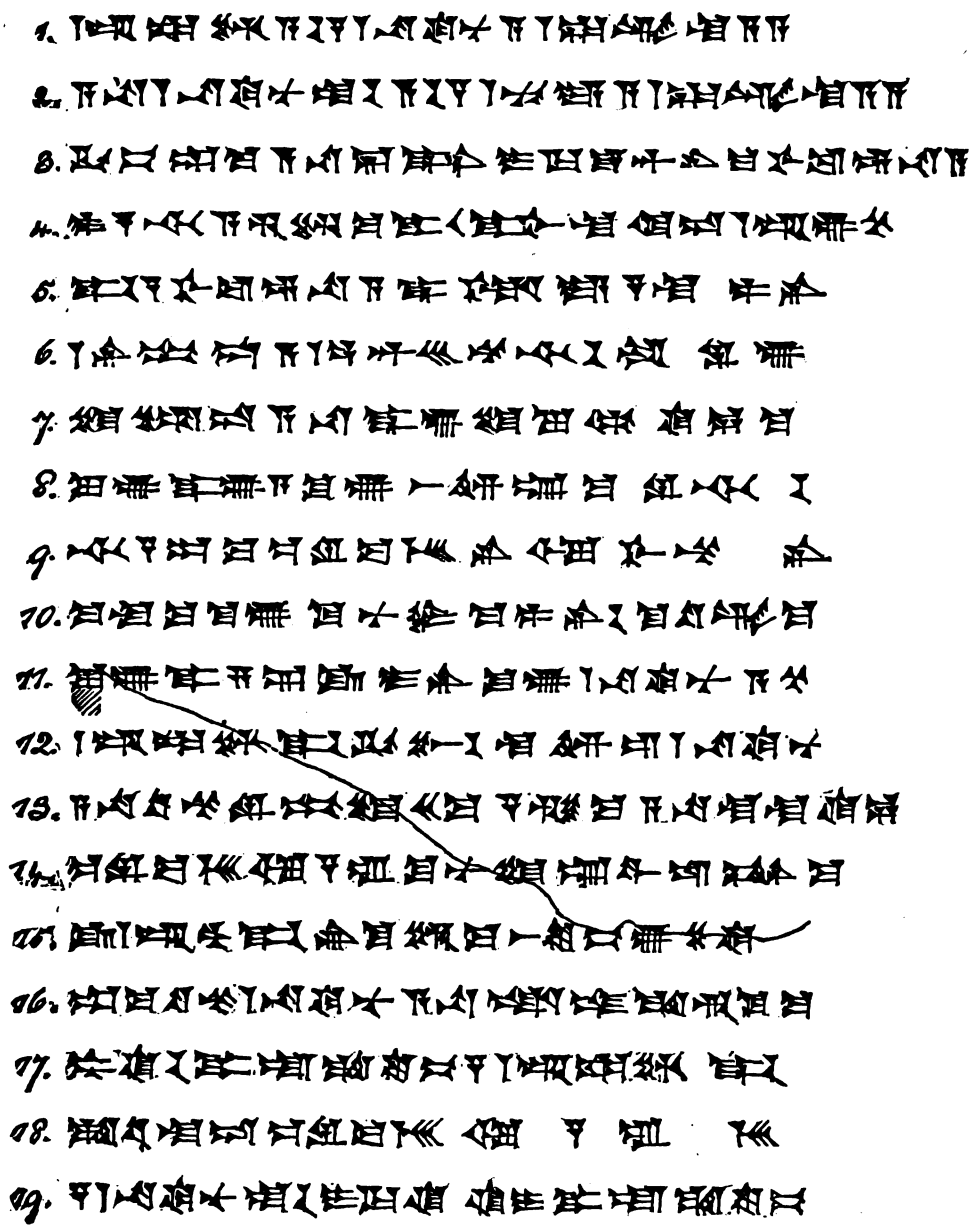
On the following two pages is reproduced the text of this very interesting tablet. The portion belonging to the British Museum is that below line 11 on the obverse, and above line 5 on the reverse, the crack extending downwards to line 15 of the former, and upwards to line 3 of the latter.[2] The registration number of the British Museum fragment is 85-4-30, 48. STRASSMAIER : Nbd 380

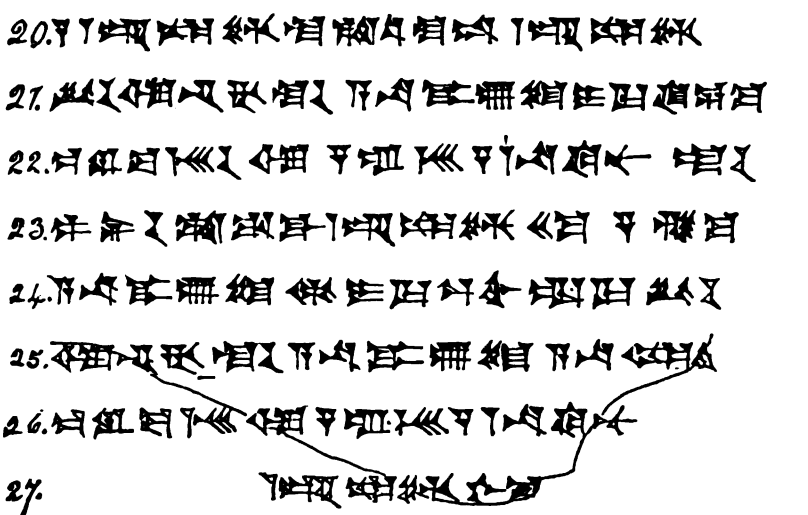
[1] See The Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon, p. 104 (No. 70).

[2] Babylonian tablets turn over top and bottom, not sidewise, as do our books.

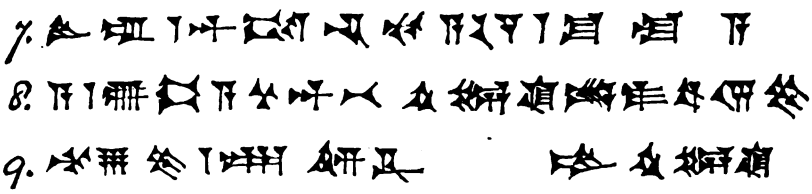
Digitized by Google

PEISER: KEIL. BIB: IV p. 238:
MARX: BEITR. ASSYR: Vol. IV. p. 12:40





Reverse



Digitized by Google

TRANSLITERATION AND LITERAL TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

1. Bêl-kaṣir, abli-šu ša Nadinu, abil Saggillâa
   Bêl-kaṣir, his son who (is) Nadinu, son of Saggillâa

2. ana Nadinu, âbi-šu, abli-šu ša Zērîa, abil Saggillâa
   to Nadinu, his father, his son who (is) Zērîa, son of Saggillâa

3. iḳbî umma: "Ana Bît-turnî tašpuranni-ma Zunnā
   said thus: "To Bît-turnî thou sentest me and Zunnā

4. âššati âḫuz-ma mâra u mârta lâ tûldu. Bêl-ukîn,
   as wife I took and son and daughter she bore not. Bêl-ukîn,

5. mâri-šu ša Zunnā, mâr âššatîa, ša lapanî
   her son who (is) Zunnā, son of my wife, whom formerly

6. Niḳūdu, abil Nûr-Sin, muti-šu maḫrū
   (to) Niḳūdu, son of Nûr-Sin, her husband former

7. tûlidu, ana mârūti lûlkê-ma
   she had borne, to sonship let me take and

8. lû mârūa šû; ina IM-DUB mârūti-šu
   let be my son he; on a tablet his sonship

9. tîšab-ma êskēti-ni û mimmu-ni
   set and our incomes and our property

10. malâ bašû kunuk-ma pani-šu šudgil-ma
    as much as there is, seal, and unto him bequeath and

11. lû mâr ṣabit kâti-ni šû." Nadinu âmat
    let the son taken by our hands be he." Nadinu the word

12. Bêl-kaṣir, mâri-šu, iḳbûšu lâ imgur; Nadinu
    Bêl-kaṣir, his son, had said to him did not please; Nadinu

13. "ana ûmu rûḳūtu manma šanâmma ana lâ lakê
    "for days distant anyone other (is) not to take

Digitized by Google

14. êskēti û NIG-LAG -šunutu" duppi ištur-ma
incomes and property their" (on) a tablet he had written and

15. kâta ᵀ Bêl-kaṣir, mâri-šu, irkus-ma ina libbi ušêdî
[known
the hands of Bêl-kaṣir, his son, he had bound and in the midst had made

16. umma: "Umu ᵀ Nadinu ana šîmtu^{m} ittalku-ma
thus: "The day Nadinu to (his) fate goes and

17. arki-šu mâr ṣît libbi ša ᵀ Bêl-kaṣir, mâri-šu,
after him a son proceeding from the heart of Bêl-kaṣir, his son,

18. ittamladu êskēti û NIG-LAG-MEŠ
is born, the incomes and properties

19. ša ᵀ Nadinu, âbi-šu, ilikkî; kî mâr ṣît lib[bi]
of Nadinu, his father, he shall take; if a son proceeding from the heart

20. ᵀ Bêl-kaṣir lâ ittamladu, ᵀ Bêl-kaṣir
of Bêl-kaṣir is not born, Bêl-kaṣir

21. âḫî-šu û bêl-zîtti-šu ana mârūtu ilikkê[-ma]
his brother and the lord of his property to sonship shall take and

22. êskēti-šu û NIG-LAG-MEŠ ša ᵀ Nadinu âbi[-šu]
his incomes and the properties of Nadinu his father

23. pani-šu iddagal ᵀ Bêl-kaṣir manma šanam[ma]
unto him shall bequeath, Bêl-kaṣir anyone other

24. ana mârūtu ûl ilikka'; allik âḫî[-šu]
to sonship shall not take; but his brother

25. [û] bêl zîtti-šu ana mârūtu ana muḫ[ḫi]
[and] the lord of his property to sonship concerning

26. [êskēti] û NIG-LAG-MEŠ ša ᵀ Nadi[nu.....]
[the incomes] and properties which Nadinu [has bequeathed]

27. [..... ᵀ Bêl-ka]ṣir mimma (?) .....
[he shall take. Bêl-ka]ṣir anything (?) .....

Digitized by Google

REVERSE.

1. Pân..... .....
   Before..... .....

2. ....

3. .....

4. ..... [abil Saggil]lâa
   N., his son, who is N., son of Saggillâa

5. Nergal-..... [abil Sag]gillâa
   Nergal-....., his son, who is N., son of Saggillâa

6. Lâbaši, abli-šu ša Dumuḳ, abil Saggillâa
   Lâbaši, his son, who (is) Dumuḳ, son of Saggillâa

7. Rittu, Marduk-bêl-irbâ, abli-šu ša Šulâ,
   Scribe, Merodach-bêl-irbâ, his son, who (is) Šulâ,

8. abil Ûṣur-âmat-Bêl. Tin-tir ki, âraḫ Šabaṭi, ûmu ḫamiššerit,
   son of Ûṣur-âmat- Bêl. Babylon, month Sebat, day fifteenth

9. šattu tišît, Nabû-na'id, šar Tin-tir ki
   year ninth, Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

FREE TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

"Bêl-kaṣir, son of Nadinu, son of Saggillâa, spoke to Nadinu, his father, son of Zērîa, son of Saggillâa, thus: 'Thou sentest me to Bît-turnî, and I took Zunnā as my wife, but she has not borne son or daughter. Let me adopt Bêl-ukîn, son of Zunnā, child of my wife, whom she bore some time ago to Nikudu, son of Nûr-Sin, her former husband, and let him be my son; record his adoption on a tablet, and seal and bequeath to him our revenues and our property, all there is, and let him be the child taken by our hands.' Nadinu was not pleased by the words which Bêl-kaṣir, his son, had said to him. Nadinu had written on a tablet, 'No one whatever, at a future time, is to take their revenue or property;' he had bound the hands of Bêl-kaṣir, his son, and had stated it in the deed thus: 'When Nadinu goes to his fate, then after him the son proceeding from the loins of Bêl-kaṣir his son, who shall be born, shall take the incomes and properties of Nadinu his father. If a son proceeding from the loins of Bêl-kaṣir be not born, Bêl-kaṣir

Digitized by Google

shall adopt his brother and rightful heir, and shall bequeath unto him the revenues and properties of Nadinu his father. Bêl-kaṣir shall not adopt any other whatever, but he shall adopt his brother and rightful heir on account of the revenues and properties which Nadinu [has bequeathed to him]....."

REVERSE.

"[Before.....

[N., son of N., son of Saggil]lâa;
[Nergal-..., son of N., son of Sag]gillâa;
Lâbâsi, son of Dumuḳ, son of Saggillâa.

Scribe: Marduk-bêl-irbâ, son of Šulâ, son of Ûṣur-âmat-Bêl. Babylon, month Sebat, fifteenth day, year ninth, Nabonidus king of Babylon."

NOTES ON THE WORDS, ETC.

OBVERSE.

1. Bêl-kaṣir, "Bêl binds up." Nadinu, "He who gives" (most likely an abbreviated name). Saggillâa, a corruption of E-sagilâa, "the Ê-sagilite," that is, one employed at the temple called Ê-sagila, in Babylon.

3. Bît-turnî, "house of Turnî." The third character (ni) is doubtful, as there may be only, in reality, one upright wedge, instead of two, intended. If this be the case, we must read Bît-mâr-banî, "the house of the born son," probably the place where official deeds or declarations of "born-sonship" (mâr-banûtu, a privilege conferred on slaves) were drawn up, or where such slaves as possessed that privilege were registered. For translations of tablets relating to this privilege, see the "Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon," pp. 94 and 96.

4. tûldu. 3d pers. fem. Kal of âlādu, "to bear," Heb. יָלַד. Bêl-ukîn, "Bêl has established."

5. lapanî, Heb. לְפָנִי. In Assyrian not only "before," but also "formerly," "at a former time," as here.

6. Nikūdu, Heb. נְקֻדָא (Friedrich Delitzsch, "Prolegomena," p. 212). Nûr-Sin, "light of the moon-god," or "a light is the moon-god." mutu, "husband," cf. Heb. מְתִים, "men."

7. ana mârūti laḳû, "to take to sonship" = "to adopt;" mârūtu, abstract from mâru, "son" (f. mârtu); lûlkê, 1st pers. Precative Kal of laku or lēkû, Heb. לָקַח.

8. IM DUB, the usual group indicating a sealed tablet. The Semitic transcription is doubtful, but is probably kangu, from the root kanāku, "to seal," (cf. WAI., V., pl. 32, l. 19 *abc*. By carelessness on the part of the lithographer, kan is printed as *i* in both lines 18 and 19).

9. tîšab, a very uncommon form, which seems to be the Aorist Kal, 2d pers. sing., with î for û in the first syllable, from âsābu, "to sit;" but which

Digitized by Google

is probably (judging from its transitive force, and from its being accompanied by the Imperative kunuk, line 10) Imperative from a Tiphel conjugation of the same form. Compare the Arabic 5th and 6th forms. êskēti, plural of êsku, "a (periodical) gift," generally expressed, as here, by the group giš-šub-ba.

10. kunuk, Imperative Kal of kanāku, "to seal," whence kangu (for kanku), etc. šudgil, Imperative Shuphul (IV. 1) of dagāl, "to look," then "to look to," "to trust," Shuphul "to entrust to," "bequeath."

11. kâtīni, "our hands." The dual is not to be read here, as the phonetic complement *i* shows. The two short upright wedges merely show that the character šu has here its common meaning of "hand."

12. manma šanâmma ana lâ lakê, "any other is not to take," "no other whatever is to take," or "by no other whatever is to be taken." šanâmma, Accusative of šanû, "other" with suffixed -ma. ana lâ lakê, "not to take," also "not to be taken;" a not uncommon idiom.

14. NIG-LAG, lit., "what (= that which) is a gift." nig (Akk.) = mimma, "something," "anything;" and lag = kurbannu, "a gift" (cf. Heb. קָרְבָּן). The Akkadian nig was also weakened to ni, ig, or *i*, the first and the last being the forms most suited to make compounds, so that the accepted Akkadian reading was probably nilag or ilag. As, in Babylonian texts, we sometimes find the group nig-lag followed by the character ku, it is not unlikely that the word was borrowed by them under the form of nîlakku or îlakku. The plural (l. 18) should most likely be (n)îlakkāti.

16. ittalku, Pres. or Aor. of the secondary form of the Kal of âlāku "to go" (ittalku for i'talku). "To go to one's fate" = "to die."

18. ittamladu (pronounce ittawladu, with consonantal *w*, not with the diphthong *aw*), secondary form of the Niphal of âlādu ('alādu = walādu), Heb. יָלַד.

19. ilikkî, Pres. or Fut. Kal of lakû (see the note to line 7. This form is given as ilikkê at the end of line 21, where, however, it was probably followed by -ma.

21. zîtti (pl. zînāte), noun from the root zânu. Cf. Arab. زان, "to ornament," زَيَّن, "to decorate" (houses or walls, with carpet, etc.). Hence, apparently, the Assyrian meaning of "property" for the noun zîttu.

REVERSE.

8. Ûṣur-âmat-Bêl, "Keep the command of Bêl." The characters may, however, be read as one of the names of the god Hea (Ea or Ae) in which case his name must be substituted for that of Bêl.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

By William Henry Bennett,

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

II.

HEBREW AND ENGLISH.

Our great debt to German Hebrew scholars is not without its disadvantages. Its necessary indirectness is a misfortune. Our English hand-books, even when not translations or editions of German works, have something of the character of an adaptation, for the use of English students, of an exposition of the theory of Hebrew Syntax prepared for German students, and such an adaptation, however scientifically correct, is apt to lack force and clearness.

German, too, is not the most desirable medium through which to study Hebrew. It is massive, and perhaps somewhat rigid, whereas Hebrew is elastic. For instance, German rejoices in polysyllabic compounds, and Hebrew, except in proper names, has no compounds at all; nor is there anything in the use of the Hebrew verb parallel to the German custom of accumulating auxiliaries at the end of a sentence.

Perhaps, however, the disadvantages of studying Hebrew through German are rather negative than positive. It is not so much that we are misled by Germanisms as that we lose the analogies furnished by our own language, and authorities are not careful to express themselves according to the terms of modern English grammar. They seem to think that modern Hebrew Syntax may be expressed by English Syntax of the times when English was chiefly looked upon as a vehicle for translations of Greek and Latin, and its tenses named after the Greek and Latin tenses they most frequently translated.

Driver, indeed, furnishes us with a beginning of better things; but even here there seems room for improvement under this head.

For instance, he emphasizes (p. 2) the disinction between *order* and *kind* of time, and states (p. 4) that as regards *kind* of time we are by no means sensitive. Now Dr. R. Morris, in his English Grammar (p. 54), having given as the three tenses Past, Present and Future, adds that each tense has four forms, according to the state of the action, viz., Indefinite, Progressive or Imperfect, Completed or Perfect, Perfect and Progressive. This state of the action corresponds to Driver's kind of time. Is it fair to say of a language that expresses kind of time so fully that it is by no means sensitive as regards this quality. True, authors who constructed English Syntax on the basis of Latin grammar, may have lacked sensitiveness in this particular; but then Hebrew grammars are still in use which speak chiefly of the Past and Future.

Digitized by Google

It follows from this ignoring of the terms of modern English Syntax that the terms "present," "perfect," "imperfect," etc., are used without any closer definition, and vagueness and ambiguity are introduced, where clearness would have been gained by using the double terms which express both order and kind of time, e. g., Present Perfect.

We may first notice that in English in its present form, as in Hebrew, we have only two tense forms obtained by inflection, the Present Indefinite and Past Indefinite. Moreover, the Subjunctive form is now, except in the first and second person singular, identical with the form of the Present Indefinite, just as in Hebrew the same form is used for the Imperfect and for the Jussive. Hence, as Driver (p. 74) points out, there is an ambiguity in English between the Indicative and Subjunctive which serves to illustrate that in Hebrew between the Imperfect and the Jussive. This same coincidence of form between the Indicative and Subjunctive illustrates Driver's contention (pp. 95, 96) that the coincidence of form in the Jussive and the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is accidental. We see that in English the Indicative Present Plural "berath" and the Present Subjunctive "beren" give us in modern English one form, "bear," for both Indicative and Subjunctive (Morris' Historical Outlines of English Accidence, pp. 173, 174), just as, according to Driver, in Hebrew the Imperfect after Waw Cons. and the Jussive arrive at the same form through independent processes of development and not through connection in sense.

We pass on to the

USES OF THE PERFECT.

In a previous note we implied that the English Perfect might approximately be held to include the uses of the Hebrew Perfect, as regards the Past, Perfect and Pluperfect, the Hebrew Perfect of affirmation and the Hebrew Perfect used as a Present.

Now Davidson's general table of the uses of the Perfect (p. 51) is as follows:

a.	The Aorist (Past)	*he killed*
b.	The Perfect	*he has killed*
c.	The Pluperfect	*he had killed*
d.	The Future Perfect	*he shall have killed*

Here we may notice that Davidson does not feel it necessary to include in his general sketch the uses of the Perfect as a Present or Future Indefinite.

Again the forms in *b*, *c*, *d* are the three tenses of the English Perfect, thus,

he has killed	Present Perfect
he had killed	Past Perfect
he shall have killed	Future Perfect

Hence it appears that in English this *kind* or *state* of time is fully recognized, and that English grammars include under the English Perfect just those forms which are given in Hebrew grammars as the English equivalents of the Hebrew

Digitized by Google

Perfect. Herein at least English grammar seems fully sensitive to kind of time. Also under this head we may notice another point. The student as he reads such a sketch as Davidson's is struck with the fact that one Hebrew form may have so many English equivalents, and mentally notes it as a characteristic difficulty of the Hebrew language. The tone of most hand-books on the subject tends to foster this feeling, and doubtless the feeling is largely true. But similar characteristics exist in English, and the difficulty is one of degree rather than of kind.

For instance, in English the form of the Present Perfect, *he has killed*, is used as Aorist, Perfect and Future Perfect.

The best illustration of the use of the Present Perfect for an Aorist or Indefinite Past is perhaps given by those cases in which English idiom compels us to translate a Greek Aorist by a Present Perfect. For instance, in Luke XIV. 18 ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα, etc., the sense is plainly that of an Aorist, and yet it is scarcely possible to translate in English "I bought a field and therefore I cannot come;" we say rather "I have bought, etc." (Moulton's Translation of Winer, p. 345.)

The use as Perfect or Present Perfect is, of course, the ordinary way.

The Present Perfect form is commonly used for the Future Perfect in such sentences as: "If he has finished his work when you see him, ask him to come here;" which is equivalent to "If he shall have finished, etc."

Even the rarer uses of the Hebrew Perfect have some parallels in those of the English Present Perfect. Take, for instance, Davidson's example of the Perfect of Experience, Ps. LXXXIV. 4, "The swallow finds מצאה a home," the English Version "hath found" equally expresses a general truth of experience, just as "Nature has provided birds with wings" is as good English as "Nature provides birds with wings."

In the case of stative verbs and verbs like ידע it might perhaps be as accurate to say that English uses a Present Indefinite for a Present Perfect, as to say that Hebrew uses the Present Perfect as Indefinite. "I know" = "I have learnt;" "I am old" = "I have become old," and so with many other such words.

Again, in the case of the Prophetic Perfect and Perfect of Strong Affirmation, it is not that a Past tense or Perfect form is used for a Future tense or Imperfect form; but the speaker, as in the case of Ephron the Hittite, wishes to represent the Future or Imperfect as Past or Perfect, and so uses the Past or Perfect, intending it to carry its own meaning. The English student feels the propriety of the Perfect, and feels an English Present Perfect, though not idiomatic, would be perfectly intelligible, and that "I have given" for נתתי would be a fair equivalent for the English expression used in such cases "It is yours already."

We obtain similar results from examining

THE USES OF THE IMPERFECTS.

Davidson's sketch (p. 54) is as follows:

Digitized by Google

a. The Present, *he kills* (especially of general truths).

b. The Imperfect, *he killed* (particularly of repeated past acts).

c. The Future, *he will kill*.

d. The Potential, *he may* or *can*, might, could, would, etc., kill.

It is true that the usages thus given as belonging to the Imperfect "kind of time" do not cover the same area as those of any one English "state of the action;" but curiously enough they have most in common with some of the usages of the forms of the English Indefinite.

Thus the English forms under *a*, *b*, and *c*, are those of the English Present, Past and Future Indefinite respectively. The English Present Indefinite is commonly used of general truths, and we find the Past Indefinite for repeated actions thus: "He got up at six every morning."

Here again many of the meanings included in this group may be expressed by one English form, either the Present Indefinite or the Future Indefinite.

The Present Indefinite is used of course of the present, very commonly of general truths; it is used of past actions whether single or frequentative, as the Historical Present; it is also used of the Future in such sentences as: "Next year my brother comes home." It has already been pointed out that a form sometimes similar to, sometimes identical with the Indicative Present Indefinite is used as a Subjunctive, which would cover some of the uses of *d*. This last resemblance is, however, accidental.

But on the other hand, the Future Indefinite is also used of general truths, and even of a single fact, as: "This will be your brother." It is true that in the latter case, as more or less in other cases of the Future, the usage is more or less due to the influence of the meaning of "will" as an auxiliary; but this does not alter the fact that the same *form* is used for these different senses. Again, of course, the Future Indefinite is used of the Future; and is in some cases equivalent to some of the Potential uses of the Hebrew Imperfect. It is even used of the Past where the main tense of a narrative is the Historical Present. Thus, in Byron's Siege of Corinth, stanza XXVI., the tenses are chiefly Historical Presents, but we have two lines:

"There is not a banner in Moslem war
Will lure the Delhis half so far."

It is true that this usage may be due to the writer placing himself at the point of view of the actors in his narrative; but then a similar explanation might plausibly account for many Hebrew Imperfects.

The use of the Hebrew Imperfect for repeated action in the past finds its parallel in English in the use of the auxiliary "would" (the past of the auxiliary "will") which is used for the future. So that, though the forms for the Future and what we might call the Frequentative Past are not the same in English (as they are in Hebrew), yet they are very closely connected. Thus we

Digitized by Google

claim that English Syntax is sensitive to and capable of fully expressing the Hebrew kinds of time Perfect and Imperfect; and also that the usages of English forms in different senses closely parallel similar usages of the Hebrew Perfect and Imperfect.

English also affords examples of frequent and rapid change of tense parallel to the changes from Perfect to Imperfect in Hebrew poetry. In English poetry the Historical Present and the Narrative Past alternate pretty frequently with one another.

TENSES OF JOSHUA XV.–XIX.

In reading these chapters we are struck by the frequent occurrence of series of Perfects with Waw, where we should have expected either simple Perfects or Imperfects with Waw.

These series occur in the descriptions of the boundaries of the several tribes. The most complete are those in ch. XV. and ch. XVIII. 11, and which give the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. The series in XVI. 1—XVII. 10 giving the boundaries of the sons of Joseph is more broken, and the account seems to have been curtailed. The accounts of the territories of Simeon and Dan are quite different in form, and consist almost entirely of lists of cities. In the cases of Zebulon, Issachar and Asher and Naphtali such tenses as occur are almost entirely Perfects with Waw, but the accounts consist chiefly of bare lists of names, and it is noticeable that in these four accounts two verbs, שׁב and פנע, are used freely, though in all the other accounts only פנע is found, and that only once in the case of the sons of Joseph.

This account of the division of the land is interrupted by historical episodes in which the usual narrative tenses, the simple Perfect and the Imperfect with Waw Cons., are used. Moreover, at the head of each account stands a verse or more in which narrative tenses occur, and some of the accounts conclude with a note as to the survival of the Canaanites, and here, too, narrative tenses are used. Sometimes a narrative tense, or tenses, will be found in close connection with these series of Perfects with Waw; here and there a simple Imperfect is found.

These series are chiefly made up of the verbs היה, הלך, יצא, ירד, עלה, עבר, סבב, פנע, שׁוב, תאר, variously repeated and combined; and an account often closes with the formula והיו תצאותי.[1]

The reader feels at once that, as Driver says: "In the teeth of the constant usage in the preceding portion of the book, it is highly improbable that the Perfect and Waw should be a *mere* alternative for ו." However, in XV. 4 the clause זה יהיה לכם גבול נגב suggests that these series do not properly

[1] The tenses in these chapters are dealt with by Driver at some length on pp. 172, 173; and the references to Driver in this note are to one or other of these pages.

Digitized by Google

belong to a narrative, but to an address or discourse; that all these tenses, difficult as they are in straightforward narrative, would be quite in place in the text of a decree or law settling the boundaries.

But Driver deprives us of any light or guidance which we might derive from לכם, by setting it down as an undoubted error, arising from a copyist imagining the verb to express a command. He states that the context is entirely out of harmony with such a sense, points out that elsewhere the pronouns are all in the third person and appeals to the LXX. which reads *αὐτῶν*. The last consideration is not, perhaps, very weighty when we remember that the LXX. is not without a tendency to avoid difficulties by simplifying the text. As to the context, if the whole be narrative and the tenses frequentative, it might be very difficult to take this particular clause or passage as a command; but we shall venture to suggest a theory which would remove or account for this difficulty and possibly also for the solitary second person. It may be noticed as to this second person that there are very few personal pronouns in the clauses in which the Perfects with Waw occur.

One reason on which Driver specially dwells in maintaining that these tenses are frequentative is the occasional occurrence among them of Imperfects; it is obvious that these Imperfects would be perfectly in place if the tenses belonged to a command.

In opposition to this view of Driver we are inclined to follow the suggestion of the לכם (or להם, if לכם be a false reading of the copyist, who altered להם into לכם), and to take these tenses as belonging to a command.

We may suppose that the author of the Book of Joshua had before him official documents containing the decrees fixing the boundaries of the tribes, that these decrees naturally ran in Perfects with Waw and Imperfects, "The boundary shall be, etc." The author selected such portions of these documents as were suitable for his purpose, and inserted them in his book, preserving them, possibly out of special reverence and desire for accuracy, in their original form. He found it convenient to append headings and notes, in which, as part of his own narrative, he used narrative tenses; and he may have used some device, such as spacing, where moderns would use inverted commas, to indicate that he was quoting the precise words of his authority. Origen's system of obelisks is a proof that marks within the text are not an exclusively modern idea. It is possible also that to the writer of the Book of Joshua it may have seemed so obvious that these tenses must belong to an address rather than to a narrative, that he may not have thought it necessary to guard against mistake by any mechanical device. That such mechanical device, if used, should be lost sight of and omitted is rendered extremely probable by the history of the text of the Septuagint in its relation to Origen's Hexapla, the double renderings of a single passage being due to the omission of marks which showed such renderings to be alternative.

Digitized by Google

We allege in support of this theory—

(1) It accounts simply and easily for the tenses in these sections, and explains why, for a few clauses at the beginning and end, and sometimes for what may be an explanatory note in the middle of an account of a tribe's boundaries, we should find narrative tenses, and elsewhere Imperfects and Perfects with Waw. Driver does not explain why, without any change of subject-matter, we change from initial narrative tenses to frequentative ones. Why should the writer always begin to describe a border with narrative tenses and drop off into frequentatives?

(2) This theory also offers us an explanation of the solitary second personal pronoun לכם. In the first place, if we separate XV. 1, 2 and the last sentence of XV. 12 on the ground of the occurrence in them of narrative tenses, and confine ourselves to the verses containing the series of Perfects with Waw and Imperfects, this is the only personal pronoun referring to the children of Judah which occurs in the section.

It is thus possible that the document in this particular case may have been derived from some official archives of the tribe of Judah; wherein, as specially intended for the tribe of Judah, the children of Judah might be addressed in the second person.

(3) Many of those sections of the Pentateuch which are devoted to legislation, use the Perfect with Waw almost exclusively, and the second person does not occur in them. Yet these are commands addressed to the people or to Moses as their representative, e. g., Lev. XIII. Hence the style of these sections is the same as that of sections which are undoubtedly devoted to legislation.

(4) The theory that the writer used documents written in a different person to that of his main narrative, may perhaps be slightly supported by the K'thibh reading עד עברנו (Q'ri עד עברם) of Josh. v. 1. It is just possible that the writer intended to alter the persons of a narrative in the first person to suit a narrative in the third person, and by oversight left this particular case unaltered.

This supposition does not commit us to the view that the original document was written by a contemporary of the events described. The "us" (נו) may be used of the nation, as an Englishman might say to-day "We conquered at Waterloo."

(5) There are other cases which do not seem to yield very readily to the ordinary Syntax of the tenses; and in these cases also we can explain the presence of Perfects with Waw, and Imperfects, by assuming the introduction into the narrative of word-for-word quotations from documents possibly well known.

For instance, in Neh. III. 14, 15 there occur some rather difficult tenses, and Driver recommends his readers to examine these for themselves, but does not offer them any help. These verses occur in the account of the building of

Digitized by Google

the wall. Both the verses begin with simple Perfects and contain a clause with simple Imperfects, in one case two, and in the other, three; the clause with the three Imperfects only differs from the others by the insertion of another word.

Is it possible that here also we have quotations from some document which gave the directions for building as a command, that in the other verses the quotations have been modified, but here for some reason left unaltered?

The theory is now very widely current that many books were composed by a recension and combination of parts of previously existing works. If this is true, it is scarcely possible but that some such accidents as the one assumed above should happen.

The presence of simple Perfects here and there in close connection with Perfects with Waw, e. g., in XIX. 34, may readily be accounted for—

(1) By the close connection with the main series of tenses of what was originally separated as an explanatory note or addition.

(2) By the tendency of copyists to assimilate the tenses to what might seem to them the more natural narrative tenses.

(3) By other errors of copyists.

Thus in XIX. 34 ופנע בזבלון מנגב ובאשר פנע מים, the second פנע may be an accidental repetition of the first, the פנע and the באשר may have been transposed at a time when ופנע and פנע....ו were used interchangeably, or the original document may have omitted to state the fact as to the border westwards, and the author of the Book of Joshua may have added it.

Digitized by Google

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.,
Allegheny City, Pa.

III.

Proverbs.

VI. 22. "When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee."

"When thou goest, it shall lead thee," in this world; "when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee," in the hour of death; "and when thou awakest in the days of the Messiah, it shall talk with thee," in the world to come.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 74, col. 2.

Ecclesiastes.

I. 9. "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun."

Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: The last Redeemer will be like the first (Moses), as the first put his wife and his sons upon an ass (Exod. iv. 20), the last one will also ride upon an ass; as the first fed his people with manna (Exod. xvi. 4), so will the last one also bring manna down from heaven (Ps. lxxii. 16); as the first made rise the well, so will the last one also bring forth water (Joel iii. 18). Thus here is something of which it is said, Behold this is something new; but it has already been.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* or *Coheleth* in loco.

I. 11. "Neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after."

Targum: There shall be no memorial of them with the generation which shall be in the days of King Messiah.

VII. 24. "That which is far off, and exceeding deep, who can find it out?"

Targum: Behold, now, it is far off from the children of men to know all that has been from the beginning of the days of the world, also the secret of the day of death, and the secret of the day that King Messiah shall come; who is he that shall find it out by wisdom?

XI. 8. "But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all," etc.

If a man lives many years, let him rejoice in the joy of the law, but let him also remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many; and much as he may have learned, yet it is empty before the teaching of the Messiah.—*Midrash* in loco.

Digitized by Google

XII. 1. "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not," etc.

Rabbi Hiya, the son of Nehemiah, says, Those days are meant which will be such that there will be neither guilt nor merit.—*Midrash* in loco.

"The evil days" are old age; and "the years" are the days of Messiah, when there will be no merit and no guilt.—*Talmud Shabbath*, fol. 151, col. 2.

SONG OF SOLOMON.[1]

I. 8.—"If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherd's tent."

Targum: The Holy One, blessed be he! said to Moses the prophet, It is required of them that they may do away the captivity, that the assembly which is like to a fair virgin whom my soul loveth, walk in the path of the righteous, that she order the prayers according to the mouth of her princes, that she guide her offspring, and that she teach her sons, who are like to kids of the goats, to go to the house of the congregation, and to the house of inquiry. And in this righteousness they shall be sustained in the captivity until the time that I shall send King Messiah, and he shall conduct them into rest to their dwelling places, namely, to the house of the sanctuary, which David and Solomon and the shepherds of Israel do build for them.

I. 17. "The beams of our house are cedar, and our rafters of fir."

Targum: Solomon, the prophet, said: "How beautiful is the house of the sanctuary of the Lord, which is built by my hands, of wood of Gulmish; but far more beautiful will be the house of the sanctuary which shall be built in the days of the King Messiah, the beams of which will be of the cedars of the garden of Eden, and whose rafters will be of cypress, pine and box."

II. 8. "The voice of my beloved; behold, he cometh leaping," etc.

Rabbi Hunya said in the name of Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, "The voice of my beloved, behold he cometh," this is the King Messiah.—*Midrash* in loco.[2]

II. 9. "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold he standeth behind our wall," etc.

Rabbi Isaac said: As the roe appears and disappears, so also did the first Messiah appear before them and then disappear.... Now as the first Redeemer, so is also the last Redeemer. As the first appeared and disappeared, so likewise the last. And how long will he be hid from them? According to Rabbi Tanchuma in the name of Rabbi Hama, the son of Rabbi Hanina, and according to Rabbi Nehemiah in the name of Rabbi Hoshaya, forty-five

---

[1] Wherever in the Book of Song of Solomon the name Solomon is mentioned, it applies not to Solomon, but to him who is the peace, excepting viii. 12, where Solomon speaks of himself.—*Talmud Shebuoth*, fol. 35, col. 2.

[2] The same we find in the *Yalkut* and in the *Pesikta* in loco.

Digitized by Google

days, as it is said: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (Dan. XII. 11, 12). And how much are the other days? Forty-five days, in which Messiah will appear and then disappear.—*Pesikta* (ed. Buber) p. 49*ab*.

II. 10–12. "My beloved spake and said unto me," etc.

"My beloved spake," i. e., through Elijah; "and said unto me" through the King Messiah. What does he say to me? "Rise up, my love, my fair one! for, lo, the winter," i. e., the reign of the Cutheans, who persuaded the world and led it astray by its lies "is past; the rain," i. e., subjection, "is gone and over; the flowers," i. e., the signs of victory, "appear on the earth." Which are they? Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: Those four carpenters (cf. Zech. I. 20), viz., Elijah, King Messiah, Melchizedek and the anointed warrior. "The time of the singing is come," i. e., the time is come to redeem Israel; "and the voice of the turtle," i. e., the voice of the King Messiah, "is heard in our land," which exclaims: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings" (Isa. LII. 7).—*Midrash* in loco; *Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 49.

II. 13. "The fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell."

Rabbi Hiya bar Abba said: The days of the Messiah will be preceded by a great plague, which will destroy the wicked. "And the vines with the tender grape," etc. This refers to those who are left, as it is said, "He that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem" (Isa. IV. 3).—*Midrash* in loco; *Pesikta*, l. c.

III. 11. "In the day of his espousals and in the day of the gladness of his heart." This denotes the days of the Messiah, because the Holy One, blessed be he! is likened to a bridegroom, "as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride" (Isa. LXII. 5); "and in the day of the gladness of his heart" refers to the rebuilding of the temple (for it is said): "And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people" (Isa. LXV. 19).—*Yalkut* in loco (vol. II. p. 178*d*).

IV. 5. "The two breasts are like two young roes that are twins," etc.

Targum: Two deliverers there shall be to deliver thee, Messiah, Son of David, and Messiah, Son of Ephraim, who are like to Moses and Aaron, the sons of Jochebed, who were as two fair gazelles that are twins.

IV. 16. "Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south."

This refers to King Messiah, who is in a northern region, that he may come and rebuild the sanctuary, which is to be in the south.—*Midrash* in loco.

VI. 10. "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning," etc.

This signifies the redemption of the Messiah. For as, when the morning

Digitized by Google

rises, the darkness flees before it, so shall darkness fall upon the kingdoms of this world when the Messiah comes. And yet again, as "the sun and moon appear, so will the kingdom of the Messiah also appear."[1]—*Yalkut* in loco, (II., fol. 180, col. 3).

VII. 6. "How fair and how pleasant art thou."

How fair art thou by the exercise of commandments, how pleasant by kindness....how fair in good works, how pleasant in this world; how fair in the world to come, how pleasant in the days of the Messiah.—*Midrash* in loco.

VII. 13. "The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits," etc.

Targum: And when it shall please the Lord to redeem his people from captivity, it shall be said to King Messiah, Now the end of the captivity is come, and the righteousness of the righteous smelleth sweet before me, as the smell of balsam.

VIII. 1. "O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother," etc.

Targum: And at that time shall King Messiah be revealed to the congregation of Israel. Then shall the children of Israel say to him, Come, be thou with us for a brother, and we will go up to Jerusalem, and we will suck with thee the meanings of the law, even as a suckling sucketh the breasts of its mother.

VIII. 2. "I would lead thee, and bring thee into my mother's house, who would instruct me."

Targum: I will lead thee, O King Messiah, and I will bring thee to the house of my sanctuary, and thou shalt teach me to fear before the Lord, and to walk in his ways, and there will we keep the feast of Leviathan,[2] and we will drink old wine, which has been reserved in its grapes since the day the world was created, and of the pomegranates, the fruits which are prepared for the righteous in the garden of Eden.

---

[1] That the morning was looked upon as the emblem of redemption, we see from the following: Rabbi Hiya, the Great, and Rabbi Simeon, the son of Halaphta, once walked together before sunrise in the valley of Arbela, when the hind of the morning announced the dawn of the day. Verily, said Rabbi Hiya to Rabbi Simeon, so is Israel's redemption. It commences little and insignificant, as the prophet says: "When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me" (Mic. vii. 8), but with increasing power it completes itself (as is seen from the history of Esther, cf. Esth. ii. 19; vi. 11; viii. 15, 16).—*Jerus. Talmud Berachoth*, fol. 2, col. 3.

[2] The Jews expect a very sumptuous feast to be made for the righteous in the days of the Messiah, which will consist of all sorts of flesh, fish and fowl. The Jewish liturgy for the feast of Pentecost has the following: "He will certainly bestow on us the portion which he has promised us of old. The sporting of Leviathan with the ox of the high mountains (alluding to the Behemoth), when they shall approach each other and engage in battle. With his horn he thrusts at the mightiest beasts, but the Leviathan will leap towards him with his fins and great strength. His creator will then approach him with his great sword, and will prepare him for a banquet for the righteous, who will be seated at a table formed of jasper and carbuncle, with a river of balm flowing before them. When they will delight themselves and be satiated with the bowls of wine prepared at the creation, and reserved in the wine-press."

Digitized by Google

VIII. 4. "I charge you, O daughter of Jerusalem."

Targum: King Messiah shall say, I adjure you, O my people of the house of Israel, wherefore do ye contend against the people of the land, (desiring) to go out of captivity? And wherefore do ye rise up against the army of Gog and Magog? Tarry ye a little, till the people be consumed who have gone up to wage war against Jerusalem, and afterwards the Lord of the world will remember unto you the mercies of the righteous, and it shall be pleasure before him to redeem you.

VIII. 11. "A thousand pieces of silver."

These words refer to the kingdom of heaven.—*Talmud Shebuoth*, fol. 35, col. 2.

ISAIAH.

I. 25, 26. "And I will turn my hand upon thee," etc.

Rabbi Simlai said in the name of Rabbi Elieser, the son of Rabbi Simeon: The son of David shall not come till all the judges and rulers in Israel shall have ceased, for it is said: "And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin, and I will restore thy judges."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

IV. 2. "In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel."

Targum: At that time the Messiah of the Lord shall be for joy and for glory, and the doers of the law for magnificence and for praise, for them that are escaped of Israel."

VI. 13. "But yet it shall be a tenth, and it shall return," etc.

Rabbi Seira said that Rabbi Jeremiah, the son of Abba, said, In the time in which Messiah shall come, hostilities will increase against the wise men, as it has been said before that Samuel said one suffering after the other, for it is said, "But yet it shall be," etc.—*Talmud Kethuboth*, fol. 112, col. 2.

VIII. 14. "And he shall be for a sanctuary, and for a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence," etc.

Jehudah and Hezekiah, the sons of Rabbi Hiyah, were sitting at a meal, in the presence of Rabbi, without uttering a word. Give some wine to the boys, exclaimed Rabbi, that they may feel encouraged to say something. When they had drunk the wine, they opened their mouths, and said: The Son of David will not come, until the two patriarchal houses of Israel shall cease, that is, the Head of the captivity in Babylon, and the Prince in the land of Israel; for it is said: "And he shall be for a sanctuary," etc. My children, exclaimed Rabbi, you are thrusting thorns into my eyes. Said Rabbi Hiya, Rabbi,

Digitized by Google

take it not ill of them; wine is given with seventy,[1] and so is a secret, when the wine comes in, the secret goes out.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 38, col. 1.

IX. 6. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon," etc.

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachman, said: When Esau met Jacob, he said to him: My brother Jacob, let us walk together in this world. Jacob replied: "Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant" (Gen. XXXIII. 14). What is the meaning of "I pray thee, pass over"? Jacob said to him: I have yet to supply the King Messiah, of whom it is said, "Unto us a child is born." —*Midrash on Deuteronomy*, sec. 1 (on chap. II. 4).

Targum: The prophet said to the house of David, For unto us a child is born, to us a son is given, and he shall receive the law upon him to keep it, and his name is called from eternity, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Continuing for ever, the Messiah; for peace shall be multiplied upon us in his days.

IX. 7. "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end," etc.

Rabbi Nathan said, "and give thee peace" (Num. VI. 26) means the peace of the government of the house of David, as it is said, "of the increase," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers*, VI. 22, sec. 11; *Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 12, col. 2.

Bar Kapara expounded at Sepphoris: Why is the word לסרבה, "the increase," written with a closed mem (the *final* mem ם, and not with the usual mem מ)? The Holy One, blessed be he! wished to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog. But the attribute of judgment pleaded against it, and said, David the king of Israel repeated so many songs and praises, and thou hast not made him the Messiah; and yet thou art thinking of making Hezekiah the Messiah, for whose sake so many miracles have been performed, and who, nevertheless, has not repeated one song of praise! So that counsel was closed (and hence the closed mem).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 94, col. 1.

X. 27. "And it shall come to pass in that day that his burden shall be taken away," etc.

Targum: And it shall come to pass.... and the people shall be broken before Messiah.

XI. 1. "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots."

Targum: And there shall go forth a king from the sons of Jesse, and Messiah shall be anointed from his children's children. See also Ps. CX. 2.

XI. 2. "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and," etc.

---

[1] The word "wine" is in Hebrew יין, which has the numerical value (i. e., י = 50 + י = 10 + י = 10) of seventy, so also the word "secret," i. e., סוד: ד = 4 + ו = 6 + ס = 60, = 70.

Digitized by Google

Concerning the Messiah it is written: "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 93, col. 2. See also Gen. I. 2.

XI. 3. "And shall make him of quick understanding (or scent) in the fear of the Lord, and he shall," etc.

On this the Talmud remarks: Rabbi Alexander says: The word וְהֲרִיחוֹ (i. e., his scent) teaches us that the Holy One has laden the Messiah with commandments and sufferings which were as heavy as millstones.... Bar Coziba reigned two years and a half, and he told the Rabbis that he was the Messiah. They replied, It is written of Messiah that he would scent out the good; canst thou do the same? When they saw that he could not do it, they slew him.—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 93, col. 2.

XI. 6. "The wolf shall also dwell with the lamb."

Targum: In the day of Israel's Messiah, peace shall be multiplied on earth.

XI. 10. "And in that day there shall be a record."

Cf. Gen. XLIX. 10.

XIV. 29. "Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken, for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice," etc.

Targum: Rejoice not....for from the children's children of Jesse shall proceed Messiah, and his works shall be among you as flying serpents.

XVI. 1. "Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land," etc.

Targum: They will bring tributes to the Messiah of Israel.

XVI. 5. "And in mercy shall the throne be established."

Then Israel's Messiah shall establish his throne in mercy.

XVIII. 5. "He shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning-knives," etc.

Rabbi Hama, the son of Hanina, said: The Son of David will not come until the despicable government be destroyed from Israel; for it is said: "And he shall cut off the sprigs with pruning-knives," and it is also written further on: "In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people scattered and peeled" (*ibid.* v. 7).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

XXI. 11, 12. "The burden of Dumah. He called to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, the morning cometh," etc.

Rabbi Hanina, the son of Rabbi Abuhu, said in the codex of Rabbi Meïr, I found "the burden of Dumah" written "burden of Rome." Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: When one asks you: Where is your God?—answer: In the great city of Rome; for it is said: "He calleth to me out of Seïr." Rabbi Simeon, the son of Yochaï, said: Wherever the Israelites were banished, the Shechinah was banished with them. They were banished into Egypt, and the Shechinah was banished with them, and this is the meaning of "Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house?" (1 Sam. II. 27). They were banished to Babylon, and so

Digitized by Google

also the Shechinah, for it is written: "For your sake I have sent to Babylon" (Isa. XLIII. 14). They were banished to Media, and so the Shechinah, "And I will set my throne in Elam" (Jer. XLIX. 38), where Elam means Media, as it is said: "And I was at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam" (Dan. VIII. 2). They were banished to Greece, and so the Shechinah, as it is said: "And I raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece" (Zech. IX. 13). They were banished to Rome, and so the Shechinah, as it is said: "He calleth me out of Seïr, Watchman, what of the night?" The Israelites said to Isaiah: Isaiah, our master, what shall yet happen to us from this night? Wait, he replied, I will inquire. Having inquired, he returned to them and they asked again: "Watchman, what of the night? watchman, what of the night?" He replied, "The watchman said, the morning cometh." And night too? Yes, but not so as you think, replied he; the morning comes for the righteous and the night for the wicked, the morning for the Israelites and the night for the idolaters. They said to him, When? He replied: When ye seek (God), he seeks you too, as it is said: "If ye will enquire, enquire ye." They said to him, What keeps the morning back? He replied, Repentance; for it is said: "Return, come."—*Jer. Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1. What is the meaning of "It is a night to be much observed"? (Exod. XII. 42). (A night) in which God did great things to the righteous, as he did great things to the Israelites in Egypt. In that night he saved Hezekiah; in that night he saved Hananiah and his associates; in it he saved Daniel from the lion's den, and in that same night the Messiah and Elijah will prove themselves as great, as it is said: "The watchman said, the morning cometh, and also the night" (Isa. XXI. 12). —*Midrash on Exod.* XII. 41; sec. 18.

XXIII. 15. "According to the days of one king."

What king is this that is singled out as one? Thou must say, This is the King Messiah, and no other.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

XXIV. 23. "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed."

Why the pleonastic *waw* (in "and his offering" וקרבנו, Num. VII. 13)? Rabbi Bibi said in the name of Rabbi Reuben, This refers to the six things which were taken from the first man, but which return again with an offspring of Nahshon, which is the Messiah. These things are: his splendor, life, stature, the fruits of the earth, the fruits of the tree, and the light. His splendor, for it is said: "Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away" (Job XIV. 20); his life, for it is said: "For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. III. 19); his stature, for it is said: "And Adam hid himself" (Gen. III. 8); the fruits of the earth and the fruits of the tree, for it is said: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake" (Gen. III. 17); the lights, for it is said: "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed." —*Midrash on Numbers* VII. 13; sec. 13.

Digitized by Google

XXV. 8. "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."

On the festivals of the new moon, of dedication, and of purim, the mourning women may wail aloud and may clap the palms of their hands together, but must not sing funeral dirges; but when the corpse is interred, they must neither wail aloud, nor sing dirges...But of the future ages that are to come, it is said: "He shall swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."—*Talmud Moed Katon*, fol. 28, col. 2.

In this world we are given up to death on account of our sins, but in the world to come "he will swallow up death in victory," etc.—*Siphra in Yalkut on Leviticus*, XXIV. 31.

The ninth sign of the coming of the Messiah will be that death will cease, as it is said: "He will swallow up death in victory," etc.—*Midrash on Exod.* XII. 12; sec. 15.

XXVII. 13. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown," etc.

This passage is quoted in connection with the future deliverance.—*Talmud Rosh ha-Shanah*, fol. 11, col. 2.

The rabbis have taught: The ten tribes have no portion in the world to come; for it is said: "And the Lord rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation" (Deut. XXIX. 28). "And he rooted them out of their land," that is, from this world; "and cast them into another land," that is, the world to come. The words of Rabbi Akiva, Rabbi Simeon, the son of Jehudah of the village Acco, said in the name of Rabbi Simeon, If their designs continue as they are this day, they will not return; but if not, they will return. Rabbi says, they will enter the world to come; for it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 110, col. 2.

The Holy One, blessed be he! said: In this world I gave my law with the sound of a trumpet, but in the future I will gather your exiles with the sound of a trumpet, as it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day," etc.—*Yalkut on Num.* X. 2.

XXVIII. 5. "In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory."

Targum: In that time shall the Messiah of the Lord of hosts be a crown of joy.

Digitized by Google

THE PASSIVE OF QAL.

By L. N. Dembitz,

Louisville, Ky.

Should I ever edit a Hebrew grammar, I would set down as one of the paradigms of the verb, on an equal footing with the others, a Passive of the Qăl—standing in the same relation to it, as Pŭ'ăl stands to Pī'ēl and as Hŏph'ăl stands to Hĭph'îl.

The current teaching on the subject is, that, in biblical Hebrew, this Passive no longer exists, except in the Participle פָּעוּל, but that its Preterit and Future are lost. Until Jules Oppert proved the contrary, it was also thought that the Nunnation, and the end-vowels for case and mood were not to be found in biblical Hebrew; but we find them now in numerous places even in the voweling of the Massorites, and can never know in how many other places those gentlemen, in their zeal for a uniform grammar, suppressed them. They left the endings only where the letter of the text, aside from any voweling, compelled them to do so.

It is the same with the Passive Qăl. There is a small number of verbs in which (although there is no Pī'ēl or Hĭph'îl) Pŭ'ăl and Hŏph'ăl forms are used in the Passive sense, or in which these conjugations have not the sense of which the Passive is sought to be conveyed. The foremost of these words is לקח. There is no room either for an *intensive* or for a *causative*, of the verb "to take." Yet we find the Future יִקַּח and the Preterit לֻקְחָה; the former classed as Hŏph'ăl, the latter, though without the Dāghēš, as Pŭ'ăl, without any substantial reason why two conjugations should be chosen to furnish the two tenses. A glance at an Arabic grammar suggests the answer to the riddle; both forms are Qăl in the Passive. The form usually employed in Hebrew to denote the Passive is Nĭph'ăl; but the letters of the text would in neither case lend themselves to Nĭph'ăl; in the Future the loss of the ל precludes the reading יִלָּקַח. From the root נָתַן, we find in like manner יִתַּן which has no sense as a Hŏph'ăl, but is a Passive Qăl, by the side of יִנָּתֵן; yet we do not find נְתֻנָה in the Preterit, probably because the letters might just as well be read נִתְּנָה.

In like manner we have יִקַּם "will be avenged"—a so-called Hŏph'ăl, without a corresponding Hĭph'îl—and יְלֻדָה a pretended Pŭ'ăl, "she was born," where the Pī'ēl יָלַד would furnish an improper meaning, it being applied only to the act of midwifery. That לקח is the only word which has its Passive assigned to two conjugations, other than Nĭph'ăl, arises from the circumstance that in this word alone a letter other than נ is elided in the Future; hence it is the only word in which the letters cannot in either tense be voweled so as to produce a Nĭph'ăl.

Digitized by Google

One who takes the trouble will find a number of other passages, and of other verbs, beside the four roots (ילד, נקם, נתן, לקח) that I have named. After the Massorites had taken up the arbitrary notion that there must not be a short ŭ or ŏ in an open syllable, the Dāghēsh in יִלֶּדָה and the pretense of a Pŭ'ăl followed as a necessity. A more rational system of voweling than that which grew up on the corrupt pronunciation of Galilee, would show a much closer kinship between Hebrew grammar and that of classic Arabic, than the Massora discloses, though even there it may be read between the lines.

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Diqduq.—The word דִּקְדּוּק is derived from the root דָּקַק which signifies to beat small, to crush, to pulverize, whence the noun דַּק a thin covering, a veil, and the adjective דַּק fine, thin, small, subtle, etc. Although the verb itself, and its cognates and derivatives, are classical Hebrew, yet the term דִּקְדּוּק is altogether of rabbinical origin. In a figurative sense, the verb signifies to discuss, to be exact, or accurate, to analyze, separate, refine, criticise, the noun importing disquisition, accuracy, or exactness. Buxtorf, in his lexicon, defines דִּקְדּוּק thus, "*Subtilis et accurata disquisitio, grammatica.*" The term was appropriated by the Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages to designate *grammar*, and has been applied to that department of scientific study by the Jewish grammarians ever since. "Grammar," says G. J. Vossius, "is called by the rabbis דִּקְדּוּק, that is *subtilitas*, because it treats accurately, and in a refined manner, with utmost precision, the letters, points, inflections, and entire nature and constitution of words in the Hebrew language." So Buxtorf, "Grammar is the *ars bene loquendi Hebrais, hebraice.* In Hebrew, it is called דִּקְדּוּק." Whoever has studied Hebrew critically, in such grammars as those of Gesenius, Freytag, Hupfeld, Ewald, Stier, Nordheimer, Nägelsbach, or Green, or has been able to read the grammars of Chayug, Kimchi, or Ben Zeeb, will be at no loss to discover the remarkable propriety of the application of the rabbinical term to the critical and philosophical structure of the language, its phenomena, and laws. The term itself also reveals the wonderful critical spirit with which the mediæval Hebrew doctors set about the institution of grammatical science, so far as relates to the holy tongue. It acquaints us with the nature of their study, refined, incisive, exact, examining, with shrewdness and care, the letters and words of the language, their origin, nature, inflection, structure, and relations. This was the charm that constantly engaged their attention, since the era of the Massorite leaders, who, for the most part, contented themselves with the more elementary beginnings of grammatical science, such as connecting the letters, affixing the points and accents, noting the agreement or difference of words, as also their various writing, but not advancing, as did the mediæval scholars, to an observation of the genius of the language, describing its phenomena, ascertaining its laws, anomalies, and analogies, investigating its sources, or causes, and kindred relations, or gathering from the language itself whatever might make for the more sure interpretation of the Sacred Books. The men of the Massora, בַּעֲלֵי הַמָּסוֹרָה, did great service, in their labor to establish a correct text, giving, in doubt-

Digitized by Google

ful cases, both קְרִי and כְּתִיב, and by their system of pointing, preserving a true pronunciation, as, by their system of accents, not only indicating the tone-syllable, dividing the sentence, regulating the cantillation, and transmitting, in many important cases, the traditional interpretation, thus imparting great precision to the language, and making succeeding ages debtors to their toil. But their work, in comparison with that of the doctors of דִּקְדּוּק, was rather that which a Priscian and Aristarchus would have called by the name "*Grammatistica*," not "*Grammatica*." The work, on the other hand, of the noble Jewish scholars, beginning with the Karaite doctors in their contest with the Talmudists, exalted the treatment of the Hebrew language to the dignity of a true science, just such a critical and philosophical דִּקְדּוּק as the language required. Alting, in his admirable Grammar of the Punctuation of the Holy Tongue, has aptly said, "This is a firm persuasion in my mind, that only then will Hebrew grammar come to be a true דִּקְדּוּק, *Subtilitas*, when the various reasons of it, and of its pointing, are deduced from the fundamental principles of the language itself,"—an anticipation of the triumphs of more modern times.

Leopold Dukes informs us, in a foot-note to a passage in his *Literaturhistorische Mittheilungen*, that, in the Talmud, there is no distinct technical expression for the word *grammar*. The application of the words דִּקְדּוּק and מְדַקְדֵּק, the former to *grammar*, the latter to *grammarian*, is of later date. The words are indeed found in the Talmud, but are used simply to signify "to observe with scrutiny," or "to consider accurately," or "observe exactness"—(*Genauigkeit beobachten*) and, in this sense, are employed to designate the faithful following, or followers, of the Mosaic commandments. Subsequently, the term מְדַקְדֵּק came to signify the Hebrew punctator, because of the accuracy required in pointing the text. Dukes also informs us that Rabbi Menaḥem Ben Seruq was the first Jewish author in whom the expressions דִּקְדּוּק הַלָּשׁוֹן for grammar, and מְדַקְדְּקֵי הַלָּשׁוֹן for grammarians, of the Holy Tongue, are found. All that is meant, evidently, by this is that, antecedently to Menaḥem, the term דִּקְדּוּק was not used in combination with the other, a statement supported by abundant evidence drawn from the preceding treatises on grammatical science. The title of Saadia's "Grammatical Works" is מַלְאֶכֶת הַדִּקְדּוּק. The title of one of Rabbi Jonah Ben Giannach's book is *Kitab Al-Luma*, which Ewald renders *Buch der Untersuchung* (*Book of Investigation*) and substantially equivalent to דִּקְדּוּק. So Munk in his interesting papers in the *Asiatic Journal*, 1851, p. 425, gives the title and explanation of Saadia's work "*Kitab Al-Luma*, c'est-a-dire *Livre du Diqduq*, mot hébreu dont le sens est examen, recherche, et signifie faire des recherches dans la langue." The title given by Aben Ezra to his Hebrew translation of Chayug's grammatical works is סִפְרֵי דִּקְדּוּק *Books of Grammar*, and Chayug himself is denominated הַמְדַקְדֵּק הָרִאשׁוֹן *the Chief Grammarian*, and רֹאשׁ הַמְדַקְדְּקִים *Chief of Grammarians*. The title of Aben Ezra's own work on grammar is simply

Digitized by Google

דִּקְדּוּקִים which would be appropriately translated by *Grammaticæ Variorum*. More evidence of the same sort could be adduced from the works of Rashi[1] and Kimchi. Bartolocci mentions an anonymous Hebrew grammar, found in the Vatican Library, with the title דִּקְדּוּק לָשׁוֹן קוֹדֶשׁ *Grammar of the Holy Language*. Not a few Christian writers on Hebrew grammar have, in imitation of the Hebrew doctors, published their own works under the Hebrew title. This brief notice of *Diqduq* may serve to satisfy the justifiable curiosity of students, or beginners in the study, of the Hebrew language, who may have met with the word unexplained, and desire to know something of its origin and history. It is a synonym for "Scientific Grammar." Kimchi, at the close of his *Michlol*, has a verse which is quoted by both Buxtorf and Bythner, in their grammars, in which the word occurs; a verse containing excellent advice to all students. We subjoin it, for the benefit of such. It is a little sermon.

אֲשֶׁר לָמַד וְתוֹרָה לוֹ לִקְנְיָן
וְלֹא לָמַד יְסוֹר דִּקְדּוּק וְלֹא בָן
כְּמוֹ חוֹרֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִנְהַג שְׁוָרִים
וְיָדוֹ מִבְּלִי מַלְמָד וְדַרְבָּן

which, in Latin dress, appears thus,—

Qui discit, et lex ei (est) in possessionem,
Et non discit fundamenta *Diqduq*, neque intelligit,
(Est) sicut arator qui agit boves,
Et manus ejus (est) sine baculo aut stimulo.

NATHANIEL WEST, D. D.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Notes on Malachi.—MAL. I. 3.—The Revisers well translate תַּנּוֹת *jackals* instead of *dragons*, as Luther (*Drachen*) and the Authorized Version have it. The Septuagint has δώματα ἐρήμου *dwellings of the desert*. DeWette, and Gesenius in his Thesaurus, still translate "domicilia, mansiones;" but Ewald (Gram., § 175*b*), Köhler, Stier, and others, regard תַּנּוֹת as a feminine form used here instead of the more common תַּנִּים, from the sing. תַּן *wolf, jackal*, or a similar animal. The preposition לְ can be more readily explained if we translate "jackals," not "habitations."

I. 9.—We prefer the margin, "From your hand" to the text of the Revision, "By your means." The context is: "Entreat God's favor [looking, at the same time, at the polluted offerings which God received from your hands]—will he accept any of your persons?" Compare verse 13, מִיֶּדְכֶם, which the Revisers there translate "of your hands."

---

[1] Not Rashi the Commentator, but Rashi the Grammarian, Jarchi.

Digitized by Google

II. 3.—"I will rebuke the seed." Some ancient versions translate "I will curse for you the arm," reading הַזְּרֹעַ instead of הַגַּעֲרָ. Among German critics Ewald, Reinke, Köhler, and even Keil, accept the change. The thought would then be: The priest raises his arm to bless the people; but the Lord curses it,—yea, does more, strews dung into the faces of the officiating priests, dishonoring them. Yahweh exercises *jus talionis:* they have despised him; now he treats them with contempt.

II. 12.—עֵר וְעֹנֶה the Revisers translate "him that waketh and him that answereth." It seems to me that the use of "waketh" does not make it clear whether the Revisers thought עֵר was transitive or intransitive. עֵר signifies a person who is awake. Hitzig has well said that because a man is an עֵר he is not of necessity a שֹׁמֵר. Delitzsch (in his "Lectures") translates "him that is awake and him that answereth." He does not regard the words as correlated poles (as, for example, "head and tail"), but as the signification of one human being; otherwise, we might expect קֹרֵא or שֹׁמֵר.

II. 15.—We prefer the margin, "And not one hath done so, who had a residue of the spirit," to the text. The Israelites refer, it seems to me, in their thoughts, to Abraham, who disowned Hagar, and sent her away; they regard him as also having acted treacherously, that is, as having broken the covenant made with Hagar. But the prophet answers, The one you think of hath not done so. Now follows וּמָה הָאֶחָד "and what has he done?" (עָשָׂה is implied). "He sought the seed of God." Thus we would translate, in preference to the reading of the Revisers, "And did he not make one?"

CONCLUSION.—The Hebrew student will find, in the Hebrew Bible, an addition to the text after III. 24. There the words סימן יתקק are found. The letters יתקק stand for ישעיהו *Isaiah*, תרי עשר, scroll of the minor prophets, קינות *Threni*, and קהלת *Koheleth*. These have a special sign, namely, סימן. In the synagogue, the verse preceding the last verse of these books or scrolls was to be repeated, because the last verse sounded too harsh. Isaiah closes with "For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh;" but in the synagogue verse 23 was repeated after verse 24, "to close with words of comfort." Thus also here in Malachi and in the other books mentioned.

H. J. WEBER,
Philadelphia.

Abraham Firkowitsch.—The article entitled "Writing among the Hebrews," which Professor H. L. Strack contributed to the July number of HEBRAICA, possesses a peculiar interest to students. I have especially noted his comments on the manuscripts unearthed in the Crimea by Abraham Firkowitsch, and which Professor Strack—in opposition to Professor D. Chwolson—asserts were forgeries. With the main argument, in this particular case, I am not entirely familiar; but

Digitized by Google

it seems passing strange that many of the best scholars of our century had faith in Firkowitsch, and considered his discoveries genuine, and of a highly valuable character. His "finds" were, besides, the means of introducing to the world of letters an author whose fame rests principally on his works concerning the history and literature of the Karaites, based upon these same writings which Firkowitsch claimed to have found, as narrated above. I refer to Simcha Pinsker, the learned Galician, whose לִקּוּטֵי קַדְמוֹנִיּוֹת ("Collection from the Days of Old"), a ponderous volume, devoted to the Karaites, their origin and religious development as Jewish schismatics, is recognized as *the* book on the subject. Pinsker's enthusiasm over Karaism knew no bounds; and while some of his conclusions appear rather problematical, it is hard to believe, in view of all the attending circumstances, that Firkowitsch wilfully perpetrated, or even countenanced, the monstrous forgeries with which he is charged.

HENRY S. MORAIS,
Philadelphia.

Mr. Bennett's Articles on the Hebrew Tenses.—The outline of these articles, one of which appeared in the July HEBRAICA, the second appearing in this number, will be of practical aid especially to beginners in the study of Hebrew. The principal works referred to in these articles are

(1) Davidson's "Hebrew Grammar;"
(2) Robertson's "Translation of Müller's Outlines of Hebrew Syntax;"
(3) Driver's "Use of the Tenses in Hebrew;"
(4) Morris' "Historical Outlines of English Accidence," and
(5) Morris' "English Grammar" (series of Literature Primers).

PART I.

1. *The Actual Usage of the Tenses in the Hexateuch compared with statements in Grammars.*

2. *Statements of Grammars:*
   (1) Their relation to the old theory of the tenses;
   (2) Their want of clearness as to the differences of style in poetry and prose;
   (3) Their subjection to German influence.

3. *The Occurrences and Usage of the Tenses in the Hexateuch; Deductions as to Usage; Examination of Exceptional Cases.*

4. *The Sequence of the Tenses* (with special reference to the Imperfect with Waw Cons.):
   (1) Statements of grammars;
   (2) Way in which they would naturally be understood;
   (3) Tested by the usage of the Hexateuch;
   (4) Deductions;

Digitized by Google

(5) Attempt to construct theory on the basis of these results;
(6) Objections to statements of grammars; Résumé.

PART II.

1. *Hebrew and English:*
   (1) German indirect and unsuitable medium of Hebrew knowledge;
   (2) Modern system of English syntax ignored;
   (3) Two simple tense-forms in Hebrew and English;
   (4) Ambiguity as to use of one of these in both languages;
   (5) In each language same form in two different uses differently derived.
2. *Uses of the Perfect:*
   (1) Hebrew Perfect includes the uses of the tenses of the English Perfect;
   (2) Uses of the form of the English Present Perfect include most of the uses of Hebrew Perfect.
3. *Uses of the Imperfect:*
   (1) The uses of the Hebrew Imperfect include the uses of the tenses of the English Indefinite;
   (2) The uses of the form of the English Indefinite Present include most of those of the Hebrew Imperfect;
   (3) The same true of the English Future Indefinite;
   (4) Summary;
   (5) Alternation of tenses.
4. *Tenses of Joshua xv.—xix.:*
   (1) Statement of facts;
   (2) According to Driver, tenses frequentative;
   (3) Theory that sections are direct quotations from documents containing decrees.

An Examination on Psalms XL.—LXXII.—That our readers may gain a general idea of what an examination in "Old Testament Exegesis" means in England, we subjoin the "paper" of such an examination on Psalms XL.-LXXII., as conducted by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne. The last requirement, namely, the translation, with notes, of a passage of which the pointed text is given, is here omitted.

1. Mention any Psalms in this section which, on internal grounds, may be regarded as of post-Davidic origin. Are there any which, perhaps, point to a Maccabean date? On what grounds has this been held? How does the question stand related to the history of the formation of the Canon?
2. "Secular poems pressed into the service of religion." To which Psalm may this description apply? If you accept it, can you justify the admission of the Psalm into the Psalter?
3. "Hath brought life and immortality to light." Illustrate the φωτίσαντος of 2

Digitized by Google

Tim. I. 10 from the Psalms in this section, tracing out the presentiments of the Psalmist.

4. Give any one view of the circumstances under which Psalm LXVIII. may have been written; trace the connection, so far as it is clear, of the Psalm; and illustrate from it the practice of interweaving phrases from the older Scriptures.

5. Translate, with a few brief grammatical or exegetical notes:—

(a) אָז אָמַרְתִּי הִנֵּה־בָאתִי בִּמְגִלַּת־סֵפֶר כָּתוּב עָלָי׃
לַעֲשׂוֹת רְצוֹנְךָ אֱלֹהַי חָפָצְתִּי וְתוֹרָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מֵעָי׃

(b) יְפֵה נוֹף מְשׂוֹשׂ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ הַר־צִיּוֹן יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן קִרְיַת מֶלֶךְ רָב׃

(c) נָתַתָּה לִירֵאֶיךָ נֵס לְהִתְנוֹסֵס מִפְּנֵי קָשֶׁט סֶלָה׃

(d) אַחַת ׀ דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים שְׁתַּיִם־זוּ שָׁמָעְתִּי כִּי עֹז לֵאלֹהִים׃
וּלְךָ־אֲדֹנָי חֶסֶד כִּי־אַתָּה ׀ תְּשַׁלֵּם לְאִישׁ כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ׃

(e) פָּקַדְתָּ הָאָרֶץ וַתְּשֹׂקְקֶהָ רַבַּת תַּעְשִׁרֶנָּה פֶּלֶג אֱלֹהִים מָלֵא מָיִם תָּכִין
דְּגָנָם כִּי־כֵן תְּכִינֶהָ׃ תְּלָמֶיהָ רַוֵּה נַחֵת גְּדוּדֶיהָ בִּרְבִיבִים תְּמוֹגְגֶנָּה
צִמְחָהּ ׀ תְּבָרֵךְ׃

(f) וְיִחְי וְיִתֶּן־לוֹ ׀ מִזְּהַב שְׁבָא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעֲדוֹ תָּמִיד כָּל־הַיּוֹם יְבָרְכֶנְהוּ׃
יְהִי פִּסַּת־בַּר ׀ בָּאָרֶץ בְּרֹאשׁ הָרִים יִרְעַשׁ כַּלְּבָנוֹן פִּרְיוֹ וְיָצִיצוּ מֵעִיר
כְּעֵשֶׂב הָאָרֶץ׃

6. Point and translate, with notes grammatical or exegetical, where required:—

שיר מזמור לבני־קרח׃ גדול יהוה ומהלל מאד בעיר אלהינו הר־
קדשו׃ יפה נוף משוש כל־הארץ הר־ציון ירכתי צפון קרית מלך רב׃
אלהים בארמנותיה נודע למשגב׃ כי־הנה המלכים נועדו עברו יחדו׃
המה ראו כן תמהו נבהלו נחפזו׃ רעדה אחזתם שם חיל כיולדה׃
ברוח קדים תשבר אניות תרשיש׃ כאשר שמענו כן ראינו בעיר־יהוה
צבאות בעיר אלהינו אלהים יכוננה עד־עולם סלה׃ דמינו אלהים
חסדך בקרב היכלך׃ כשמך אלהים כן תהלתך על־קצוי־ארץ צדק
מלאה ימינך׃ ישמח הר־ציון תגלנה בנות יהודה למען משפטיך׃
סבו ציון והקיפוה ספרו מגדליה׃ שיתו לבכם לחילה פסגו ארמנותיה
למען תספרו לדור אחרון׃ כי זה אלהים אלהינו עולם ועד הוא ינהגנו
על־מות׃

Digitized by Google

7. Point and translate, with notes grammatical or exegetical, where required:—

כי לא־אויב יחרפני ואשא לא־משנאי עלי הגדיל ואסתר ממנו:
ואתה אנוש כערכי אלופי ומידעי: אשר יחדו נמתיק סוד בבית אלהים
נהלך ברגש: ישימות עלמיו ירדו שאול חיים כי־רעות במגורם בקרבם:
אני אל־אלהים אקרא ויהוה יושיעני: ערב ובקר וצהרים אשיחה
ואהמה וישמע קולי: פדה בשלום נפשי מקרב־לי כי־ברבים היו עמדי:
ישמע אל ויענם וישב קדם סלה: אשר אין חליפות למו ולא יראו
אלהים: שלח ידיו בשלמיו חלל בריתו:

Digitized by Google

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A New Volume.—With this number HEBRAICA enters upon its third volume. As in the case of its companion-journal, *The Old Testament Student*, the difficulties in the way of its success have been many. Nor have they all been overcome. It is true, however, that the outlook is brighter than it has ever before been; and it is believed that, if those interested in Semitic study will but lend the aid which ought reasonably to be expected of them, the assured continuance of the journal would quickly follow. But what, it will be asked, is the nature of the service asked of them? The answer is two-fold: (1) *Contributions for publication*, written in the line to which the journal is devoted, and with the aim which it seeks to serve. It is not an easy task to secure just the class of contributions which will accomplish the end sought. (2) *Assistance in increasing the circulation* of the journal. This is a matter of prime importance. If it is to do a work in the interest of Hebrew and Semitic study, HEBRAICA must reach those who are already interested in such study and also those who, perhaps, may be led to become interested in it. If it is to continue, it must receive a sufficient financial support to make continuance possible. The progress in both of these particulars during the year just past has been noteworthy. A similar progress for another year or two will practically settle the question. May not the Managing Editor of HEBRAICA hope to receive from the friends of Semitic study in America and England such substantial aid as will make it possible to issue the journal this year without financial loss.

The Present Number.—We have before referred to the difficulty experienced in finding material worthy of publication in HEBRAICA, which would, at the same time, be of practical and immediate value to that large class of our constituency, comparative beginners in Semitic work. This number, we are persuaded, accomplishes this end, as perhaps no previous number has done. Mr. Pinches' valuable paper will be appreciated only by Assyriologists; but the student who has read only the first chapter of Genesis, as well as the professional scholar, will be interested in the clear and sharp presentation by Mr. Bennett of what may well be called the most practical question in Hebrew Syntax. Prof. Green's paper in the line of critical inquiry, and Dr. Pick's in that of Jewish interpretation, will, likewise, be found full of interest to both student and scholar. The "Contributed Notes," also, include topics of general as well as of special interest.

We desire our readers to understand the double stand-point from which HEBRAICA must be edited, viz., that of the student, as well as that of the professional Semitist. We trust that we may be able to satisfy both classes of our constituency.

Dr. Jastrow's Dictionary.—We notice with pleasure the prospectus of "A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature,"* compiled by M. Jastrow, Ph. D., of Philadelphia. If there is any department of Hebrew or Semitic study in which "aids" for the use of the

* To be published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Digitized by Google

student are needed, it is in the line of the work proposed. The Talmud is a labyrinth to the ordinary student; and so truly is this the case that, outside of the Jewish scholars themselves, there may be said to be almost no students of the Talmud. With such a dictionary as this at hand, the task will not be the hopeless one it has hitherto been. The following extract from the "Prospectus" will furnish a general idea of the work proposed:—

"The lexicon, in its arrangement, method and conciseness, is to be like the modern dictionaries, which have made classical studies a pleasure. The old fashion of unsystematically hunting for phonetic coincidences in all possible languages has been rejected. But while the work is based on philological principles, it avoids the abstruse discussions which have made similar works in other languages repellent to the student.

"Presenting the development of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages during the nine hundred years preceding the eleventh century of the common era, it may claim to be a contribution to comparative Semitic philology. The foreign elements in those languages will guide the student of post-classical Greek and Latin to the knowledge of words and meanings which may decide mooted questions of dialect, and shed light on other obscurities in his province of study. For these purposes each part of the work as it appears is an independent monograph.

"The work will be completed in about twelve parts of 96 quarto pages each. Its price ($2.00 a part) has been fixed as low as possible, so as to place it within the reach of all to whom it may be of service. The first part will be ready for delivery about the 15th of September, and if the proper support be extended, the parts will follow each other at intervals of about three to six months."

A Little Knowledge of Hebrew.—A little knowledge is not always a dangerous thing. It depends a great deal upon the person who has this little knowledge. If he is a fool, it may do him damage; if he is a man, and above all, a Christian minister with common sense and a clear conviction of duty, a little knowledge will prove to be a good thing. It may not be, quantitatively considered, a large amount of Hebrew which a student learns during a four weeks' attendance at a Summer School; but if rightly managed this small beginning may prove the basis of a solid superstructure. Everything depends upon the use made of this beginning. Men that come to a Summer School or who take a course in the Correspondence School are supposed to be of a kind that do so in order to learn, men who need not be driven, but only led. And experience has shown that, with such men, even the few weeks instruction in July or August has given them a fair start in becoming good Hebrew students, whose knowledge of the Old Testament tongue has been of great aid to them in their work. Then it must be remembered that most of these men have had some drill in acquiring languages, and this, together with the matured character of their minds and judgments, helps much toward making the Summer and Correspondence Schools a success.

Comparison of Greek and Hebrew.—Students who are somewhat advanced in Hebrew, and have a fair knowledge of Greek, will find it a most profitable study to compare, verse for verse, the Greek New Testament with the Hebrew translation of Professor Delitzsch; also the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament with the original Hebrew. Comparing the differences of the idioms of the two

Digitized by Google

languages, seeing how the same thought is expressed in both, will draw special attention to the peculiarities of both. The law of contrast works here also, and a close examination of the philosophical Greek diction and thought in the garment of the simple and natural Hebrew is full of surprise and instruction.

An Essay on the Book of Proverbs.—Attention is invited to the recent offer of a prize of fifty dollars by the Young Men's Hebrew Association for the best paper on "the Principles of Ethics in the Sayings contained in the Book of Proverbs, with an Inquiry into the Social Conditions which they reflect." We notice that the judges are to be Drs. Jastrow of Philadelphia, Gottheil of New York and Felsenthal of Chicago; that competition is open to all, and that the papers must be handed in before April 1, 1887.

Is not this a movement worthy of commendation, and of imitation? It is to be hoped that similar incentives will be offered by other organizations interested in Hebrew study. We trust that the number of those competing for this prize may be very great.

A Note from Prof. Hall.—The following Note from Prof. Hall will be self-explanatory. It is sincerely hoped that for the sake of Syriac learning in England and America, the proposed translation of Prof. Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar may soon be issued.

TO THE EDITOR OF HEBRAICA:—

With reference to an Editorial Note in HEBRAICA of April last, respecting a proposed translation of Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar, I beg leave to say, with Prof. Nöldeke's concurrence, that his letter to me was not intended by him for publication; and that its getting into print was through a misunderstanding. Also that the translation in HEBRAICA contained some slight oversights, though none unfavorable to the parties concerned. It was a mistake, also, to state that the proofs or sheets therein referred to were printed; whereas they were in manuscript only, containing about as much matter as a "Bogen" of the original printed German. Further, that the publishers have assured Prof. Nöldeke that they never thought of publishing the translation against his wish; and their direct correspondence with him has been that of honorable men.

Yours truly,

ISAAC H. HALL.

The Study of Syriac.—In the general awakening of interest in Semitic study, it may well be asked if the Syriac has not been neglected. The Hebrew is studied with renewed vigor, not merely as the medium of revelation and the vehicle of inspiration, but also linguistically and comparatively as "a branch of learning." Arabic has long been considered necessary for any one who will thoroughly understand the original forms of the etymology, the primitive meanings of the roots, and the most perfect development of the syntax of the Semitic tongues. Assyrian, too, is pursued with assiduity; for the history of the mighty peoples who used it as their vernacular, for the light which it throws upon the history and traditions of other primitive nations, and especially for its bearing upon the Hebrew language, literature and religion. But for the time being, Syriac seems to be relegated to an inferior position in the great Semitic family. We would not depreciate the merits of the sister languages; but it seems to be an opportune time for emphasizing the importance of giving more attention to this, which in many respects is the most interesting and attractive of them all. To the church historian there is no subject more inviting, and none which more needs investiga-

Digitized by Google

tion, than the history of the early controversies about the person of Christ, and of the sects and schisms which arose out of these controversies; and yet any thorough research in this line demands as a pre-requisite a knowledge of the Syriac, that we may hear both sides in regard to the questions in dispute, and that we may follow the fortunes of the so-called schismatic churches of the East. The hymns, also, of the Syrians, while they are stilted in form, and insipid to our taste, are revelations of the character and faith of the people who wrote and sung them, and of the life and doctrines of one of the greatest historic branches of the Christian church. The language is rich in such light literature as fables and tales; and possesses in manuscript many biographies and historic narratives which have never yet been published or translated. Many grammatical and lexicographical works, and valuable commentaries, such as that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, have never hitherto been accurately read. Who knows what treasures of learning and piety lie hidden within the covers of those two immense manuscript volumes of Theodore's commentaries, which are found in the Sachau collection in the Royal Library at Berlin? But more than for its general literature, secular and theological, the Syriac language is, and will remain, interesting to the biblical student, and almost essential to the textual critic of either the Old or the New Testament, because in it we have the oldest known version of the latter and the next oldest of the former,—the Peshitto; besides several other versions of great importance. We want Syriac scholars who will do for the Syriac versions what Tischendorf, Lagarde and others have been doing for the Greek. We want some American Gregories in Syriac to supplement the work of Martin, Cureton and Ceriani.

The Syriac language is, moreover, from a purely linguistic point of view, an interesting member of the Semitic group. Michaelis, in the preface to his Syriac Chrestomathy, contended that the study of it should precede that of the Hebrew, —the study, not of the versions, which afford at best but poor examples of what a language is capable of, but of the masterpieces of its native literature, which show us the breadth and fullness of its vocabulary, the intricacy and adaptability of its syntax. He seems to have thought that the Hebrew language, in both form and spirit, could only be rightly understood, or at least could be much more thoroughly and quickly understood, by those who had first mastered this cognate Aramaic dialect. Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, too, in the Prolegomena to his new Hebrew dictionary, emphasizes the close relationship existing between the roots of the Hebrew and of the Aramaic dialects. He says, on page 35, that "Hebrew lexicography in all questions, but especially for the explanation of the rarer Hebrew stems and words and for the elucidation of their fundamental meaning, must resort first of all to the Aramaic, and must not take counsel elsewhere till recourse to this has been had and had without avail." Now, what is true of Aramaic in general, is, perhaps, pre-eminently true of Syriac. It should, therefore, be thoroughly mastered by all who will teach the Hebrew language or who will comment upon the text or the meaning of the original Scriptures. It should be studied, not cursorily and for pastime, but scientifically and with painstaking accuracy. The genesis of its vowel-system, and the laws of its consonantal changes, its word-formation, syntax and prosody, should be studied in the light of comparative philology, and of its own historical development; so that, not at hap-hazard nor willfully, but according to law, we may gain a certain knowledge of the language itself and of the relation in which it stands to its sister languages, and of the light which it sheds upon them.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

LYON'S ASSYRIAN MANUAL.*

It is now pretty generally admitted that some knowledge of the Assyrian language is necessary to every Semitic specialist, and of prime importance in the work of Old Testament interpretation. Indeed, such strides have been made within thirty years in the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and such light has been thrown by this means upon the fortunes and literatures of the ancient Semitic peoples, that students of these can no longer, with any sort of justice, allude disparagingly to the wide divergence of opinion among Assyriologists, and make the consequent uncertainty and difficulty the excuse for failure to undertake the study of Assyrian. As substantial agreement has been reached as to the principles by which Assyrian is to be deciphered and interpreted as we can hope to reach in the pursuit of any science whatever; and, as our knowledge of the Assyrian vocabulary shall improve, we may hope to see further uncertainties in regard to the values of the cuneiform signs gradually vanish, until there shall remain nothing but an insignificant minimum to remind us that there could once have been great difficulty arising from the various values of the signs.

The difficulties which have of late encompassed a beginner's path are well stated by Dr. Lyon in the preface to his Assyrian Manual, as follows: "Two great obstacles have stood in the way of those who desire to become acquainted with the language,—the lack of suitable books for beginners, and the large demand made on the memory for the acquisition of the cuneiform signs." It is safe to say that the labor of memory needed to acquire the signs would never prove irksome enough to drive scholars from the field. There remained, then, the lack of proper books for beginners.

And Dr. Lyon has taken a great step in removing this reproach from the door of the Assyriologists. Observing to what degree the acquisition of the signs has been complicated for beginners by their meager knowledge of the linguistic peculiarities to be expected, he has set before himself the problem of teaching the language through transliterated texts prior to any very close study of the originals or large practice with the signs. And therefore, in his selections for reading, he has given forty-seven pages to these texts against twelve in the cuneiform character. At the same time, for a gradual and pleasant introduction to the original, he has given five tables of signs to be used with the cuneiform selections and in preparing brief exercises. These tables offer, (1) a list of 287 Phonograms, giving all except very rare syllabic values, (2) a selected list of the ninety-two syllabic signs used most frequently, (3) twenty-four Determinatives, (4) 372 Ideograms, or ideographic combinations, including all used in the texts employed in the work, (5) the signs used for numerals when written ideographically. The Outline of Gram-

* AN ASSYRIAN MANUAL, for the use of Beginners in the study of the Assyrian language. By D. G. Lyon, Professor in Harvard University. Chicago: *The American Publication Society of Hebrew*. 1886. 8vo, cloth, pp. xlv, 138. Price, $4.00.

Digitized by Google

mar contains twenty pages, the Notes thirty, and the Glossary forty-three, all in *brevier* type, forty lines to the page, against the fifty-nine pages of text in *small pica* and *cuneiform*, thirty-four lines and less to the page. The Glossary has the advantage over the Lesestücke of Delitzsch, and other books, in containing all the words found in the passages to be read (often under both the initial letter of root and that of derived word), as well as in being almost complete as a concordance to these passages. The labor involved in this valuable feature must have been very great. The Notes, while containing chiefly grammatical material, have such historical information as will throw light on obscure passages, and such references to the original as will make clear the author's preference in the case of doubtful readings, or which will explain the doubt. Nearly all the syntax offered is contained in these Notes.

As illustrating the progress which has been made in Assyrian study, it is interesting to note that, in the forty-seven pages of transliterated texts, there are but thirty-one ideograms and twenty-three syllables marked as doubtful, in some of these cases, even, the *meaning* being perfectly clear. For a few other words, the Notes offer different possibilities; but these are due chiefly to mutilations in the original. So the Glossary contains, for the fifty-nine pages of text, seventy-three words not defined at all, five words whose correct transliteration and meaning are uncertain, ninety-two whose meaning is not quite certain, nineteen whose roots are doubtful, though the meanings are not, and twenty-nine which, while not absolutely certain, are brought within very narrow limits of uncertainty; as, ṣumbu *a kind of wagon*, ṣippatu *a kind of reed*.

Probably the book will prove most serviceable in the hands of those who follow substantially the author's idea of the proper use of it, in his advice to beginners. After a thorough reading of the Grammar, he would have them begin with a certain five-page selection in transliterated form, opposite which he has had printed, in parallel pages, a word-for-word translation into English, and for which he has furnished very full notes with frequent references to the Grammar; and he gives minute directions as to the method here to be employed. At the same time, the student should commit each day a few of the selected Phonograms, and practice those learned by writing them and pointing them out in the cuneiform texts. After this, the selections should be taken up in the order of less to more difficult. Meanwhile, after some familiarity with Assyrian roots, the cuneiform selection of four and a half pages, already studied in transliteration, should be mastered, and then the remainder of the cuneiform; it being desirable also, as the student works on the transliterations, to make constant reference to the originals, in order to become familiar with the signs and methods of grouping them. As Dr. Lyon says, "Long before the student has accomplished all that is here marked out, he will be delighted to find that, if he is tolerably familiar with the list of signs, he will be in a position to translate, with a good deal of confidence, untransliterated historical texts."

There are few aspects in which this *Manual* is open to adverse criticism, and these are doubtless all incident to the pioneer character of the author's work. Some scholars will consider it a pity that the Outline of Grammar was not made fuller, particularly in the line of examples, and more systematic, even at the risk of approaching the analysis of other authors. This will occur to them especially in connection with the section on Phonic Changes and in those on verbs. The former might be retained in the memory somewhat more easily had the examples

Digitized by Google

been grouped under the old heads of Assimilation, Rejection, Addition and Commutation. The distinction between weak and weakest gutturals is not quite emphatic enough in § 27 to overcome the impression received by § 7. 2; nor are the cases of vowels retained after loss of a guttural (or changed to *i*) quite clearly distinguished from cases where they are lost altogether or where the guttural is assimilated. Leaving the question open as to whether there were in Assyrian the vowels ê and ô, it hardly seems possible that a+ʾ could give *i*, as appears to be stated in § 30 (but see § 8. 1), without previous change of ʾ to ʿ. A larger number of examples brought under the phonic principles in the Grammar would have rendered somewhat clearer the circumstances in which weak letters are exchanged or contracted, and those in which they are lost altogether. In view of the examples given under § 8. 2. *c. d.*, the enquiry is worth making whether the vowelless letter is not in all the cases first assimilated, and then the *m* or *n* added to avoid a doubled consonant; the dissolution of doubling and use of *n* seem to be allowed in Note on 37^{13}. The change of *t* to *d* after vowelless *g* noted on 18^{16} should find a place in § 8. of the Grammar. The Grammar might perhaps note in addition to the repetition of a consonant to indicate the accented syllable (§ 21. 3), and before suffixes (§ 9. 2), the same before *ma* (see Note on 42^{11}) and merely as orthographic variation (Note on 46^{18}) and to mark a preceding vowel as long (Note to 42^{11}). It is gratifying to observe that ašar is not reckoned as a relative. It might perhaps have been stated in § 16. 2 that participles may form the masc. plur. in other endings than ûti (ûtu), for see Note on 7^{11}. So the occurrence of the noun in *u* for the construct is frequent enough, and is alluded to in Note on 19^{17} but is not mentioned in § 16. 4. Perhaps the declension of the first member of a compound, as seen in šanimma 19^{2}, aḫinna 46^{17} should somewhere have been noted. Šattišam 10^{27} finds its only explanation in a note on 15^{21}, where it would not be likely to be seen when wanted unless the attention were specially directed to it. In Note on 36^{21}, a verbal form with final *u* in sing., even outside a relative sentence is recognized, and išḫupu 10^{20}, 12^{23}, 44^{8} and especially 10^{25} when compared with išḫup 48^{22} may offer another example of it, though the Grammar seems to exclude the idea in § 24. 5. It is but occasionally that the author's method of using the type occasions even temporary uncertainty as to his meaning. So page 87, line 2, where the word "forward" occurs; page 97, line 30, where "or" separates two meanings, only one of which is allowable (cf. Note on 30^{33}), while on page 113, line 17, the two are allowable, and the proper one to be determined by a given context (cf. Note on 16^{25}). Only very rarely do the Notes show evidence of a change of view after the other portions of the book were prepared; thus kisalla 24^{16}, 37^{21}, 38^{15}, 39^{17} should become, according to the Notes, šamnu; išar 20^{26} defined in the Glossary as *thriving* would seem to have the meaning *abundance*, if we follow the translation given in the note. These points are perhaps too trivial to be noticed, at any rate they can easily be cared for in a second edition.

No one was better qualified than the author for undertaking such a work as this. For six years he has given the most of his time to Assyrian investigation. Nothing that has been written in this field has escaped him, though the method exposed in this volume is the elaboration of plans actually adopted and found to work in his own class-room. By this means, what it is safe to call the best Assyrian text-book for beginners (it is indeed the *first* really practical *introductory* book) has been made. For advanced classes, the book of Prof. Delitzsch will still

Digitized by Google

be needed even in this country; but for elementary instruction, it will doubtless be displaced here, and Dr. Lyon's book might very well be brought out abroad in German and French. Several instructors have already decided to use it with their classes. At Newton, where Assyrian has been introduced as one of the electives, and will be reckoned toward the required number of hours covering the full course, a class of three or four will this autumn begin to test the value of the work as a help in acquiring the language, and they expect to give the best part of their seventy-five hours of recitation to the material contained in this valuable *Manual*.

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN,
Newton Centre, Mass.

LANSING'S ARABIC MANUAL.*

Aside from the intrinsic merits of this book, there are a number of reasons for giving it a warm welcome. It is a renewed indication that the revival of Semitic studies in America is widening and deepening; and an indication the nature and character of which is entitled to special notice. For the thoroughly scientific and philological study of the Semitic family of languages, and specifically also of the Hebrew, the Arabic must and will retain the fundamental position accorded to it by the history of the study of these languages. For the rational grammatical study of Semitic in general, and Hebrew in particular, the Arabic, by its very nature and genius, is entitled to the leading rank. And it is for the reason that those principles and factors which have controlled the growth and development of the Semitic languages, and which must be understood before a rational appreciation of the languages can be secured, find their best expression and development in the Arabic. It is true that some of the possibilities of Semitic expression of thought have, through the influence of the more flexible Greek, found a better development in Ethiopic than they have in Arabic. Nevertheless, the latter language, as a whole and in nearly all particulars, stands at the head of the Semitic group in importance for grammatical study. A convincing example and testimony of this fact is the present state in which the matter of Hebrew syntax stands. A satisfactory exposition of syntax is now the great desideratum of Hebrew philology, and has been for many years. Many grammarians have promised us a syntax, and no one has attempted to furnish one that goes beyond the rudiments. We think the reason for this is that, upon investigation, it is found that such a syntax, if it is to be thoroughly scientific, must be based upon a thorough knowledge of Arabic syntax, in which have found expression those methods of Semitic thought which are latent, or appear only in embryo, in Hebrew; and that such an understanding of Arabic syntax is only possible after a thorough study of the native Arabic grammarians. We doubt whether, under the circumstances, it will be possible in this generation for one scholar to cover this ground alone, and write a complete syntax. This is really more than a life's work. What the interests of the science demand are special investigations of the different elements of syntax, something on the plan of Driver's treatise on

* AN ARABIC MANUAL. By J. G. Lansing, D. D., Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew*. 1886. Pp. xviii, 194. Price, $2.00.

Digitized by Google

Hebrew Tenses, or, still better, of Philippi's discussion of the *status constructus*— a model in the best sense of the word. If the dialects are to be appealed to for the purpose of grammatical work in Hebrew, the chief stress must be laid upon the Arabic. The best interests of Semitic philology, in America, as elsewhere, demand that we have three Arabists to one Assyriologist. That these figures are inverted among us is not our good fortune, but our misfortune.

These words are perfectly in place in introducing to our readers what we think is the first Arabic grammar ever published in America. The author is the son of a missionary in Egypt, has spent twelve years of his life there, and, we understand, speaks modern Arabic as fluently as a native. This, in itself, would not of course enable him to write a good Arabic grammar; but he has evidently enjoyed a good philological training, and has succeeded in producing what we do not hesitate to pronounce an excellent manual. It embraces a grammar proper, a chrestomathy, containing several chapters of Genesis and several Suras from the Kuran, with specimens of grammatical analysis; and, thirdly, a glossary. The grammar proper is evidently to be the leading feature; and the other two are neither as complete as might be desirable, nor as satisfactory. For the grammar we have scarcely any but words of commendation. We were especially pleased with the terse, concise and clear-cut definitions which cannot be misunderstood. The general order of subjects is natural, while a few features, such as the substitution of English for German spelling of the *termini technici*, the introduction of "Exercises," and others, are especially noteworthy. We might differ with the author on this or that minor particular; but we do not think it the office of the critic to do so, as long as the book as a whole is worthy of a welcome. We cannot, however, suppress the belief that his special introduction on the three vowels in Arabic, as also the use which he makes of this in § 36 and elsewhere, and upon which the author seems to lay special stress, will be found to be of little practical advantage to the teacher or the pupil. We frankly confess we do not fully understand his theory in all its ramifications, and fear that this will be true also in the case of the beginners. His statements, of course, are based upon facts, and only these ought to have been stated. In a grammar that is intended to be only elementary, fixed facts and not philosophizing theories can be used, even if the latter are entirely correct.

The proof has been closely read, and the errata that remain are few and insignificant. We have examined the work carefully, and have completed the task with the conviction that Dr. Lansing's Arabic Grammar will serve the purpose for which it is intended. It would be an oversight not to mention with words of praise the typographical excellency of the book. The American Publication Society of Hebrew is to be congratulated upon the accuracy and elegant finish of the work. It is fully equal to the best that reaches us from abroad.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,
Columbus, O.

BEZOLD'S ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ASSYRIOLOGIE.*

The second number of the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," edited by Dr. Bezold, of Munich, contains valuable contributions by Professors Oppert and Schrader, Dr. Jensen and others. A feature of the number is a long article on "Old-Chal-

* Published at München, Price, M.16.— a year.

Digitized by Google

dean Art" by Dr. Reber, which is to be continued in the next number. Probably the most important article is that of Dr. F. Peiser, and certainly the most amusing that of Prof. Armand of Paris. Dr. Peiser shows by an ingenious method that the Assyrians followed a fixed order in the arrangement of the numerous signs of which the cuneiform writing consists. The question is a very important one, and the value of Dr. Peiser's discovery would have been still further enhanced, had he succeeded in finding some fixed principle in the succession of the signs. He believes the order to be based on mere graphical resemblances; but there are many difficulties in the way of this supposition. It is possible that, by reverting to a more ancient form of the cuneiform signs, a clearer connection between the signs that are placed in juxtaposition will become apparent.

Prof. Armand's article furnishes an interesting chapter on the history of "learned errors." Some years ago an inscription in cuneiform characters, and purporting to come from Cappadocia, fell into the hands of Prof. Sayce, the eminent English philologist, who expended a great deal of ingenuity in trying to decipher it. He gave two translations, one in 1881 and one a year later. The second was an improvement upon the first as far as the number of deciphered words went, but certainly no improvement as far as the sense of the inscription was concerned. Prof. Armand here shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the inscription is the work of some "Shapeira," who clumsily tried to copy some cuneiform signs, and succeeded in so disfiguring them as to lead Prof. Sayce to suppose that he had a *new* form of cuneiform writing before him. The forger chose a short inscription found on the well-known bas-relief, coming from Kojundschik, and now in the British Museum, which represents Sennacherib sitting on his throne at Lachish in the act of receiving tribute. Above the head of the king are three lines of Assyrian, reading as follows:—

> "Sennacherib the king of the legions, the king of Assyria, sits on the royal throne and receives the booty of the city of Lakis."

The inscription is one of the best known, so that it was not difficult for Prof. Armand, once having found the clue, to complete his happy "guess." Prof. Sayce is too great a scholar to feel chagrined at the error into which he has fallen, and will, no doubt, join in the hearty laugh which scholars are having at his expense. Prof. Chwolson was led astray by Firkowitsch, Prof. Socin by Shapeira's famous "Moabite Potteries," and Prof. Sayce will surely not close the phalanx of great scholars who have been the victims of great forgers. M. Clermont-Ganneau of Paris published, about a year ago, a little book on the "Frauds Archeologiques en Palestine," from which many will learn with surprise on how great a scale the manufacture of "antiquities" is carried on in the Orient.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.
Philadelphia.

PRAETORIUS' GRAMMATICA ÆTHIOPICA.*

This little grammar is No. VII. in the "Porta Linguarum Orientalium" series, begun by Petermann and, since his death, carried on under the editorship of Strack, of Berlin.

* GRAMMATICA ÆTHIOPICA cum paradigmatibus, literatura, chrestomathia, et glossario scripsit Dr. F. Prætorius, Prof. ord. universitatis wratislaviensis. 1886. Karlsruhe & Leipzig: *H. Reuther.* Price, M.6.—

Digitized by Google

It is gratifying to learn that there is a demand among students for an *elementary* Ethiopic grammar. It certainly adds still further evidence to the fact that a new and deep interest in Semitic philology is spreading over Europe and America.

Since the publication of Dillmann's "Æthiopische Grammatik" in 1857, very little has been done in Ethiopic grammar. With the exception of König's "Neue Studien über Schrift, Aussprache und allgemeine Formenlehre des Æthiopischen," published in 1877, nothing of importance has appeared. Dillmann's grammar has remained heretofore and will still remain the authority. The "Grammatica Æthiopica" cannot, in any sense of the term, be regarded as a rival of Dillmann's. The book does not claim to be critical or exhaustive. The author has given us, in a condensed form, the *essential elements* of the Ethiopic grammar. He has presented, in a clear and precise manner, and in as little space as possible, the necessary points of the grammar. One thing worthy of notice is the transliteration in Roman letters of the greater part of the Ethiopic words used in the text of the grammar. This is done in almost every case where any difficulty of pronunciation might present itself to the beginner.

Besides the grammar proper, there is given a full list of paradigms (pp. 1–18); a Bibliography (pp. 19–28); a Chrestomathy, containing the first four chapters of Genesis, taken from Dillmann's Ochtateuch, and several other small selections (pp. 29–45); and lastly a Glossary to the Chrestomathy (pp. 49–65).

It is a matter of regret that the author did not present us with an English, instead of a Latin, translation; for, as Dillmann remarks in the preface to his grammar, the latter language appears quite pedantic in an elementary text-book.

ROBERT F. HARPER,
New Haven, Conn.

NEUBAUER'S CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.*

Hebrew bibliography is of comparatively modern date; but it has already attained to a high degree of perfection. Comparing the earliest and the latest Hebrew bibliographical works, we notice among the former the *Sifthe-yeshenim*, of Sabathai ben Joseph (Amst. 1680), with about 2,360 titles; while in the *Ozar ha-shorashim*, of J. A. Benjacob (Wilna, 1880), their number has risen to 17,000. This great progress is mainly due to the exertions of trustees and managers of public libraries in collecting literary treasures and in making their contents known to scholars and students at home and abroad by the publication of descriptive catalogues. The Bodleian Library excels in both these respects. It possesses the best collection of Hebrew works and the best catalogues. The Bodleian includes no less than fourteen distinct collections of Hebrew MSS., foremost among them being the Hebrew Library founded by Rabbi David Oppenheimer of Prague (1707). This Rabbi was the first among the Jews to collect books and MSS. systematically. He had a list of *desiderata* prepared, and employed agents to travel in all directions in search of rare and interesting works. His library was, however, moved from place to place; for a long time it lay at Hamburg stored away in boxes, hidden from the sight of man. No Mecaenas or institution was found on the Continent rich and liberal enough to rescue it out of the darkness. The Bodleian has

* CATALOGUE OF THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND IN THE COLEGE LIBRARIES OF OXFORD. Compiled by Ad. Neubauer. With Forty Facsimiles. Oxford: *Clarendon Press.*

Digitized by Google

the merit of having brought this treasure of Hebrew learning to light and made it accessible to the public. Another important collection, likewise brought over from Germany, is that of the learned bibliophile Hyman Joseph Michael of Hamburg (born 1792).

Of the printed Hebrew books in the Bodleian, Dr. M. Steinschneider compiled an elaborate catalogue (1860), which, as Dr. Neubauer justly remarks, might rather be called "Bibliotheca Judaica." Part of the MSS. have been described by Johannes Uri, 1787, and also by Dr. Steinschneider in an Appendix to the catalogue. The present catalogue, compiled by Dr. Neubauer, includes not only all Hebrew MSS. contained in the Bodleian, but also those of the college libraries of Oxford. It possesses all the qualities required to make the work as perfect as possible. It is a rich source of interesting information, given in a concise and clear manner, "without discursiveness and without references to other catalogues or to periodicals, unless strictly necessary." The catalogue is not overstocked with research and learning, like the catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian, nor filled with unnecessary and lengthy treatises, like the first instalment of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Cambridge University library. There is just so much information to be found in Dr. Neubauer's catalogue, and just so many extracts from the MSS., as those interested in the subject would desire to find in a work of this kind, without being compelled to go through a mass of literary discussions. Where necessary, Dr. Neubauer has spared no trouble, and has given the most detailed information. Such is, e. g., the case in No. 1390, which contains a "Hebrew translation of Aegidius' Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*," and forty-nine philosophical treatises by various authors. Every one of these treatises is described by its full title. No. 814 includes forty-two *responsa*, of which likewise a full account is given. Two sections of the Catalogue, viz., Liturgy and Poetry, are especially distinguished in this respect. Siddur, Machzor, and Divan are unrolled before the reader from beginning to end. Not a single prayer, not the smallest poem has been omitted.

The age and country of each MS. is correctly stated where possible. That this is not always an easy task may be noticed even in the first MS. The date, as it at present stands—התתסד—is 5864 A. M. This is impossible, the present year being described by Jews as 5646 A. M. Mr. Neubauer, however, noticed an erasure in the first letter (*he*), and is perfectly right in assuming that the original *daleth* has been altered into *he* by some ignorant critic. The correctness of the conjecture (though finally abandoned by Dr. Neubauer himself, col. 1149) is supported by the error of Leon de Modena, who states that the MS. was written 5064. This scholar must have read *resh* instead of *daleth;* at all events, there was no *he* when he saw the date of the MS. in the year 1628.

The classification of Hebrew books presents likewise a peculiar difficulty, as the titles rarely give an idea of the contents of the book. One would hardly expect to find "Libesbrif" (No. 1420) in the section "Ethics," or *Ahabhah betha'anughim* ("Love in Delights") among theological works (No. 1291).

It is remarkable that this rich collection of Hebrew MSS., in which every branch of Hebrew literature is so well represented, contains no biblical MS. of earlier date than the twelfth century, and no complete copy of the Talmud. To some extent this fact may be explained by the hostility displayed in the Middle Ages by Christians towards Jews and their literature. The destruction of Jewish houses, synagogues, and colleges, with all their literary contents, was no uncom-

Digitized by Google

mon occurrence in those days of darkness and fanaticism. Cartloads of copies of the Talmud were confiscated and burnt. The loss of their books was felt, especially by scholars, as a more severe blow than the loss of all other valuables. Expression of this feeling we find in extracts given by Dr. Neubauer from MSS. Nos. 254, 326, 448. The entire absence of early copies of biblical books remains, nevertheless, a strange phenomenon.

Students of Hebrew literature, who may have to consult the Catalogue, will find great assistance in the numerous tables and indexes which Dr. Neubauer has prepared with so much care, and which are arranged in the most practical way. But, even independently of the Catalogue, the indexes are in many respects useful and suggestive. The antiquary, the philologist, the statistician, and the historian will find here interesting problems for further research. Of special interest and value as regards palaeography are the facsimiles which represent in forty plates almost all variations of Hebrew square, rabbinic, and cursive writings. Thirty-nine of these are taken from MSS. in the Bodleian library; and one (xlix.) from a St. Petersburg MS.

In conclusion, we congratulate Dr. Neubauer and the Bodleian upon the production of this useful and elegant work, and we hope that the British Museum will follow so excellent an example.

M. FRIEDLAENDER, in *The Academy*, (Aug. 28.)

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Assyrian and Babylonian Notes. (George Evans.) *Christian Reformer*, July, '86.

I. Assyrische Lesestücke nebst Paradigmen, Schrifttafel und kleinem Wörterbuch, von Fried. Delitzsch. 3. Auflage. Leipzig. 1885. II. Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. II., von J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig. 1886. (E.) *Expositor*, Sept., '86.

BALJON, J. M. S. De testamenten der XII patriarchen. *Theol. Studien*, '86, 3 en 4, pp. 208–231.

BREDENKAMP, C. J. Der Prophet Jesaia, erläutert. 1. Lfg. Erlangen: *Deichert*. 1886. 8vo, pp. 84.....M.1.50

Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné. Antiquités Assyriennes. Cylindres Orientaux, Cachets, Briques, Bronzes, etc. Publiés par M. de Clercq. Avec les collobora-tions de M. J. Menant,

I^e Livre in fol. avec les pl. 1—10 en héliogr.....20fr.
II^e " fasc. 1 " " " 11—16 et 37.....10fr.
" " " 2 " " " 17—22 et 38.....10fr.

Das Buch Al-Chazarî des Abû-l-Hasan Jehuda Hallewi im Arab. Urtext sowie in der Hebräischen Uebersetzung des Jehuda Ibn Tibbon herausgegeben von H. Hirschfeld. I. Hälfte. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. 1–160.....M.5.—

Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie, aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben von E. Naville. Berlin: *A. Ascher & Co.* vi u. 212 Steintaf.; vi u. 448 lith. S., fol..... .M.240.—

DAUBAUTON, F. E. Het apokryphe boek Σοφια Ιησου vioς Σιραχ en de leertype daarin vervat. I. *Theol. Studien*, '86, 3 en 4, pp. 235–271.

Der Einfluss der Gebirgswaldungen im nördlichen Palästina auf die Vermehrung der wässerigen Niederschläge daselbst. By L. Anderlind in *Ztschr. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VIII., 2, pp. 101–116.

Der Prediger Salomo's von F. Hitzig. Herausgegeben von W. Nowack. Leipzig: *Hirzel*. (Thomas Tyler.) *Academy*, Sept. 11, '86.

Die Keil-Inschrift von Aschrut-Daarga. Entdeckt u. beschrieben v. J. Wünsche. Publicirt u. erklärt v. D. H. Müller. Wien: *Gerold's Sohn*.....M.2.80

Discovery of a Complete Version of "the story of Saneha." (Amelia B. Edwards.) *Academy*, Aug. 7, '86.

Dizionario francese armeno e turco. Venezia. 8vo, pp. iii, 1573.

GESENIUS, W. Hebräisches u. aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. 10. Aufl., bearb. v. F. Mühlau u. W. Volck. Mit Beiträgen v. D. H. Müller. Leipzig: *F. C. W. Vogel*. 1886. 8vo, pp. xlii, 984.. ...M.15.—

GUIDE, IGN. Testi Orientali Inediti sopra i Sette Dormienti di Efeso. (Testi copti, siriaci, arabi, etiopici, armeni.) Roma. 4to, pp. 107.....6fr.

HALEVY, J. Recherches bibliques. 5: Les citations d'anciens chants dans l'Hexateuque. 6: Le temoignage d'Hosée sur la religion du royaume d'Israel. 7: Le verset d'Hosée, IX. 4. *Revue des etudes juives*, janv.–mars, '86.

HALL. Syrian Antilegomena Epistles. *Athenæum*, July 3, '86.

Digitized by Google

HOLSTEN, C. Ursprung u. Wesen der Religion. Thesen. *Prot. Kirchenztg.*, '86, 31, pp. 979-991.

HUGHES. Dictionary of Islam. *Ind. Antiq.*, July, '86.

Ichwân Es-Safa in Auswahl. Zum ersten Mal aus arabischen Handschriften herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Dieterici. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. xix, 383.....M.20.—

KAUTZSCH, E. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Namens יהוה צבאות. *Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1886, 1.

KAYSER, C. Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa, übersetzt u. erläutert, zum Theil auch zuerst im Grundtext veröffentlicht. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. 216.....M.8.—

KITTEL, R. Die Herkunft der Hebräer nach dem A. Test. *Theol. Studien aus Wuerttemberg*, 3. '86, pp. 187-220.

KNABENBAUER, J. Commentarius in prophetas minores. Pars prior, sex priores prophetas complectens I. Paris: *Lib. Lethielleux.* 8vo, pp. viii, 486..fr.7.50

LAMY, TH. J. Commentarius in Librum Geneseos. Tom. I.-II. Malines: *Lib. H. Dessain.* 8vo, pp. 398, 417.....10fr.

LANSING, J. G. An Arabic Manual. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew.* 8vo, pp. xviii, 194.....$2.

LYON, D. G. An Assyrian Manual for the use of beginners in the study of the Assyrian Language. Chicago: *The American Publication Society of Hebrew.* 8vo, pp. xlvi, 138.....$4.

MEYER, EDUARD. Der Stamm Jakob und die Entstehung der israelitischen Stämme. *Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1886, 1.

NESTLE, E. Salomo's Alter bei seiner Thronbesteigung. *Theol. Studien aus Wuerttemberg*, VII., 2.

PICK, B. Text-Varianten aus Mechilta und Sifré. *Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1886, 1, pp. 101-121.

——— Die Tosefta Citate und der hebräische Text. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-29.

REICHENBACH, A. Die Religionen der Völker. Nach den besten Forschungs-Ergebnissen bearb. (In 5 Büchern.) 1. u. 2. Buch. München: *Ernst.* 1885. 8vo, pp. 230 u. 231.....each M.2.50

RENAN, E. Les origines de la Bible.—Histoire et légende. *Revue des deux mondes*, March 1, '86, pp. 5-27; March 15, pp. 241-266.

ROSENZWEIG, RABB. DR. ADF. Das Jahrhundert nach dem Babylonischen Exile mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die religiöse Entwicklung des Judenthums. Berlin: *Duemmler's Verl.* 1885. 8vo, pp. xvi, 240.....M.4.—

——— (Smend.) *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, No. 18.

SOEDER, AMBROSIUS. Ueber den alten Namen Gottes Jave. *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, II., '86.

SMEND, R., and A. SOCIN. Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab, für akademische Vorlesungen hrsg. Freiburg i. Br.: *Mohr.* 1886. 8vo, pp. iii, 35, mit 1 Steintaf.....M.2.50

SMITH. Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. *Ind. Antiq.*, July, '86. *Athenæum*, July 17, '86. (Nöldeke.) *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, Bd. 40, Hft. 1.

SOLOMON, PROF. A. S. A Translation of the 16th Psalm. *Jewish Times*, Sept. 10, '86.

ספרי הברית החדשה נעתקים מלשון יון ללשון עברית על ידי החכם פראפעסאר פראנץ דעליטש מהדורה מסודרת באותיות גדולות ומוגהת ומתוקנת מחדש על פני כולה הובא לדפוס טל ידי חברת

Digitized by Google

מפיקי כתבי הקדש בבריטאניא וחוצה לה בשנת וזאת הברכה לפ"ק 1885

הברית החדשה בהעתקה חדשה מלשון יון ללשון עבר מאת יצחק זאלקינסאן אשר הובא לדפוס על ידי אוהבו בחייו ומזכירו לטוב אחרי מותו כריסטיאן דוד גינצבורג על ידי חברת מוציאי תורת יהוה התמימה בשנת שאלו שלום ירושלם לפ"ק 1885

(E. Kautzsch.) *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Oct. 2, '86.

STADE, B. "Auf Jemandes Knieen gebären," Gen. XXX. 3; L. 23; Hiob III. 12 u. אָבְנַיִם Exod. I. 16. *Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1886, 1, pp. 143–156.

TOMKINS, HENRY GEORGE. Takhpankhes. *Academy*, Sept. 11, '86.

Translation of Job XXXVI. (S. Davidson.) *Christian Reformer*, July, '86.

Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land (a record and a summary): June 22, '65—June 22, '86. Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. London: *Bentley*. 8vo, pp. 236.....3s. 6d.

VIGOUROUX, F. Etude critique sur l'authenticité du Pentateuque d'après l'examen intrinsèque de son contenu. *Revue des questions historiques*, 1886, avril.

WILHELM, EUGEN. Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erân. *Ztschr. d. D. M. G.*, Bd. 40, Hft. 1.

WUENSCHE. Der Babylonische Talmud. *Athenæum*, July 3, '86.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. III. JANUARY, 1887. NO. 2.

NOTES ON A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF PSALM XVIII. AND 2 SAMUEL XXII.

BY WILLIAM HENRY BENNETT,

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

The object of these notes is to arrange and examine some of the phenomena of variation between the parallel texts 2 Sam. XXII. and Ps. XVIII., to point out the questions suggested by such an attempt, the data that exist for the solution of these questions and the direction in which, as suggested by the imperfect study I have been able to give, the solution of some of these questions seems to lie. I have added two or three notes[1] not specially connected with the usual controversies on the texts, but raising points of interest on which the comparison of these texts, or the way in which it has been discussed, seems to throw some light.

I. A CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIATIONS.

Probable character as compared with variations of New Testament MSS.— The tendency of modern commentators is to attribute the differences between these two texts rather to the conscious or unconscious mistakes of scribes than to any critical or literary revision. It may be useful to examine these differences with a view to ascertaining how far they are such as might naturally arise in the process of copying. One may expect to find assistance for such a task in the phenomena, laws and results of the textual criticism of the Greek Testament.[2] For these the abundance of MSS., versions and quotations, affords rich material, and labor has been long and freely spent upon it. Moreover, we should expect to find that the phenomena of the differentiation of MSS. through the process of copying would be largely the same in all ages and languages; and it should be possible to allow roughly for the varying frequency of copying, the clearness of characters, accuracy and carefulness of scribes.

[1] Each note is indicated by an asterisk at its beginning.

[2] Cf. Note III. Appendix to Second Book of Samuel edited by A. F. Kirkpatrick, M. A.

Digitized by Google

We may, therefore, begin by attempting to arrange the differences under one of the fuller systems of divisions of possible errors in New Testament criticism and perhaps that of Hammond[1] will be the most useful, namely,

A. Unconscious errors: (1) sight; (2) hearing; (3) memory.

B. Conscious errors as: (1) incorporation of glosses; (2) corrections of harsh and unusual expressions; (3) corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts; (4) insertions due to the influence of current liturgical forms; (5) alterations for dogmatical reasons.

Then it may be necessary or possible to add one or two supplementary divisions due to the special characteristics of the Hebrew character and language.

It will often be possible to account for the same difference in various ways, and so to place it under different heads. The more largely this is the case, the greater is the probability that the differences are to be wholly or chiefly accounted for as the errors of scribes.

A. Unconscious Errors. 1. Errors of Sight. *a.* Cases of confusion of similar letters. ד and ר: v. 11, Sam. וירא, Ps. וידא; v. 43, Sam. אדקם, Ps. אריקם, cf. A. 1. *d.* ו and י: v. 23, Sam. אסור, Ps. אסיר. ו and ם: v. 15, Sam. חצים, Ps. חציו. So Thenius in loco, "Ps. חציו through the *defacing* of half the ם," cf. B. 2. *b.*

כ and ר: v. 12, Sam. חשרת, Ps. חשכת. כ and ם: v. 28, Sam. ועיניך, Ps. ועינים. Ewald on Ps.: "The reading of Sam.....probably arose merely from the false reading of עינים as עיניר."

ן and ר: v. 33, Sam. ויתר, Ps. ויתן. Also ות and ים: v. 28, Sam. רמים, Ps. רמות. Thenius in loco: "The ת of רמות was closed by the line (Schriftlinie) beneath, and the ן shortened."

To these may be added another case indicated by the Septuagint as a difference between its text in Psalms and that of the Hebrew, Ps. XVIII. 35. ח and ת: Heb. נחתה, LXX. נתתה (ἔθου). So Hitzig in loco. Cf. A. 1. *c.*

b. Transposition of Letters. ג and ר: v. 46, Sam. ויחגרו, Ps. ויחרגו.

c. Omission or insertion of a letter or letters, owing to proximity to the same or a similar letter or set of letters; also omission or insertion of ו or י. (These last, from their small size in the square character, might easily be overlooked, and so omitted; and possibly an accidental insertion of them might pass unnoticed and fail to be corrected for the same reason.)

* The variation in the readings in v. 16, Sam. אפקי ים, Ps. אפיקי מים, may very probably have arisen from a confusion caused by the repetition of ים; possibly the first step was to divide the words אפיקימ | ים, and then to correct the grammar into אפיקי ים. It is possible also that in v. 24 the variations Sam. ואהיה תמים, Ps. ואהי תמים may be due either to an omission of ה through

[1] Hammond's *Textual Criticism*, etc., p. 16.

Digitized by Google

its similarity to ת, or to an accidental repetition of ת and its subsequent misreading as ה; but cf. B. 2. *b*.

Again, in v. 25, we have Sam. כברי, Ps. כבר ידי where the combination ריד׳ probably led to the assimilation of ד to ר and then to the omission of the second רי׳. It is, however, just possible that the variation arose from כברי by the accidental repetition of רי׳ and the misreading of the second ר as ד.

In v. 27, it is possible that the reading of Sam. תתבר arose from the accidental omission of the second of the two ר's of תתברר, or that the reading of Ps. תתברר arose from the accidental repetition of the ר; but cf. B. 2. *b*.

So in v. 28 the similarity of ה and ת may have given rise, by omission or repetition, to the variations Sam. אַת, Ps. אַתָּה.

So again v. 35, Sam. נחת, Ps. נחתה, where the concurrence of two or three similar letters would increase the chance of a mistake; cf. A. 1. *a*.

In v. 44, the variation Sam. תשמרני, Ps. תשימני may have arisen through the slight similarity of ר to מ; cf. A. 1. *a*., Ewald on v. 28.

Under this head we may possibly include, as caused by the character of the letters י and ו, *a*. Some of the inconsistencies in the carrying out of the system of *Scriptio Defectiva* in Sam. and *Scriptio Plena* in Ps. *β*. The variations sometimes between the two texts, sometimes between the Q'rî and K'thîbh of Samuel, between the affixes ו and יו. *γ*. The insertion or omission of ו in ענתך, ענותך, ישעו, ישועו, etc.; but cf. C. 2. *δ*. The insertion or omission of the conjunction ו, especially ו conversive (or consecutive) before the י of the third person.

d. Omission by Homœoteleuton. Thenius seems to consider that the loss of the clause in v. 3, וּמְנוֹסִי מוֹשִׁעִי מֵחָמָס תּוֹשִׁיעֵנִי, may be due to the confusion caused by the string of first person affixes. Cf. B. 4. It is possible also that in v. 43 ארקעם should stand in the text, and has been omitted in Ps. because of its ending with ם, as does the previous and similar אדקם or אריקם; but cf. A. 1. *a*. Also in v. 36 of Sam. the omission of וימינך תסעדני.

e. Variations owing either to the accidental repetition of a word and subsequent differentiation of the two words thus obtained; or to the accidental omission of one of two consecutive similar words. In v. 12 סתרו may be omitted in Sam., owing to its slight similarity to the two following words סביבתיו סכות. In v. 39, the presence of ואכלם in Sam. after כלתם or its omission in the Psalm may be due to one of these causes. So too may be explained in v. 43 the insertion or omission of ארקעם (Sam.) after אריקם or אדקם; but cf. A. 1. *d*.

A. 2. Errors of Hearing. V. 42, the variation between אֶל (Sam.) and עַל (Ps.) may be due to this cause; but cf. B. 2. *b*.

A. 3. Errors of Memory. Errors classed under this head may be supposed to arise thus: the scribe grasps the sense of a clause, but attending more closely to the sense than to the exact words, substitutes for some word or words a synonymous equivalent; also small particles will be omitted or inserted where the

Digitized by Google

omission or insertion only slightly affects the sense; cf. Hammond, p. 19. It is difficult to draw the line between errors arising thus and errors arising from the conscious substitution of usual words and forms for unusual. The same tendency which would lead to this conscious substitution might also lead to unconscious substitution. Thus, though differences of grammatical form, etc., are reserved for a later group, it is possible that many of them are unconscious errors of memory.

a. Interchange of Synonyms. V. 1, Sam. מכך, Ps. מיד, the reading of Sam. being probably assimilated to the preceding מכך. V. 3, Sam. אלהי, Ps. אלי. V. 29, Sam. ויהוה, Ps. אלהי. V. 32, Sam. אל, Ps. אלוה. V. 47, Sam. inserts צור before ישעי.

There is no systematic variation of the names of God between the two texts, and the few differences that do occur seem to fall fairly under this head. In v. 29 the presence of ויהוה in the text of Sam. may be due to the neighboring יהוה. The צור of v. 47 may be a reminiscence of previous צור's. V. 7, Sam. אקרא, Ps. אשוע, the reading of Sam. being probably, as elsewhere, assimilated to a previous word. V. 32, Sam. מבלעדי, Ps. זולתי, another instance of similar assimilation. V. 48, Sam. ומוריד, Ps. וידבר. V. 49, Sam. מוציאי, Ps. מפלטי.

b. Omission or insertion of particles. The reading כִּי of v. 5 in Sam., and the numerous variations between the two texts and the versions as to presence or absence of ו is doubtless due in part to this cause. Cf. C. 1.

B. Conscious Errors. 1. The incorporation of marginal glosses into the text. The variation in v. 7 may be accounted for by supposing that we have the correct text in the reading ושועתי באזניו of Samuel; that this seemed obscure to some reader, who, by way of explanation of באזניו, wrote לפניו תבוא in the margin; and that a later scribe incorporated this in the text. The word תאיר, in v. 29 of Ps., may be a marginal gloss inserted in the text; but cf. B. 4. In v. 43, ארקעם may have been originally a marginal explanation of אדקם.

2. Correction of harsh or unusual expressions. *a*. *Scriptio Plena* and *Defectiva*. The change, which has taken place in the orthography of biblical Hebrew, in the partial substitution of the *Scriptio Plena* for the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is perhaps most clearly illustrated by a comparison of these two texts. It is not so much that one has consistently one system, and the other the other, but that they give the process of change in two different stages. While, in most instances, the text of Samuel has the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and the text of Ps. XVIII. the *Scriptio Plena*, in some cases the relation is reversed, as in the קולו (Sam.), קלו (Ps.) of verse 14. This change of orthography may be compared to the process by which, in the transmission of the text of the Greek Testament, classical was substituted for Alexandrine spelling.

b. Changes from one grammatical form to another, and similar slight changes. V. 3, Sam. ומפלטי לי, Ps. ומפלטי. V. 4, Sam. ומאיבי, Ps. ומן-איבי. V. 5,

Digitized by Google

insertion of כי in text of Samuel. V. 6, Sam. סבוני, Ps. סבבוני. V. 15, Sam. חצים, Ps. חציו. V. 16, Sam. אפו.....בגערת, Ps. אפך.....מגערתך. V. 19, Sam. משען, Ps. למשען. V. 20, Sam. אתי.....ויצא, Ps. ויציאני. V. 21, Sam. כצדקתי, Ps. כצדקי. V. 23, Sam. אסור ממנה, Ps. אסיר מני. V. 24, Sam. לו.... .ואהיה, Ps. עמו.....ואהי. V. 25, Sam. ואשתמרה, Ps. ואשתמר. V. 27, Sam. תתבר, Ps. תתברר; Sam. תתפל, Ps. תתפתל. V. 37, Sam. תחתני, Ps. תחת. V. 40, Sam. ותזרני, Ps. ותאזרני; Sam. תחתני, Ps. תחתי. V. 41, Sam. תתה, Ps. נתתה. V. 42, Sam. אל, Ps. על. V. 44, Sam. עמי, Ps. עם. V. 45, Sam. יתכחשו, Ps. יכחשו. V. 46, Sam. ממסגרותם, Ps. ממסגרותיהם. V. 48, Sam. תחתני, Ps. תחתי. V. 49, Sam. ומקמי, Ps. מן־קמי; Sam. חמסים, Ps. חמס. V. 50, אזמר, Ps. אזמרה.

3. Corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts. *α.* In the New Testament this influence seriously affects the text of the Gospels, parts of the Acts, Ephesians and Colossians. Here this influence might be expected to work towards the harmonizing of differences between the two texts; but in such cases the two texts are rendered identical, and there is no evidence of change, unless we can have recourse to independent witnesses. Witnesses, more or less independent, we have in the LXX. and other versions, and in the Q'rî. The versions, however, are most of them wholly or largely influenced by the LXX. The LXX. seldom differs from the two Hebrew texts when they are agreed; and the differences which do occur seem more likely to have arisen from mistake, or failure to understand the text, than from variations in the text; cf. v. 48. The Q'rî of Samuel indicates in two instances a preference for a reading which would introduce a variation between the texts; and this preference may be due to a belief that the text of Samuel had, in these instances, been adapted to that of Ps. XVIII. But it is difficult to feel confident as to the nature of the grounds upon which the readings of the Q'rî are based. The instances are, v. 8, ויתגעש for ותגעש; v. 15, וידם for ויהמם; possibly also in v. 51, in the substitution of מגדול for מגדיל, though the reading מגדל of Ps. might suit either.

β. There are also readings which may be due to desire to harmonize the text of the Psalm with that of passages elsewhere which are similar to parts of it. The reading צור ישעי in Sam. (v. 47) may be due to the צור ישועתי of Ps. LXXXIX. 27. The לי of ומפלטי לי in Sam. (v. 2) might be due to Ps. CXLIV. 2.

γ. Again, the tendency to assimilate the phraseology of different parts of the Psalm may be placed under this head. The influence of this tendency on Sam. (vs. 1, 7, 32) has already been noticed.

* In Ps. XVIII. 43, the reading על פני רוח may be an imperfect reminiscence of the על כנפי רוח of v. 11; and the מפלטי, of Ps. XVIII. 49, is probably due to the previous מפלטי. It may, however, be questioned whether such errors are not more likely to be unconscious than conscious.

Digitized by Google

4. Liturgical Alterations. It is suggested by Lengerke that the clause אֶרְחָמְךָ, etc., may have been prefixed to the Psalm by some one who adapted it for use in public worship. On the other hand, Delitzsch suggests that, the rhythm of the text in Samuel having been disturbed by the loss of this clause, the words מְנוֹסִי, etc., were inserted to restore the rhythm.

* 5. Dogmatic Alterations. The only reading that suggests any doctrinal motive is the insertion of תְּאִיר in v. 29 of Ps. XVIII. Commentators mostly defend the reading of Ps. XVIII., and Delitzsch points out that, though God is spoken of as אוֹר, he is not spoken of as נֵר; but this very fact renders it extremely probable that, if God had been, as in Samuel, spoken of as נֵר, the text would have been modified; and the practice of the LXX. and the traditional Tikkun Sopherim in the case of expressions considered derogatory to the divine majesty would be some ground for supposing that a similar motive might have led to the insertion of תְּאִיר here.

C. Other classes than those of Hammond. 1. Errors arising from mechanical injury to the text from which the copy is taken. MSS. of the Greek Testament are often found to be variously injured; portions are missing at the beginning and end of pages; the edges have been injured, and the beginning and end of lines lost; letters are obliterated or indistinct. Any one copying from such MSS. might well be led into errors of omission or else of conjectural emendation or misreading of half effaced letters. Lengerke (p. 11), following Ewald, is inclined to maintain that such errors are numerous among the variations of these two texts. This view not only affords an easy way of accounting for the various omissions, but especially meets the case of such variations as the following:— v. 13, Sam. בערו, Ps. .....ו יעביו עברו ברד; v. 15, Sam. ברק, Ps. וברקים רם; v. 33, Sam. מעוזי, Ps. המאזרני; where, in each case, the text of Samuel looks like a mechanical fragment of the other text, so much injured as to need some serious cause to account for the injury. Some of the cases of confusion of similar letters, and some of the omissions of the ו, might be due to this cause.

2. Errors arising from confusion between cases where the presence or absence of י or ו was a question of *Scriptio*, and cases where the י or ו was a root-letter. From the nature of the case, such a class of errors is peculiar to the criticism of the Old Testament text. If, at any stage, any systematic revision of the text took place with a view to completing the system of the *Scriptio Plena*, amid the somewhat wholesale insertion of ו's and י's, one or two might be inserted where they were not wanted. If, on the other hand, it may be supposed that scribes were inclined at times to economize time, space and labor, they might, in some cases, revert to the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and sometimes might omit, as quiescent, a ו or י really a root-letter. To one of these causes might be attributed the following

Digitized by Google

variations:—v. 26 (Sam.) גבור, (Ps. XVIII.) גבר; v. 36 (Sam.) וענתך, (Ps. XVIII.) וענותך; v. 42 (Sam.) יישע, (Ps. XVIII.) יישועו; v. 45 (Sam.) לשמוע, (Ps. XVIII.) לשמע.

We have yet to notice a few variations that could scarcely be quoted as simple cases of any of these groups.

V. 8 (Sam.) מוסדות השמים, (Ps.) מוסדי הרים:—Various ideas of fitness, etc., might give rise to such a variation. If הרים is original, השמים might be substituted as an antithesis to the preceding הארץ. If השמים be original, הרים might be suggested through the connection of the idea of רגז with הרים. In verse 13, the presence of ברד וגחלי אש at the end might serve to account for either the insertion or omission of the same clause at the end of verse 14. Sam. (v. 38) ואשמידם, Ps. ואשיגם:—This may be either a sort of error of confusion of words of similar sense, limited by an attempt to preserve similarity of form and sound; or it may be the result of partial obliteration of letters in the original text. Sam. (v. 39) ולא יקומון, (Ps.) ולא יכלו קום:—The reading of the Psalm looks somewhat like an explanation or amplification of Samuel. Lengerke, however, emphatically approves of the reading of the Psalm; in this case the text of Samuel may be due to mutilation of the original text. Thenius, however, maintains that the אכלם, read by Samuel in the previous verse, belongs to the original text, and suggests that יכלו is somehow due to a misplacing and miswriting of this word. The alteration of the position of לשמע אזן ישמעו לי in v. 45, and of בנוים in v. 50, may be an error of sight or memory. The reading of the Psalm חבלי for משברי is probably an assimilation to the following חבלי; it is scarcely a case of substitution of synonyms, and may be an error of sight or memory.

II. EXTENT OF THE VARIATIONS.

As our object in noticing the extent of the variations is to compare it with the extent of the variations between other texts, we may omit mere variations of *Scriptio* as being of a special character. We may also omit variations of pointing, for a similar reason.

With these limitations, we find that, out of about 500 words in the text, about 130 (counting all omissions) are affected by the variations; that is to say, about one in four. Such variation is much more extensive than between two MSS. or two texts of a passage of the Greek Testament. For instance, in Matt. II., out of about 440 words, about thirty are affected by the various readings of Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles; that is to say, about one out of fourteen. Again, 1 Chron. XVI. 8–22, and Ps. CV. 1–15, give two texts of a part of a Psalm; and here the variations only affect eight words out of one hundred, or about one out of thirteen. In other cases of parallel texts, in different parts of the Old Testament, the variations are more numerous, but seldom so numerous as in this case.

Digitized by Google

III. DISTRIBUTION OF READINGS CONTAINING DIFFICULT OR UNUSUAL EXPRESSIONS.

1. In the text of Samuel:—Verse 12, חשרת; v. 25, כברי; v. 26, נבור תמים; v. 27, תתבר, תתפל; v. 28, ועיניך על רמים תשפיל; v. 29, ואתה נירי יהוה; v. 33, מעוזי חיל, ויתר; v. 36, וענתך; v. 40, ותזרני; v. 41, תתה; v. 46, ויחגרו.

2. In the text of Ps. XVIII.:—v. 6, סבבוני; v. 11, ויד֝א; v. 15, וברקים רם; v. 23, מני.

It is difficult to determine what is sufficiently unusual to put in such a list. The above are, however, such as may be considered either, (1) sufficiently unusual to lead a scribe to correct them; or (2) sufficiently unusual to give rise to a suspicion of carelessness in transcription.

IV. THE TEXT OF THE LXX.

1. The LXX. versions of Samuel and Psalms are both agreed in supporting the text of Ps. XVIII., against the text of Samuel, in the following instances:—In v. 7, the versions of the LXX., instead of repeating the same word for "cry," as in Samuel (אקרא אקרא), have two different words, as in Ps. XVIII. (אקרא אשוע). The second word in Samuel is *βοήσομαι*, and in Ps. *ἐκέκραζα*. This variation seems to show that, in each case, the LXX. is based on a Hebrew text; and that it is not a case in which one of the two versions of the LXX. has been adapted to the other. In v. 12, the LXX. of Sam. inserts *ἀποκρυφὴν αὐτοῦ* with the text of Ps. XVIII. In v. 16, the LXX. of Sam. inserts *καὶ* with Ps. In v. 25, the LXX. of Sam. has *κατὰ τὴν καθαριότητα τῶν χειρῶν μου* with the כבר ידי of Ps. XVIII. In v. 39, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent ואכלם, though A adds *καὶ τελέσω αὐτούς*. In v. 43, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent ארקעם.

2. Both versions agree in supporting the text of Samuel in the following cases: In v. 14, the LXX. of Psalms has nothing to represent ברד וגחלי אש. In v. 36, the LXX. of Psalms renders ענותך as *παιδεία* and this rendering seems rather to refer it to עֲנָוָה than עֲנָוָה.

3. In v. 15, the reading of the LXX. of Sam. *καὶ ἠστραψεν ἀστραπὴν* with the expression בָּרוֹק בָּרָק in Ps. CXLIV. 6 and the readings בָּרָק in Sam. and בְּרָקִים רָב in Ps. XVIII. suggest an original reading ברקים ברק (so Thenius). It is, however, possible that the LXX. of Samuel is simply a double rendering of ברק.

Thus the LXX. inclines to the text of Ps. XVIII., but various facts tend to minimize the authority on the LXX. in a case like this. We are ignorant of the circumstances under which the translation was made; but we know that later on the text was, so to speak, re-assimilated to the Hebrew, and disturbed in other ways by the Hexapla. Nor does it seem unlikely that, in such a case as this, parallel accounts in the LXX. as in the Greek Testament have been harmonized in the present text.

Digitized by Google

The Vulgate of Sam., while in some instances inserting what the LXX. omits, is in others still more closely assimilated to the text of Ps. XVIII., and this process of assimilation seems carried still further in the Syriac (see Thenius).

These phenomena of the later translations seem to point to a continuous tendency to harmonize the text of Sam. to that of Ps. XVIII., and suggest that the LXX., the Vulgate and the Syriac illustrate different stages of the operation of the tendency.

The translation in Jerome's Hebrew Psalter consists of the Vulgate translation of Sam., corrected to the Hebrew text of Ps. XVIII., with a few expressions borrowed from Jerome's Roman and Gallican revisions of the Old Latin. The text is mainly the same as the Hebrew.

V. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO TEXTS.

1. Samuel. *a.* Frequent use of the *Scriptio Defectiva.* *b.* Numerous unusual expressions, especially grammatical forms, see III. *c.* Tendency to repeat the same words, see B. 3. *d.* According to Delitzsch, the rhythm is often less complete than in Ps. XVIII. *e.* There are six קרי's, while there are none in Ps. XVIII.

2. Psalm XVIII. *a.* Use of the *Scriptio Plena.* *b.* According to some commentators more appropriate poetical language, style and rhythm.

3. The differences. It has been noticed that while the differences are similar in character to those between MSS. of the Greek New Testament, they are much more numerous than is the case with the differences between such MSS. The bulk of the differences merely affect the grammatical form and the style of the composition. The meaning can scarcely be said to be seriously affected in any case, so that, as far as meaning is concerned, the general effect is the same in both cases. But the version in Samuel seems to impress many commentators as rougher and more prosaic than that in Psalms.

VI. EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

Before attempting to deduce any results from the previous arrangement and discussion of the text and its details, it may be well to set down what is known of the history of these texts. We may fairly assume that, before the Psalm was incorporated in the Psalter and the Book of Samuel, it was written out in a separate form. Later on the Book of Samuel was included in the volume called נביאים and the Psalter in that called כתובים, and later still these volumes together with the תורה were included in one book. It is also generally supposed that the volume נביאים was collected earlier than that of כתובים. We also know that at first Hebrew MSS. were written in the ancient irregular Hebrew character and that, probably during the period following the return from the captivity, this ancient character was superseded by the more regular square Chaldee character.

During the second and third centuries B. C. the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek at Alexandria, probably by Alexandrian Jews, different

Digitized by Google

parts being translated at different times and by different translators, so that the translations of this Psalm are or were originally independent. Then early in the Christian era Latin and Syriac translations were made, the Latin directly from the LXX., the Syriac largely influenced by it. In the fourth century A. D., Jerome revised the Latin translation from the Hebrew.

There were also other Greek translations in the second century A. D., but these were mostly wanting in these sections, or do not present any important variations.

Also, it is probable that for a long time there were current in the synagogues oral Chaldee translations or Targums, but the written Targums are too late to be of much use.

Finally, we know that early in the Christian era a school of Jewish teachers, commonly called the Massorites, devoted themselves to the study, arrangement and pointing of the text, and to them we owe it in its present form.

VII. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEXTS CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

We will now try to combine our two sets of data, namely, the character of the differences between the texts and the known history of the texts.

We start with the Psalm as originally composed, probably, according to most authorities, by David; or even if not by David, yet in his time and under his auspices. Lengerke (p. 50) suggests that it may have been for some time transmitted orally, and that some of the various readings may have arisen from this cause. Such an oral transmission is probable enough in itself and might readily be included among the possible alternative causes of errors. But the differences between the texts as we now have them are not specially of the kind that arise from oral transmission. At any rate, the differences of these texts as compared with the synoptic records of the oral tradition of the Gospel are by no means of the same character. The proportion of verses left entirely unchanged is much larger here. It is true that the parallel passages Matt. VI. 24 and Luke XVI. 13; Matt. VII. 3-5, 7-11 and Luke VI. 41, 42; XI. 9-13 are almost identical, and the small variations which do occur are similar in character and even fewer than those of our sections; but the fact is most easily accounted for by supposing some documentary relation between the sections in Matthew and Luke. Thus we can scarcely maintain that the present texts give any clear indications of oral transmission.

We come, therefore, to an original copy of the Psalm, and may fairly suppose that for a longer or shorter time copies were made of this single Psalm and that during this period divergencies would begin to arise. In this stage we have a special opening for corruption of the text. A copy of a short work passing from hand to hand as a small roll would be exceedingly obnoxious to mechanical injury,

Digitized by Google

whereby the beginning and end of the roll, the edges and even the body of the text might be mutilated, or the writing obliterated. The danger of such mechanical injury would be diminished when the separate Psalm was incorporated into a larger volume. Lengerke (pp. 11 and 50) following Ewald assigns this cause for some of the alterations, and it has already been shown that many variations may be most readily explained in this way.

Here we may ask, When did the divergence between our two texts begin? It is, of course, possible, as some suppose, that the author wrote the Psalm in two forms, and that the Samuel text connects by a series of copies with one form and the Psalm text with the other. It is also possible that both texts may be linked by connecting copies with some copy made long after David's time. If the copy from which the divergence begins is very old, then the agreement of the texts thus obtained may be equally late. It seems probable that the divergence began before the separate Psalm was incorporated into larger volumes, and certainly before it was incorporated in either Samuel or Psalms.

For this view the following reasons may be assigned:

1. Editors of collections of Psalms would naturally be those connected with the choral services of the temple; while the writers of annals seem to have belonged to the schools of the prophets. Diverging copies must soon have arisen, and editors belonging to different schools would be likely to have different copies.

2. There are various readings which seem to be best accounted for by referring them to the early period of the history of the text when a small copy would be specially exposed to mechanical injury.

3. If the divergence began after incorporation in the books of Psalm and Samuel, one text must have been borrowed from the other at a pretty advanced stage, and it ought to be possible to trace the dependence of one text on the other. But it is now generally agreed that this cannot be done.

4. It is alleged that תִּתְבֵר etc. are popular forms. The alteration of a correct form into a popular form is more likely to have taken place before incorporation into a history than afterwards.

It should, however, be noticed that the text of the Book of Samuel in general is considered to be of the same rough and mutilated character ascribed to the text of this Psalm in Samuel. Accepting for the present this view of the character of the text, it may be said that if the Book of Samuel was compiled largely from fragments similar in textual character to this Psalm, the character of the text might well be the same throughout the book.

In order to work out this question thoroughly it would be necessary to examine the state of the text in other early historical books; which again would involve the discussion of even wider questions.

We may also ask at this stage, What was the state of the text when the divergence began?

Digitized by Google

But the grounds for an answer are very slight. We might more or less successfully construct the text from which the two diverged, but we could not say how far this text accurately represented the original or how far it was corrupt.

Leaving therefore the period during which the Psalm was copied separately, the next step is its incorporation into larger volumes. It is generally maintained that the Psalm had formed part of smaller collections before being incorporated in 2 Samuel and Psalms. It is difficult to resist the arguments by which many critics maintain that the Psalter in its present form was evolved by progressive integrations, in small collections of increasing size from the original individual Psalms. It is also generally supposed that the Book of Samuel rests on earlier documents.

Hence we have no ground for supposing that the transition from the copy of the individual Psalm to the volume of either Psalter or Samuel was immediate, but rather that there were intermediate stages of incorporation.

Now there are two main kinds of incorporation; smaller books may be copied together on to a larger roll, or may be in some way combined, merely for convenience and safety, as heterogeneous pamphlets are sometimes bound together for a library. This process need not affect the text except negatively, by checking the process of mechanical injury. Again the materials may be arranged to form a history, or edited as a collection of poems. The occasion of such an editing is an opportunity and a temptation for adapting the materials to the taste of the editor; a poem, however, introduced as a poem into a history or a hymnal is less likely to be modified than a narrative introduced into a history. As many of the variations probably arose in the period between the first including of this Psalm in some small historical fragment or some small collection of poems, and the final editing of the Psalter or the Book of Samuel in their complete form, it may be well to consider what changes were likely to take place in this period.

It is likely on the one hand that the oftener a text is copied, the more various readings there will be; but on the other hand, the circumstances which lead to frequent copying may tend to preserve the accuracy of the text, and the circumstances under which copies are seldom made may afford few safeguards for the text.

Frequent copies imply manual dexterity on the part of scribes, a wide knowledge of the text and copies to compare with. These circumstances would tend to limit and correct careless errors, while the absence of such circumstances implied in few copies would leave an opening for careless blunders in transcription and for the repetition of these blunders. But this technical ability, unless combined with a very critical spirit, would tend to introduce another class of various readings, namely, corrections to the approved grammar, orthography and style of the time of the copyist. Moreover at each stage of incorporation, whenever a fresh collection or arrangement of Psalms was made, or a set of annals re-edited, the

Digitized by Google

editor would naturally read through his materials in as critical a spirit as he might be capable of; he would be more likely to notice details of style and grammar than the mere scribe, and might consider that his position warranted him in correcting them. Thus we may conclude that the text oftener copied and edited would be more free from mere blunders, but would be more likely to have corrections in style and grammar.

Now it seems likely that Psalms would be both oftener copied and oftener edited than Samuel. Modern critics incline to recognize many editings of the Psalms, and it is a matter of common experience that hymn-books are more in request than histories, and the less literary the age the greater the preference for hymn-books. It seems reasonable to suppose that the same tendency that gives us now countless editions of hymn-books would give rise then to collections of Psalms. Moreover, if these were used, as is commonly supposed, for liturgical purposes, copies would frequently be made for the choir. The people would probably be more familiar with the Psalms than with Samuel, and the version of this Psalm in the Psalter would be better known than that in Samuel.

Hence we might expect the text of Samuel to be rough and mutilated, and the text of Psalms more free from careless blunders, partly because the more frequent and careful copying of the text of Psalms would preserve it from such blunders, and partly because the frequent copying and editing by a somewhat critical school would tend to the smoothing away of what was rough and difficult. Now the fact already shown, that careless readings and doubtful grammar are much more common in Samuel than in Psalms, is entirely consistent with these views.

Lengerke, indeed, says (p. 9), that all critical art was unknown to the Jews till the time of the Massorites, but that the amount of critical art assumed above is very slight.

When this Psalm was first included in a larger work, we cannot say, but we may fairly say that the period of successive editions concluded in the case of one text with the publication of the Book of Samuel, and in the other with that of the Psalter in its present form. It is generally held that the Psalter is later than the Book of Samuel, so we have reason to suppose that the period of editions was longer in the case of the Psalter.

Possibly the inclusion of the Book of Samuel in the collection נביאים and the Psalter in that of כתובים may have been the occasion of some slight revision.

It is to be noticed that the fact of the two texts of our Psalm being in different sections of the Hebrew Bible implies some slight difference in the treatment of the text.

There are two general changes which probably belong to the latter part of this period, one is the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*, and the other the change from the ancient or Phœnician character to the square character.

Digitized by Google

As to the change in *Scriptio*, there is an appearance of system about it, e. g., נִי regularly in Samuel and נָי in Psalm XVIII., and this suggests a conscious revision of the text. It is, of course, possible that the general influence of the tendencies at work upon the text of Psalms had largely introduced the *Scriptio Plena*, and that the change was completed by a reviser. Any such revision would imply some degree of critical feeling and care, and would be the occasion of a careful reading and some study of the text, and so also an opportunity for other alterations.

Again, the change from ancient to square characters would have a three-fold effect:

A. It would check the tendency to one class of mistakes, because letters which had been similar, and so liable to be mistaken for one another, would be so no longer.

B. This change might also be the occasion for other alterations.

C. It would introduce new possibilities of error by rendering similar and liable to be mistaken letters previously unlike.

This change of character seems to have been going on when the volume נביאים and the Psalter were being arranged and completed. The coincidence of these two processes is significant.

We have now brought our text down to the time when the books containing it had assumed their final form, and were written in square Hebrew characters. There are variations which must have arisen after this time, namely, the cases of confusion of similar letters (A. 1. *a.*); for the similarity of the letters in question does not exist in the older character.

The next landmark in the history of the text is the translation of the LXX. It has already been shown that at this stage we find nearly all the variations between the present texts; so that the extent of variation since is comparatively limited. Here again there is an element of uncertainty in the state of the LXX. text.

It is pretty generally agreed that after the time of the LXX. the different MSS. and versions rest on essentially the same Hebrew text, or else in the case of versions directly or indirectly on the LXX. There come into play the elaborate system of safeguards for the text, together with the point system, and by these means the Massoretic scholars stereotyped one form of the text and prevented further corruption. Wellhausen[1] says (p. 16) that "the Massora brought to stand in mid-flow a hitherto very flowing text," meaning, doubtless, that the Massora suddenly checked a process of change. In fact the Massora did for the text of the Old Testament what the printing of the Textus Receptus did for the New. The result was that it preserved for us in its exact form a text chosen as standard, but

[1] Der Text der Bücher Samuelis.

Digitized by Google

also that it virtually suppressed that variety of texts and of materials for criticism which might have enabled later scholars to determine a true text. Besides this, the acceptance of an authorized text put an end for centuries to critical work on the text. It is also probable that this somewhat sudden stereotyping of the text led to the adoption of recent blunders and their interpretation, when the continuation of a free criticism would naturally have eliminated them. For instance, in v. 12, the reading חשרת of Samuel may be a blunder of the scribe, found in some MS. to which special importance was attached; and in the natural course of things, it would have been corrected by comparison with other MSS. to חשכת, but owing to some arbitrary Massoretic canon, intended to enforce absolute loyalty to the text as received, it may have been preserved.

We will next discuss directly two main questions noticed incidentally in the note on the history of the text:

I. Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription?

II. Which of the two texts is the most ancient and which the more correct?

One group of commentators hold that both are Davidic, and therefore both correct texts; among these critics are Alexander, and Neale, and Hengstenberg. It is adopted in the Speaker's Commentary, and alluded to as evident by Scrivener in his introduction to the Criticism to the New Testament. Eichhorn and de Rossi are inclined to attribute some of the variations to a Davidic recension.[1]

Schultens attributes the variations to a revision,[1] and Gramberg[2] attributes the text of Samuel to a late revision from the Psalm-text, so too De Wette.[2]

But the bulk of modern critics, while admitting more or less revision, assign most of the variations to errors of copyists, amongst these are Hammond,[3] Clericus,[3] Kennicott[3] and Rosenmüller.[3]

Most critics maintain that the text of Psalm XVIII. is the more correct; but many admit that the text of Samuel is the more ancient. This view is held by Ewald, who says "The copy in the Psalms is certainly the later.....must have proceeded not from Samuel, but from another ancient and very good source..... the good and original text is so strongly divided among the two;" also by Olshausen. Delitzsch is clear in his preference for the text as in Psalms, but admits that the Samuel-text seems to be of great antiquity. Böttcher speaks of the Psalm-text as a Priest-recension and the Samuel-text as a lay-recension.[4] It will be a matter of opinion whether a text would undergo more alteration in the hands of the temple authorities or amongst laymen. He also, however, expresses an opinion, which is endorsed by Thenius, that "the Psalm-text is fuller and purer, but that, in Samuel, though faulty, in places preserved in form more true to the original and ancient text."[5] Lengerke admits readings from both texts, and leaves

[1] Lengerke, p. 8. [2] Lengerke, p. 12. [3] Rosenmüller, Scholia *in loco*. [4] Delitzsch *in loco*. [5] Thenius *in loco*.

Digitized by Google

some doubtful, but he favors the Psalm-text, though he holds that the orthography of the Samuel-text is more ancient.

With some critics the balance inclines to Samuel; Bleek says (II. 251) "2 Sam. XXII. gives the original readings, not everywhere, but very usually." Prof. Kirkpatrick, in his note on the subject, in the appendix to the Second Book of Samuel, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, gives the following decision with some reserve: "The text in 2 Samuel, although in many respects defective, is as a whole the better representative of the original form; and that the text in the Psalter has been subjected to a careful revision of a later date, in which peculiar forms, which perhaps were 'licenses of public usage,' have been replaced by classical forms; unusual constructions simplified, archaisms and obscure expressions explained."

Some, on the other hand, give a very strong verdict for the Psalm-text. Lowe and Jennings incline to such a judgment. Hitzig attributes the variations to a modification to prose forms, and a carelessness of copying characteristic of the historical books; Delitzsch seems to incline to this opinion. Hupfeld seems to be strongly of this opinion.

Before discussing these questions it seems necessary to define the word "revision." It may be used to signify a complete examination of the text and a modification of it to suit the views of the reviser, and in this case all the variations might be due to such a revision as, for instance, the defenders of the Davidic recension maintain. But Prof. Kirkpatrick explains the "careful revision" he speaks of, in terms which seem to imply merely a literary revision, not intended to affect the sense. But besides this, every copyist has opportunities of revision, and both the phenomena of MSS. and our knowledge of human nature lead us to suppose that they used these opportunities. Such use is one of the ordinary elements of the corruption of the text in copying, and scarcely needs to be called a revision. A revision, therefore, must be systematic and intentional; it may extend to the sense or limit itself to the style.

I. We now return to our first question:—Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription?

It will be convenient to take, as representing the views of those who maintain that *all or most* of the variations arose from a recension, the arguments of Hengstenberg. His first argument, that to admit errors of transcription would open the door to conjectural emendations, is evidently worthless as argument, though it has its weight as a warning against hasty judgment on so important a subject. He next maintains that the variations of these parallel texts are due to revision, because elsewhere in the Old Testament the variations of parallel texts are due to revision.

To this it may be answered that there are variations between other parallel texts which can hardly be accounted for except as errors of the copyist (e. g., the

Digitized by Google

reading Yă'ᵃrê 'ōr'gîm in 2 Sam. XXI. 19): and further that the variations in this case are of a different character from those in other cases of parallel texts. For instance, elsewhere the divine names are systematically altered, and not so here. Also in parallel texts that bear the signs of revision, there is not the same number of of variations that can be explained by the confusion of similar letters.

He next argues that the alleged carelessness of copyists is only imaginary; because neither text suggests carelessness by itself, but only when compared with the other. It may be said that in Samuel, at any rate, there are obscure and unusual expressions which must attract attention. In the absence of any parallel text and any system of textual criticism, it was impossible to say more than that they were obscure and unusual; but with the parallel text before us, presenting plain and intelligible readings, it becomes at least a reasonable theory that obscurity may have arisen through carelessness. It is understood in New Testament criticism that obscurity may indicate a defective text, though an alternative intelligible reading may be only a plausible emendation.

He next alleges that *many* of the various readings could not arise from mistakes; but, on the other hand, it has been shown by many critics that *most* of the readings could have so arisen. The classification given above seems to show this.

Lastly, he points out that many of the variations may be explained by the tendency of a reviser to substitute for unusual expressions more grammatical forms and better known words. But nobody doubts that many of the variations, as Prof. Kirkpatrick also maintains, might be due to a reviser or revisers; but when the former argument, that many of the various readings could not arise from mistakes, has been shown to be, at any rate, excessively limited in its application, this last argument loses much of its force. The very same tendency that would lead a reviser to prefer more usual and grammatical expressions, would lead to a similar preference on the part of copyists and editors, and would give rise to both conscious and unconscious alterations. The series of copyings and editings would of course involve conscious alterations, which might be considered a casual and continuous revision. It has already been suggested that there was some systematic revision of orthography in connection with the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*. Similarly, it is probable that some reviser may have taken in hand the task of completing that change to later and more correct style which had been already very largely brought about in the process of transmitting the text. Prof. Kirkpatrick's view, that the changes of style are due to a careful revision, does not differ essentially from this. The result in each case would be the same, and the choice between the two views is a matter of *a priori* probability. One other objection to the view that most, if not all, of the variations arose in the ordinary course of transcription, is the number of variations. It has been noticed that the extent of variation in proportion to the length of the text is much greater than that between MSS. of the Greek Testament.

Digitized by Google

The answer to this is that the circumstances of transcription were much more likely to give rise to errors than in the case of New Testament MSS.

These circumstances are as follows:

1. The absence of written vowels, tending to deprive the copyist of the help to be derived from a ready grasp of the meaning of words copied.

2. The change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*.

3. The change from Phœnician to square characters.

In the case of such changes as 2 and 3, the copyist largely loses the help derived from sight. He depends more on sense.

4. The less literary character of the times.

5. The fact that the Psalm was probably contained successively in what may be called successive editions of books.

On these grounds we maintain that any systematic revision, except in connection with the change to *Scriptio Plena;* any Davidic or other recension, while by no means intrinsically impossible, is not required either by the character or the number of the variations; and that the variations are sufficiently accounted for by copyist's mistakes, together with such casual alterations as would naturally be made by copyists and editors, and probably a revision confirming and supplementing these alterations in the matter of style.

II. Which text is the more ancient and which the more correct?

Here again the terms used are a little ambiguous. In one sense the two texts may be said to be of the same age, both in their final form dating from the completion of the Massoretic text. Probably what is usually understood by the question is: "Was the text used by the compiler of the Psalter more or less ancient than that used by the author of Samuel?" Here again there is ambiguity. Which compiler? Is there any special interest and importance in determining the form of the text as the last editing of the Psalter rather than at any previous stage?

Perhaps the question may be restated so as to represent more clearly the point at issue. As to readings that affect the integrity and sense of the Psalm, critics seem inclined to give the preference to the Psalm-text, and the considerations that determine their decision in individual instances are mostly so subjective as to make any comprehensive discussion of these variations very difficult. There remain the readings which affect the orthography, grammar and mere form of expression. With respect to these it is pretty generally agreed that the orthography of the Samuel-text, the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is the more ancient.

There remains the question which seems really at issue under this head. Was the style of the original text polished and correct, or rough and popular? Has the style been marred, as Hitzig, Hupfeld and in part Delitzsch maintain, by the careless way in which the historical books were written and preserved; or has an originally rough style been gradually smoothed by a critic or critics of a later and

Digitized by Google

more literary time? (The latter view is Prof. Kirkpatrick's.) Is the style of the Psalm-text or of the Samuel-text nearer to the original?

Putting into definite shape and supplementing what has already been said incidentally, the balance of argument seems to be in favor of the Samuel-text.

It has already been pointed out that popular forms were more likely, if not original, to creep into the text, when the Psalm was circulated alone, than when it formed part of a historical work. Consequently such readings would be old.

It is also to be noticed that the view that the Samuel-text has degenerated from an earlier text with a poetical style like the Psalm-text, seems to imply a uniformity of poetic style from the time of David to the Restoration; for the "poetical characteristics" of the Psalm-text supposed to have been reduced to prose in the Samuel-text seem to be found also in the Psalms of the Restoration. Moreover, if we accept the view that the Psalm was written by David, we remember at once that a certain roughness of style is supposed to be a characteristic of Davidic Psalms. The history of David's life as shepherd, warrior, outlaw and king does not suggest either opportunity or inclination for acquiring a refined poetic style.

Also the fact of a correction from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena* plainly shows the possibility of a similar correction in other matters, whether by a gradual half-unconscious process or by a deliberate revision. We have also the analogy of the New Testament texts in which the bad grammar and bad spelling and other offences against a later and more critical taste were gradually eliminated. We may also refer again to the probable frequent copyings and editings of the Psalm-text as occasions for alterations.

Thus on this last question we may conclude that, however defective and possibly mutilated, yet in form and expression the Samuel-text is nearer to the original. It is possible that its relation to the Psalm-text is similar to the relation of Codex D to some good MSS. of the Byzantine group. In essentials the Byzantine MSS. might be the more correct, and yet Codex D is older, its orthography and style are older and its text is of much greater critical value, because often from the obvious mistakes of an early uncorrected text we may gather what was originally written; while the plausible correction of a copyist or editor destroys the traces of the earlier reading.

VIII. THE TENSES.

In the Samuel-text there are thirty-six changes of tenses, in the Psalm-text thirty-three, and in sixteen cases one text has a change of tense where the other has not; in most instances this difference depends on the insertion or omission of a Waw Conversive (Consecutive). Though the number of changes is so nearly the same in the two texts, yet there seem to be traces of an attempt in the Psalm-text to reduce the variety in the tenses. For instance, in vs. 38, 39 in the Samuel-

Digitized by Google

text there are five changes of tenses, and in the Psalm-text none. In other cases it seems as if some copyist of the Psalms had begun by altering a tense so as to avoid a change, but had neglected to change the connected tenses; for instance in v. 7 a change of tense is avoided in Ps. XVIII. by reading יִשְׁמַע for וַיִּשְׁמַע, but a fresh change is introduced by reverting to the tense of Samuel in וַתִּגְעַשׁ of v. 8. Similarly with יִרְעַם, וַיִּרְעַם and יִתֵּן of v. 14.

In the LXX. and the Latin versions the changes are much fewer. This seems to be the result of a struggle between a desire to represent the Hebrew tenses accurately and a sense of what was due to Greek and Latin idiom. The changes of tense that do occur in these versions mostly coincide with changes in the original.

IX. WAW (ESPECIALLY CONVERSIVE OR CONSECUTIVE).

The number of variations, that consist in the omission or insertion of a Waw, is specially noticeable.

Out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to tenses twenty-five occur in both texts, six in Samuel only, two in Ps. XVIII. only; out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to other words twenty-seven occur in both texts, one in Samuel only, five in Ps. XVIII. only.[1] Of the eight Waws prefixed to tenses omitted in one text or the other five are immediately followed by Yodh.

These facts show a special tendency to vary in the matter of Waws, most frequently in the case of Waws prefixed to tenses. A similar frequency of variation, in a somewhat smaller degree, occurs in New Testament texts in the case of *καὶ*, *δὲ*, *γὰρ*, etc. The greater frequency of variation between our texts may be accounted for by the opportunity afforded by change of *Scriptio*, the similarity and insignificance of ׳ and ו in square characters, and possibly (see above) by a tendency to alter tenses. The result seems to be that in the Old Testament we may add to the usual carelessness about conjunctions, an additional liability to variation arising from the above causes.

Such a result would have some bearing on the theory of the Hebrew Tenses, because the presence or absence of a Waw may make all the difference between an easy or a difficult construction. In some cases, for instance, in the historical books, where the long succession of narrative tenses, construable according to the old view as pasts, is broken by an isolated tense which should according to the old view be translated as a future, but can only be translated as a past, in such cases the difference might be due to the loss of a Waw.[2]

---

[1] This reckoning excludes cases where the omission or insertion of ו is due to an alteration in the context or structure of the rest of a sentence, and among these the ו of ״ וי ״ in v. 26 is excluded. But it includes the ו before בְּרָקִים in v. 15, before אֶשְׁגַּב and its parallel in v. 38. The ו before וְיִדְבָּר and its parallel in v. 48 is reckoned as a ו before a tense.

[2] E. g., תִּשְׁחַת Exod. viii. 20.

Digitized by Google

X. SUBJECTIVE CRITICISM.

A study of the critics who deal with this question shows how widely such doctors disagree on questions as to the merits of a passage or its harmony with the context. For instance, Ewald speaks of the Psalm-reading in v. 2, אֶרְחָמְךָ יְהוָה חִזְקִי as "so peculiarly appropriate that we cannot see why it should be wanting in Samuel except through a copyist's mistake;" Lengerke, however, who in many respects follows Ewald, calls it "Inanis....et frigidus versiculus." So again Ewald says of the Samuel-reading "ימנוסי etc." in v. 3 "certainly preserved in its entirety in Samuel; for משגבי stands in the Psalm quite abruptly and confusedly;" according to Hupfeld the Samuel-reading is "very superfluous." Again as to the various readings in v. 28, Sam. וְעֵינֶיךָ עַל רָמִים תּ', Ps. וְעֵינַיִם רָמוֹת תַּשְׁפִּיל, Hupfeld speaks of the Samuel-reading as "sinn*lose*," while according to Delitzsch it is "eine der sinn*reichsten* Varianten."

In more purely critical questions there is more agreement, or at any rate it is more easy to understand why the critics differ.

In this connection Ewald's exhaustive denunciation of most other commentators in the introduction to his work on the Psalms is interesting; and we feel that there is something of poetic justice in the reference to Ewald as an "overrated scholar" in a well-known Cambridge work on the Psalms.[1]

This "disagreement of doctors" lends some support to the student's natural inclination to protest against the right of a German or English critic of the nineteenth century to decide dogmatically what was appropriate or in good taste for David ten centuries before Christ.

XI. CANONS OF CRITICISM.

We have attempted to show that the variations between these two texts may, at any rate in most cases, be arranged under the same head as the variations of Greek Testament MSS. It may also be interesting to notice in what cases the canons of Greek Testament criticism would at first sight be applied and how far they would hold.

We take first the canon: *Brevior lectio anteponenda verbosiori.* The cases where this might be used are where one text contains words omitted by the other; or contains a shorter text as מעוזי חיל of Sam. XXII. 33, and בָּרָק of Sam. XXII. 15. However, this canon does not seem to be appealed to by critics, probably because they felt that the influence of possible mutilation and carelessness renders it inoperative.

Again: *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua.* The character of the difference between the two texts affords ample scope for the application of this canon, and if it be admitted it will be decisive for the originality of the general style and form

[1] Jennings and Lowe, i. 70.

Digitized by Google

of the Samuel-text, though in some instances, as in וידא Ps. XVIII. 11, it would favor the Psalm-text.

Again: That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations. Amongst other readings where this canon might be applied perhaps the best case is in v. 15, where the reading וברקים ברק would serve to explain the Samuel-text ברק, the Psalm-text וברקים רב; the variant in Ps. CXLIV. 6 ברוק ברק and the LXX. *καὶ ἤστραψεν ἀστραπὴν.*

Again in I. B. 3 (γ), there are cases to which we might apply the canon that in parallel passages a verbal dissidence rather than a verbal concordance is to be preferred. But it is doubtful whether the parallelisms are not too short, and consequently too little conspicuous, to have excited the harmonizing tendencies of copyists.

Digitized by Google

MENE, TEKEL, PERES, AND THE FEAST OF BELSHAZZAR.

By M. Clermont-Ganneau,

Professor of Oriental Archæology, Paris.

[Translated by Robert W. Rogers, of the Johns Hopkins University.]

Among the enigmatical passages of the Old Testament, there is possibly none which has stimulated to a higher point the curiosity of the exegetes, and provoked more numerous and more divergent comments than the one which contains, in the account of the feast of Belshazzar, these three mysterious words, popularized in the form Mene, Tekel, Peres,—a form which has originated from the ancient Greek and Latin versions of the Aramean Book of Daniel.

Without making a pretence of giving a decisive solution of this philological problem, I wish to try to place it in new terms by introducing an element which —as far as my knowledge goes—has not yet been considered, and which seems to me to play an essential role. I hasten to say that the considerations which are to follow are independent of the question yet under discussion, of the real date of the Book of Daniel, of its historic value and of the environment to which the author may have belonged; they will preserve their import, if indeed any be accorded them, in each of the more or less plausible systems between which, in that respect, modern criticism is divided.

I.

Every one recalls the truly thrilling picture in which the biblical writer paints for us this supernatural manifestation of divine judgment followed, with so brief delay, by its execution.[1]

In the midst of a grand feast, the sumptuousness of which has passed into a proverb, Belshazzar, king of Chaldea, gives the order to bring the vessels of gold and silver of Jehovah, taken from the temple in Jerusalem by his father Nebuchadnezzar, and in company with his guests, male and female, drinks from them in honor of the gods of Babylon. At this moment he sees a hand appear before the candelabra which lighted this impious orgie, a hand which writes upon the plaster of the wall of the hall some incomprehensible words. Terrified by this prodigy, the king summons immediately his astrologers and diviners, and promises them the highest rewards if they succeed in deciphering this inscription and furnishing the interpretation. But all the science of the Chaldean Magi remains in default. The queen arrives and counsels the king to summon Daniel, who had given proof of his wisdom under Nebuchadnezzar, and had been made by him chief of the astrologers and diviners.

[1] Daniel v.

Digitized by Google

Daniel is brought before the king; and after recalling the misdeeds of Nebuchadnezzar and sharply admonishing the son, worthy of him, despiser of Jehovah, he continues in these words:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from before them, and this writing
25 was inscribed. And this is the writing that was inscribed,

מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין

mĕnē mĕnē tĕqēl û-pharsîn

26 This is the interpretation of the thing: Mĕnē, God hath numbered (mĕnāh)
27 thy kingdom, and brought it to an end. Tĕqēl, thou art weighed (tĕqîltâ)
28 in the balances, and art found wanting. Pĕrēs, thy kingdom is divided[1] (pĕrīsāt) and given to the Medes and Persians (Pārās).

Upon this Belshazzar accords to Daniel the promised rewards (though the latter, according to the account, had begun with a refusal of them); that very night he is slain, and Darius the Mede seizes the kingdom.

It is clearly shown from this story that the task incumbent on the interpreter of these prophetical words was double; it was a question first of deciphering, then of explaining them. It would be idle and, in any case, it will not be in my plan to search for what cause the decipherment presented a particular difficulty. Was it a question, in the thought of the author, of an unknown writing, or simply of an unaccustomed disposition of known characters? The rabbins are pronounced in favor of the second hypothesis and, giving free rein to their imagination,[2] have assumed that either the characters belonged to a cryptographic alphabet *athbash*, i. e., one in which the first letter has as its equivalent the last:

י	ט	ת	א	ד	ך	פ	ר	ג	ח	מ	ט
מ	נ	א	ת	ק	ל	ו	פ	ר	ס	י	ן

Or that the letters, arranged in three lines in a sort of table, had to be read vertically and not horizontally:

מ	מ	ת	ו	ס
נ	נ	ק	פ	י
א	א	ל	ר	ן

Some seem to have also thought of a real anagram,[3] which may be represented thus: ניסרפולקתאנמאנם

I do not insist upon these more or less dangerous conjectures, the last of which is perhaps the most plausible, since it is more simple than the first and has the advantage over the second that it might have appeared in the manuscripts without breaking in an offensive manner the regularity of the lines.

---

[1] Or, as some critics translate, *broken, destroyed.*

[2] See, for example, J. Levy, *Neuhebraeisches und Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch*, under the words אדן, אאלרן and יטת.

[3] See Levy, *op. cit.*, § 5, אנם.

Digitized by Google

I only mention them as a matter of curiosity, although we shall be able further on to draw from them an indirect argument. I will devote myself exclusively to the question of interpretation. A circumstance by which we cannot fail to be struck, but to which we possibly do not accord all the importance which it merits, is that the interpretation attributed to Daniel does not agree rigorously with his decipherment.

This agreement exists only in the Greek and Latin translations. These translations in verse 25, after the phrase "this is the writing that was inscribed," substitute for the five words of the original Aramean text mĕnē mĕnē tĕqēl u-phărsîn, the transcription μάνη, θεκὲλ, φάρες, *mane*, *thekel*, *phares*, of the three words mĕnē, tĕqēl, parsīn which stand only in verses 26, 27 and 28 of the original, verses which have for their object the giving of the signification.

Hebraists, guided by the Massoretic vocalization, which is not, be it said in passing, without singular anomalies,[1] are generally agreed in recognizing that the five words of verse 25 ought to be rendered literally as participles, numbered, numbered, weighed and they are dividing;[2] accepting as well founded this translation which, even from the grammatical point of view, does not escape from all criticism, and which yields in any case, we must confess, a phrase partly incoherent, we see that the interpretation given by Daniel to the following verses, regards neither the repetition of the first word mĕnē, nor the plural form of the last word parsīn, preceded by the conjunction ו "and." The biblical writer is content to draw from this whole the three essential words, in attaching them to a uniform grammatical type.

mĕnē "numbered"
tĕqēl "weighed"
pĕrēs[3] "divided."

He then draws from it, by one of those *jeux d'esprit*, of which the Bible offers many examples, the significations appropriate to the situation which he has in view.

He proceeds for this purpose with a mechanical method, so to speak, which is seen clearly by this simple synoptic table:

WORD TO BE EXPLAINED.	EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST DEGREE.	INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND DEGREE.
1 מנא	מנא־אלהא מלכותך	והשלמה
2 תקל	תקלתא במאזניא	והשתכחת חסיר
3 פרס	פריסת מלכותך	ויהיבת למדי ופרס

[1] Particularly for the word תְּקֵל, which, it is supposed, ought to be equivalent to תְּקִיל. Other commentators, without stopping at the vocalization, translate the words as verbs in the Preterite and present Participle: *numeravit, numeravit, appendit et dividunt.* (Buxtorf, Lex. s. v. תקל.)

[2] Or "they are breaking," according to some exegetes. I believe that the sense of dividing is preferable, and my theory tends, as will be seen, to confirm this last meaning of the root פרס.

[3] The same reservation is to be made on the vocalization of this word as upon that of tĕqēl.

Digitized by Google

1. NUMBERED:	God has *numbered* thy kingdom		and has finished it.
2. WEIGHED:	thou hast been *weighed* in the balances		and hast been found wanting in (weight).
3. DIVIDED:	thy kingdom has been *divided*		and has been given to the Mede and the *Persian*.

This rational analysis shows clearly that every one of the three parallel phrases is divided into parts rigorously symmetrical:

1. The word to be explained.

2. A literal explanation of the word, presenting this word at the head of the phrase, in different grammatical states.

3. A second interpretation following the first, a kind of paraphrase, at once larger and more precise, of the literal explanation to which it is uniformly attached by the conjunction "and." The last word pheres, furnished even to the author an opportunity for a veritable *doublet* applying in the explanation of the first degree to the verb peras, "to divide," and in the interpretation of the second degree, to the name of the "Persians" (Pārās). Why, therefore, does not verse 25, giving the decipherment of the mysterious inscription, contain in place of the words mĕnē, mĕnē, tĕqēl u-pharsin, purely and simply the three words mĕnē, tĕqēl, pĕrēs, upon the interpretation of which verses 26, 27 and 28 exclusively revolve?

This question is so natural that the ancient Greek and Latin translators have made no scruple of replying in their way by modifying, as we have seen, the original text of verse 25 in the sense indicated by the logic. They may besides have been influenced by another motive, if the manuscript which they had before their eyes presented the characters composing the phrase in an odd disposition, difficult of reproduction, and similar to those pointed out above, of which the rabbins speak.

However that may be, this divergence between the deciphered and the interpreted text can scarcely be conceived unless one admits that the biblical author had to do, not with simple words, but rather with a given and prescribed phrase consecrated by tradition, from which he must produce, by alliterations and allusions, certain significations adapted to the circumstances which preoccupied him, i. e., the coming of the Persians.

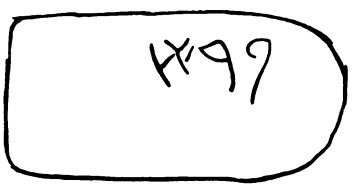
I will return immediately to this point, which is properly the knot of the question, and, following the example of the author himself, and of the ancient translators, will occupy myself, for the moment, only with the three words mĕnē, tĕqēl, pĕrēs, separated from their connection, reserving for later consideration the entire phrase of verse 25.

II.

In 1878, in the course of an epigraphic mission, which had been entrusted to me by the Minister of Public Instruction on account of the Committee of the

Digitized by Google

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, I had occasion to study in the British Museum the important set of bronze lion weights, from Nineveh, many of which have bilingual inscriptions in Assyrian and Aramean. One of these weights particularly attracted my attention. It is the one upon which is engraved an Aramean word, up to that time generally read קדש, "holy," which was considered an indication of a "weight of the sanctuary" in opposition to the standard weight. A minute examination convinced me that the word ought to be read, in reality, פרש paraš or paras "half, moiety."



This is confirmed by the casts brought back by me at that time, which have been placed in the cabinet of the Committee of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, thus permitting a control of the exactness of this reading.[1]

The lion which bears this inscription having weight perceptibly equal to that of a half of the light mina, it was evident that we had to consider this word paraš, "half," directly as the denomination itself of a fixed ponderal quantity, viz., the half-mina.[2] The Assyrian and, as we shall presently see, the Hebrew-Aramean agree in confirming this reading. Immediately a comparison arose in my mind, that we find in the set of weights from Nineveh, engraved in Aramaicising characters, in a language approaching to Hebrew, the three names of weights,

מנה mānḗ the mina.
שקל[3] šéqĕl, the shekel.
פרש phārāš, the half-mina.

and that by a coincidence, truly singular, these three names correspond in a remarkable manner to the Aramean words of the text of Daniel, mĕnē, tĕkēl, pĕrēs. The slight orthographical differences presented by the Aramean forms are all rigorously explained by the well known peculiarities of Aramean compared with Hebrew:

---

[1] M. Oppert had already recognized the true reading of this word, applied also to Assyrian measures of length, as is evident from the following passage of his memoir upon the Assyrian standard measures and weights: "The words paras and sinip are found transcribed in Aramean characters" (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1874, t. II. p. 431).

[2] The light mina is half of the heavy mina.

[3] The word appears in the plural on the weights שקלו.

Digitized by Google

The ה of מנה becomes normally א = מנא[1] mānā.
The ש of שקל " " ת = תקל[2] těqal.
The ס of פרס " " ס = פרס[3] pĕras.

From this it was only a step to conclude that the names of weights[4] designating the mina, the shekel and the paraš, or half-mina, might play a role in the text of Daniel. This step I hesitated for a long time to take, and at first contented myself with communicating to some savants a conjecture which pressed and still presses more and more upon me. I do not believe that I ought to withold it further from criticism, and after having submitted it, to the best of my ability, to the examination of reason, I now give it to criticism, in the hope that perhaps some part of it may be accepted, even if it be not received with all its consequences

III.

I think it will be admitted without much difficulty that the three words of Daniel can correspond term by term to the three names of weights.[5] Apart from the phonetic equivalences noted above, even the paronomasias, in which the biblical author delights, come to the support of this identification, and serve as an acknowledgment of it. In fact he aims expressly, in his allegorical interpretation, at the roots

מנה or מנא "to number,"
שקל or תקל "to weigh,"
פרש or פרס "to divide,"

to which every one attaches without hesitation the Semitic names of the *mina*, the *shekel* and the pharaš (pheras) or *half-mina*.

If, then, it were truly a question of these three isolated words, if by misfortune the Aramean original of Daniel had been lost and this book had come down to us, like several others of the Old Testament, only by means of the Greek and Latin versions; if, consequently, the phrase was presented to us in the abridged state to which these versions have reduced it, Μάνη, θεκὲλ, φάρες,[6] *Mane*, *thekel*,

---

[1] The form מָנָא, *mina*, exists in Aramean.

[2] Cf. the Aramean תִּקְלָא, *shekel*.

[3] פְּרֵס is the *half-mina* in Aramean (פרס של מנת, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, s. v.). In the language of the Talmud, מנת ופרס, *a mina and a peras*, means *a mina and a half*. In various other passages, given in *Neuhebr. und Chald. Woerterbuch*, Levy's s. v. פרס, these two weights are opposed to one another in a way that leaves no doubt of the value of the pĕrās = *half-mina*.

[4] Of weights or of money; for it must not be forgotten that this is all one in the Semitic languages.

[5] It might be well to note that Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, X., 11, 3) renders the three words of Daniel not by verbs, but by substantives, ΜΑΝΗ = *ἀριθμός number*; ΘΕΚΕΛ = *σταθμός weight*; ΦΑΡΕΣ = *κλάσμα fragment*.

[6] It is to be noted, now, that the Greek transcription implies for these words a vocalization differing, in certain points, from that of the Massoretic text, and approaching that which my explanation tends to substitute for it. (See the end of note.)

Digitized by Google

phares. If, therefore, we had to deal only with these three isolated words, the explanation would offer scarcely any difficulty. It is true also that in this case the coincidence would have only a relative interest, and could be considered an occurrence curious enough, but, after all, of restricted importance.

But the original of Daniel has been happily preserved, and the original gives us, in verse 25, not only the *three* words in question, but a phrase of *five* words, where they play a role which remains to be discovered.

We must inquire whether the introduction of this new element of information in the study of the phrase of verse 25 is not of such a nature as to clear up the whole of this obscure text, and to make us see it in a light very different from that in which it has been habitually regarded up to this time.

Let us admit, for a moment, laying aside the Massoretic vocalization, to which even the most scrupulous philologians are obliged here to do some violence, that it is necessary to read these three isolated words of verses 26, 27, 28, not mĕnē, thĕqēl, pĕrēs, but mānā, tĕqāl, pĕrās, i. e., *mina*, *shekel* and *half-mina*, and let us apply this reading to the same three words in the phrase of verse 25. We shall obtain then for this phrase, mānā, mānā, thĕqāl, u-phărsîn, "mina, mina, shekel and half-shekel."

We establish at first that, while the words designating respectively *mina* and *shekel* are in the singular, that which designates *half-mina* is in the plural, פרסין parsîn, or pĕrāsîn, the regular plural of pĕras, פרס. This implies already between the first and last word of the phrase, between the mina and the half-mina, a significant opposition which ought to serve us as a first luminous point in the darkness in which we are gropingly advancing. But we do not yet hold the key of the riddle.

The literal translation "*mina, mina, shekel and half-minas*" does not give us a sense much less disconnected than that of the received translation. It has, however, the advantage over this of showing us some elements pertaining to an order of ideas clearly characterized. But we do not yet see in what manner these elements ought to be combined, in order to form a logical whole, a connected, moving, living phrase. We possess them, so to speak, in a static state, it remains for us to put them in a dynamic state, and to discover whether these words, in place of being simply placed side by side, are not in reality united among themselves by grammatical functions. In this consists the real problem for solution.

Although in Aramean several substantives may follow each other in an enumeration without the interposition of the conjunction "and," employed in similar cases in Hebrew, it is scarcely probable, *a priori*, that this succession of words here constitutes a simple statement of weights, such as: "a mina, a mina, a shekel and some pheras."

Digitized by Google

IV.

Let us pause at the first word: Mānā. It is twice repeated: Mānā, mānā. Is this, then, a simple repetition, *mina*, *mina*, with which we have to do, a rhetorical figure, or, on the contrary, a phenomenon of syntax?

In Aramean and in general in the Semitic languages, the repetition of the same substantive, without the intervention of any other word, is a grammatical process capable of expressing different things: e. g., the idea of a great quantity, when the substantives are in the plural,—בִּירִין, בִּירִין *pits*, *pits*, i. e., "nothing but pits," Gen. XIV. 10; but here mānā being in the singular, the idea of plurality ought, it seems to me, to be put aside; or the idea of partition, which is expressed by our word *every*,—עִדְרָא עִדְרָא *flock*, *flock*, i. e., "every flock by itself," Gen. XXXII. 16; עַמְמָא עַמְמָא *people*, *people*, i. e., "every people;" גְּבַר גְּבַר *man*, *man*, i. e., "any man," Num. IX. 10, etc.; or moreover an idea of distribution, an idea connected with the preceding,—דִּינָר דִּינָר *denarius*, *denarius*, i. e., "every one a denarius;" תְּרֵי תְּרֵי *two*, *two*, i. e., "two by two;" מְאָה מְאָה *hundred*, *hundred*, i. e., "by hundreds," Mark VI. 40, etc.; finally, an idea of diversity,—بِيش بِيش *evil*, *evil*, i. e., "different evils," Mk. II. 17; لِسَان لِسَان *tongue*, *tongue*, i. e., "different tongues," John V. 4; Acts X. 46, etc. In all these cases the repeated substantive remains in the singular. This is the case in this passage. We might, then, endeavor to see if these words מְנָא מְנָא *mina*, *mina*, would not signify, in the phrase of Daniel, of which they form the commencement, something like "every mina, mina by mina, mina to mina, by every mina, for every mina," or even "different minas." But there is still another possible manner, and one well conformed to the Semitic genius, of construing these two consecutive words, mānā, mānā; that is, to regard the first as subject and the second as attribute of a small phrase where the verb *to be* is understood: *mina* (is) *mina*, i. e., *a mina* (is) *a mina;* as in Hebrew also יְהוָה אֱלֹהִי *Jehovah my God*, i. e., "Jehovah is my God." But we will leave provisionally this question in suspense, and reserving equally the word tĕqal, which comes after, pass immediately to the last word of the phrase, פַּרְסִין, parsīn.

V.

Părsîn, or phĕrāsîn, has the proper form of a plural. But is it really a plural? The peras is, as we have seen, a "half-mina;" i. e., to make one mina, two pheras are necessary. Given the presence, at the beginning of the phrase, of the word mānā, "mina" in the singular, nothing would be more tempting, if we had before us a Hebrew and not an Aramean text, than to ask if, in place of the plural, we have not here a dual, which is distinguished, as we know, only by a very slight vocalic variation, perceptible only in the Massoretic pointing; and if, in place of reading parsīn *half-minas*, we ought not to read parsain *two half-minas*.

Digitized by Google

It is true that Aramean seems to have allowed the dual to fall into disuse; and that is a serious objection. It has, however, preserved some traces of it which appear in the very language of the book of Daniel: בִּידַיִן[1] *in the two hands*, רַגְלַיִן[2] *the two feet*, שִׁנַּיִן[3] *the teeth* (considered as distributed in two rows). Syriac has preserved the form of the dual in the numerals: ܬܪܝܢ *two* (masculine), ܬܪܬܝܢ *two* (feminine), ܡܐܬܝܢ *two hundred;* and in the geographical name ܡܨܪܝܢ *Egypt*, an imitation of the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם. At any rate, there is a passage in Daniel[4] where it seems that the plural has at least the function of the dual:

עַד־עִדָּן וְעִדָּנִין וּפְלַג עִדָּן

to a time, times and half a time.

'Iddānîn *times* can only be the equivalent of 'iddānain *two times*,[5] in this phrase which, from the declarations of all the exegetes, contains the precise indication of a period of time numerically determined,—a year, two years and a half year, i. e., three years and a half.

Consequently, even according to the Massoretic vocalization of the word פַּרְסִין parsin, all the respect which it perhaps does not deserve, we find ourselves sufficiently protected by this precedent to attribute to פַּרְסִין the value of parsain, and to translate by *two peras* or *two half-minas*, if the context points in that direction.

VI.

The word parsin, or parsain, is preceded in the text of Daniel by a ו, representing, as every one admits, the conjunction *and*. If this word parsīn, which closes the phrase, is indeed a substantive, it is to be supposed that the word tĕqēl, to which it is bound by the conjunction, ought to be a word of the same nature as it, i. e., another substantive. We have already shown that tĕqēl or tēqal[6] is a rigorously exact equivalent of the Hebrew substantive שֶׁקֶל šéqĕl, designating the "shekel." Under these conditions the phrase to be explained could strictly end תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין.....*a shekel and two pheras.*

But it will scarcely be perceived by what association of ideas a shekel (the word is in the singular), which is a very small fraction of a mina (the sixtieth or the hundredth, according to the system), is found in this brief phrase placed with two peras, the peras being half of the mina. Supposing even that it is a question of a simple enumeration of certain weights (which is scarcely probable), one

---

[1] Daniel ii. 34. [2] *Id.*, vii. 4. [3] *Id.*, vii. 7. [4] *Id.*, vii. 25.

[5] In spite of the fact that, in the corresponding passage of chapter xii. (verse 7) of the Hebrew part of the Book of Daniel, עִדָּנִין is servilely rendered by the plural מוֹעֲדִים, and not by the dual מוֹעֲדַיִם.

[6] This is the form which the segholate substantives of Hebrew take in Aramean: késĕph *silver* becomes kĕsāph.

Digitized by Google

would expect to find those weights enumerated in an order regularly increasing or decreasing,[1] and to see the lighter weight, the shekel, named after the pĕras, as it is after the mina. How shall we escape this difficulty, which seems inextricable? It consists entirely in the presence of the ו, which, coupled with the word parsīn, can certainly only be the conjunction *and*.

But is the ו really in its place? Does it really belong at the beginning of the word parsīn, which follows it? Might it not perhaps belong to the end of the word tĕqēl, which precedes? Ought we not to regard with caution the way in which our editions cut this phrase, a phrase which early became enigmatical. The usage of the *scriptio continua*, which is a proved fact in ancient biblical manuscripts, authorizes us to ask if the compact group of letters, in place of being cut into תקל ופרסין, ought not to be תקלו פרסין.

In this case the ו would become an integral part of the word teqēl, and we should be freed from this conjunction *and*.

If there was any foundation for the hypothesis, which the rabbins, to explain the difficulty of decipherment, have put forth on the unusual disposition of the characters of the inscription, we could draw from them an argument to render still more admissible the very slight fault of the copyist. The biblical texts show greater ones than this.

We can see, in fact, that, for example, in the arrangement in three vertical columns explained above, the ו which is at the head of the fourth column is forcibly separated from תקל and placed near פרסין.

The anagrammatical arrangement which I have described as likewise possible, and which has perhaps really existed in certain ancient manuscripts, would also be able to favor the mistake.

VII.

The ו being attached to the word תקל, the arrangement of the phrase is entirely changed. What can תקלו be? If we were working upon a territory purely Hebrew, one could see in this ו the pronominal suffix *o* of the third person of the masculine singular joined to a substantive. Tĕqēl could be taken rigorously

---

[1] It is this which had prompted me to ask for a moment if peras, the proper sense of which is "half," did not designate, in place of the *half-mina*, a very small weight, such as the *half-shekel* (the Hebrew בקע, bĕqă', or even the *obol*. But I do not believe that it is necessary to pause with this idea, the sense of *half-mina* for *peras* being too categorically established by the Assyrian and Aramean lexicons, and confirmed by the weight itself of the lion bearing the inscription paraš, a weight which is sensibly that of the weak *half-mina*. I ought to recall, however, that the Greek version of the LXX., in disagreement on this point with the version of Theodotion, followed by the Vulgate, and with the original Aramean itself, places these three words in an order which would be more conformed to the hypothesis of a regularly decreasing enumeration, Μάνη, Φάρες, Θεκέλ. But the version of the LXX. offers for the whole Book of Daniel such divergences from the original, it is so plainly removed from it, that it is not necessary to pay any attention to this variant, and that it would be imprudent to lend it here, against documents infinitely superior, an authority which, from antiquity, has been properly refused it.

Digitized by Google

in the general meaning of weight, which is the primitive sense of the name of shekel, although we should rather expect, in this case, the derived form מתקל (משהל) mathqal. The expression would then signify, *his weight is two peras*, which, compared with the expression מנא מנא, considered as intended to mean *a mina is a mina*, would furnish a sense sufficiently plausible: "a mina is a mina; its weight is two peras" (in other words, two half-minas).

In place of being a nominal suffix, the ן restored to tĕqēl could be also—continuing always to reason from the point of view of Hebrew—a verbal suffix, the verb תקל, tĕqāl, the equivalent of שקל, šāqál, signifying "to weigh." It would then be with a verb and not with a substantive which is derived from it, and which designates the shekel, that we have to do.[1] In this case the little phrase could be translated: "he has weighed it," or, "weigh it," according as we read תַקְלֵן in the Preterite or תקלן in the Imperative.

But we must reject these hybrid forms. We have to deal with a text too thoroughly Aramean to permit us to treat the ן as a suffix in the Hebrew manner, replacing the Aramean forms ה_ and וְהִי.[2]

In Aramean the ן of תקלן could only be the product of a verbal inflection. Two forms are possible:

either תְּקַלְוּ "they have weighed;"
or תְּקָלוּ "weigh"

פרסין becomes then the direct object of תקלן.

If tĕqal is a verb in the second member of the phrase, one would be led to infer that in the first member מנא = mĕnā is equally a verb and that there is a parallelism in the employment of the two correlative verbs mĕnā mānā, tĕqálû părsaîn "he has counted a mina [and] they have weighed two peras. But it seems then that the two members of the phrase, thus opposed the one to the other, ought to be connected by the preposition ו, *and;* I deem it wise to resist the temptation to make the ו which is between tĕqāl and părsain serve for this purpose, making it leap over tĕqāl, to place it before it, although by this adventurous expedient one would obtain a rather tempting balance mĕnā mānā, (u-)tĕqál pārsain, "he has counted a mina and weighed two peras;" or in the Imperative[3] mĕnē mānā, (u-) tĕqul parsain, "count a mina and weigh two peras." I should not like to go that far. Contenting myself with the

---

[1] The transcription Μάνη, θεκὲλ, φάρες, whatever may be the absolute value in the point of view of the original vocalization, implies at least a relative difference between these three words. Μάνη and φάρες, forming a group characterized by the vowel *a* of the first syllable, different from θεκὲλ, the first syllable of which has an *e* in place of an *a*. If the translator had considered תקל as of the same grammatical form as כנא and פרס, he ought, it seems, to have transcribed it θάκελ, and not θεκέλ. One sees that this distinction corresponds plainly to that to which I find myself led in regarding כנא and פרס as substantives, and תקל as a verb.

[2] But we find in Daniel the form א_ (chap. iv., verses 15, 16).

[3] מְנָא for מְנִי or מְנִי.

Digitized by Google

simple glide of the ו, I accept the reading תקלו, a word which signifies "they have weighed" in the Preterite or "weigh" in the Imperative.

If this verb was in the Preterite, by making use of the different meanings, enumerated above, of which this reading מנא מנא, mina mina, is susceptible, we arrive at the following combinations:

1st By taking פרסין as a plural: "mina by mina, they have weighed the peras."

2d By taking פרסין as a dual: "for every mina, they have weighed two peras."

If the verb תקלו was the Imperative, the combinations would be:

1st "mina by mina weigh the peras."

2d "for every mina weigh two peras."

3d "a mina is a mina, weigh two peras!"

It would be easy to multiply these combinations.

For example, accepting the conjecture which a number of qualified exegetes have supported, viz., that תְּקַל is for תְּקִיל = תְּקִיל weighed, in the past Participle passive, one could translate, according to the Aramean rule which forms with the Participle Pĕ'îl a real inflective Preterite passive, תְּקַלוּ (= תְּקִילוּ) by *have been weighed*, and consider the two members of the phrase as constituted thus:

מְנֵא מָנָא *has been counted a mina*, or
מְנָא מָנָא *he has counted a mina;*
תְּקַלוּ פַרְסִין *have been weighed two peras.*

We may compare, in this respect, another passage of Daniel:[1]

דִּינָא יְתִב וְסִפְרִין פְּתִיחוּ *the judgment was set and the books were opened.*

VIII.

But I pause in this track, where I leave to philologians more minute than I the task of pushing it further. It suffices me to point it out to them, and I shall content myself for the present with this conclusion: The two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term, which is either a third name of weight (that of *shekel*), or the verb *to weigh*, from which the name of shekel is derived.

Across the last doubts which may still obscure the precise sense of the phrase so understood, one easily catches the movement and is conscious of the aroma of a sort of proverbial sentence, or popular saying, revolving upon the relation of the mina to the half-mina[2] and belonging perhaps to that order of

---

[1] vii. 10. Verse 24 of the passage which we are studying, furnishes itself an example of this construction, and that exactly with the inversion of the verb and subject which we have here: שלית פסא די־ידא וכתבא־דנא רשים, "the hand has been sent and this writing has been traced." The same, in verse 28: פריסת מלכותך, "thy kingdom has been divided."

[2] Possibly by allusion to the difference between the light and the heavy mina, which ought to be divided the one and the other into two corresponding peras in the same proportional relation of 1 to 2.

Digitized by Google

ideas with which our modern locutions are connected, such as: "two make a pair," "two and two make four," "six of one and half a dozen of the other," etc. We may also compare for this image of isoropy, of equipoise, employed to express by analogy the idea of equivalence or the identity of two things, the Greek expressions: *Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέναι πλάστιγγα, ἰσόῤῥοπον πλάστιγγα ἔχειν, ἰσόῤῥοπον πλάστιγγα ταλαντεύεσθαι.*

It is very remarkable that these two words of mānē and pĕrās, "mina and half-mina," opposed, as here, to each other, are directly employed by the Talmudic authors in a metaphorical and proverbial manner well adapted to confirm that impression, at the same time coming to the support of the paremiological value which I propose to give them in the Book of Daniel. To the rabbins a son who is worth less than his father is a pĕrās, son of a mānē, פרס בן מנה; a son who is worth more than his father is a mānē, son of a pĕrās, מנה בן פרס; a son who is worth as much as his father, a mānē son of a mānē, מנה בן מנה.[1] It is not impossible that there was some allusion of this kind in the intention of the biblical author borrowing this aphorism from the wisdom of nations.

It is this which seems to come out of the long discourse with which Daniel introduces his interpretation. This discourse is divided into two parts: the first recalls the faults, followed by repentance, of Nebuchadnezzar, father of Belshazzar; the second, which sums up those of Belshazzar, begins with this apostrophe, "And thou, Belshazzar, his son, hast not humbled thy heart,"[2] etc., an apostrophe which emphasizes well the desire of the author to establish a parallel between the father and son.

IX.

Some may perhaps consider it strange that this phrase written by a celestial hand on the wall of Belshazzar's festal hall, that this sentence of the destiny that ruled the lot of the last king of Chaldea, should be finally reduced to a simple saying, and to a saying so commonplace, so prosaic, that it might have been quite as well scrawled on any wall by the hand of the first malcontent, and might belong to this "wall" literature, not very lofty, which belongs to all times and to all peoples.[3]

---

[1] See the examples in J. Levy, *op. cit.*, under the words מנה and פרס. So the two celebrated Moabites, the prophet Balaam and the king Balaq were both of them a "mina daughter (son) of a half-mina," since they were said to be greater than their respective fathers. Compare also in the same order of ideas, the proverbial locutions: חלא בר חמרא "vinegar son of the wine;" ארי בן ארי "lion, son of lion," and ארי בן סיעל "lion, son of the jackal."

[2] Verse 22.

[3] The exegetes who have believed that they recognized in the feast of Belshazzar certain personal allusions to the deeds of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes,—e. g., to the sumptuous and dissolute feasts given by Antiochus to Daphné (Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 78),—admit, without difficulty, I believe, the adaptation of some popular scoff directed at that bitter enemy of the Jews who had pillaged the treasure of the temple and who also, having taken refuge at Babylon after the check experienced at Elymais, had been chastised by the hand of the Persians, con-

Digitized by Google

To this objection it would be easy to reply by citing the analogy of certain oracles of pagan antiquity, which are distinguished by their strangeness and by their intended platitude. And besides, in the case of Daniel, is it not exactly this contrast, this disproportion between the littleness of the means and the grandeur of the intention, which was the better fitted to strike vividly the imagination? What, in fact, is the scope of this story in which the author proposes to show the fall of the empire of Chaldea? Belshazzar casts defiance at the God of Israel, who replies by a menacing prodigy. A hand sent from above writes upon the wall a phrase which all of the most skilled wise men of Chaldea are not able, with all their science, to read or to explain. Is this phrase, then, something impenetrable, something very abstract? Not the least in the world. It is all simply, as the Israelite prophet establishes, an adage of the common people, a proverb known to all. How easily does this prove the nothingness of this pretended science of the Magi, and gives the measure of this greatly vaunted wisdom which is held in check by so slight a difficulty. The author has a visible tendency to find in default this Chaldean science. In two places already, in the preceding chapters,[1] he has shown the weakness and ignorance of the Magi in their attempts at the interpretation of the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the key to which Daniel alone was able to give. This time the demonstration is decisive. The Magi are not able to recognize in the mysterious inscription a saying which is upon every lip. First result. Yes, but from this profane saying, which, once deciphered, ought, it seems, to be understood by the whole world, Daniel goes on to draw a hidden divine meaning, and to obtain an effect so much the more considerable as it was unexpected. *Vox populi, vox dei.* He takes one by one the words which compose it, and, using one of the favorite methods of the Hebrew prophets, a double sense of these words, by paronomasia he causes some significations appropriate to the events in view to burst forth. The word which lends itself best to this was assuredly the last, pārsîn or parsaîn, which had the admirable advantage of making possible the most seducing equivocation upon the name of the Persians.

It is not bold to suppose that it is this word which has determined, among all the others, the choice of this saying as a fundamental theme of the prophecy relative to the coming of the Persians and the ruin of the empire of Babylon.

---

sidered as instruments of the divine vengeance (Fl. Josephus, *Antiq. jud.*, XII. 9, 1; Macc., I. 3, 31:6). Compare מָנָה, Μάνη, and the sobriquet Ἐπιμανής, foolish, furious, into which the official surname of Antiochus, Ἐπιφανής, the *illustrous*, was corrupted. In this case, the phrase taken as the text of the story of Daniel would be no longer, to speak properly, a proverbial sentence, but a kind of double-faced epigram, borrowed from the actual circumstances of the moment: The *mina* (Antiochus) has counted (and) the *peras* (Perses) have weighed (i. e., payed). It is known that the expedition, as the result of which Antiochus had to succumb, had for its object the recovering of the overdue taxes owing by the Persians. We must not lose sight of the fact that Syriac employs precisely the word ܦܪܣܐ to designate the tax of which the passage of the Book of Maccabees speaks (I. 3, 29).

[1] Chap. ii. and iv.

Digitized by Google

The whole of the fifth chapter of Daniel may be considered as the brilliant placing of this subject, to which it serves as a frame, and which remains, in the last analysis, the principal generating element of the whole piece.

X.

I say, the principal element; for it is not the only one. As to the details of this scene, the actors who figure there, the attitudes they take, the roles they play, the accessories which constitute the scenery, it is, I believe, by the iconological method that we must seek an explanation. I understand by iconology, the generation of ideas by figured images, by plastic representations more or less arbitrarily interpreted. If one wishes to understand chap. v. of the Book of Daniel, he must read it again attentively in the light of certain representations of Egyptian and Chaldean origin, which have, in my judgment, exerted a preponderating influence on the mind of the author.

For Egypt, it is the representation, so popular upon bas-reliefs and in the illustrations of the Book of the Dead, of the judgment of souls weighed in the balance, or psychostasy, to which by a very natural association of ideas, the author must have found himself conducted; he has himself made a most direct allusion: "Thou hast been weighed in the balance," says he, "and thou hast been found wanting in weight."

For Chaldea, there is the representation which recurs very frequently upon the cylinders, and which is designated, in default of a better, under the conventional and, I believe, inexact name of "scene of initiation."

If we combine together these two plastic representations, we obtain the very model of the painting of the feast of Belshazzar, with all its details and all its incidents; the king seated upon a throne in the great hall of the feast and drinking from the sacred vessels; the banqueters; the inscription traced upon the wall; the candelabra lighting the scene; the Magi stupefied before the inscription; the queen presenting herself to the king; Daniel introduced in her presence explaining the inscription, and dressed in the insignia promised as his reward.

The best commentary which could be given of the fifth chapter of Daniel would be, on the one side, a vignette from the Book of the Dead, representing Osiris, king of Amenti, seated in state in the great hall of judgment; the forty-two judicial assessors and other infernal personages; the goddess Ma (Goddess of Justice) introducing the dead; Thot, the Lord of the divine words, the scribe of the divine justice, now inscribing, now pronouncing sentence; Horus and Anubis examining the weighed; and on the other side, a cylinder[1] showing us a god seat-

[1] Without pretending that the Assyrian scene called the scene of "initiation," is really congenerous with the Egyptian scene of psychostasy, which is not, however, impossible, I cannot prevent myself from remarking that we find here two characteristic details which recall the Egyptian scene: the monkey, (the cynocephalus symbolizing the equilibrium of the balance), and the object in which M. Lenormant has seen a balance (of the steelyard type), and M. Menant an instrument of numeration, the staff of measuring, symbolizing *justice* (cf. the goddess *Ma* and her pen).

Digitized by Google

ed on a throne, holding in his hand a vase for libations; a grand candelabra; an inscription[1] engraved in the body of the scene; two persons,[2] one of whom presents the other to the god; other persons in different mysterious attitudes.

And besides, it is not only the episode of the feast of Belshazzar, but also other most prominent episodes of the Book of Daniel, the conception of which is explained to us by iconology: the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the three young Hebrews in the furnace, Daniel in the den of lions; not to speak of the symbolic beasts which people the visions of the prophet and furnish the matter of his apocalyptic visions.

[1] The cuneiform legend of the cylinder serving as a seal.
[2] One of them is at times certainly a woman.

Digitized by Google

JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Biblical exegesis and Hebrew grammar are naturally closely interwoven with one another. While in general the two may and to-day are kept quite distinct, still there are many instances—notably in the thorny field of Hebrew syntax—where the dividing line becomes exceedingly faint, if not entirely wiped out. The bond uniting the two becomes the closer the further back we go, so that, in the period of which these articles treat, it is difficult to separate the Jewish grammarians from the Jewish commentators of the Bible. Works on Hebrew grammar are invariably interspersed, and in general very liberally interspersed, with disquisitions and discussions of a purely exegetical nature, and the interpreter of the biblical text as frequently trespasses on the field of the grammarian.

I.

The middle of the ninth century, in more than one respect, marks a turning-point in the history of the Jews. The contact with Mohammedan civilization and the rise of Karaism succeeded in inaugurating a new period of intellectual activity among them. Just as some thousand years previous, the meeting of the Jews with Grecian culture in Alexandria resulted in that remarkable product, the Hellenic-Judaic literature, so the encounter with Islam in Spain and on the northern coast of Africa gave rise to a rich and valuable literature. The great schism in the Jewish church ascribed to Aven about the year 850 of the common era, gave the fresh current a *fixed* direction. Whatever else Karaism may in the course of time have become, it was at its origin a reaction against the overweening authority which the Talmud had acquired. The watch-cry of the movement was "Return to the Bible."

But in thus acknowledging the authority of the Bible alone, Karaism—and this was perhaps its most important result—led to a taking up of a sadly neglected study. The Karaites, as well as the upholders of rabbinical tradition, were forced to study the Bible; the former by the sheer necessity of their principles, the latter in order to furnish themselves with weapons against their opponents. For more than five hundred years the Talmud, to the exclusion of the Bible, had engrossed the thought and attention of the Jews. After the final redaction of the Mishna, in the early part of the third century, the laws embodied in that codex formed the subject of discussion in the various talmudical schools from generation to generation. When about the middle of the fifth century these discussions, constituting the so-called Gemara, were in turn also collected and arranged,

Digitized by Google

it was now the entire Talmud, i. e., the Mishna and Gemara, which furnished the mental food for the Jews.

The Amoraim (speakers), as those rabbis were termed who lived after the redaction of the Mishna in contradistinction to the Tanaim (teachers), were succeeded by the Saburaim (reasoners), who stood in the same relation to the entire Talmud as the Amoraim to the Mishna. But during all this time, the source of all Jewish tradition, the fountain-head of all laws, ceremonial and otherwise, was neglected. The Mishna took the place of the Bible in the eyes of the Amoraim, and the Talmud in turn was the Bible of the Saburaim—the supreme authority. It was quite natural, therefore, that the Bible itself—and consequently classical Hebrew—was but little studied, since it was but little required. The Talmud was the book of life for the Jews. According to its dictates they regulated their conduct. To the Talmud recourse was had in all cases of doubt, and a decision directly or indirectly derived from it was final. With the advent of Karaism the great change occurred. It is a sufficient proof for the assertion that the Karaitic movement was the direct cause of the revival of the study of Hebrew, that the eminent Rabbi, Saadia, or Saadia Gaon,[1] as he is commonly known, who is the greatest opponent of the founder of Karaism, is also the one with whom the new period takes its rise. It is true there is one who precedes Saadia by a few years, and who well deserves a place by his side, viz., Jehudah Ibn Koreish, but his influence on his cotemporaries was exceedingly limited, and it is only the fact that he was so closely followed by a Saadia that saved him from becoming entirely lost to memory. Still, Koreish must not be omitted among the great commentators and grammarians of the Middle Ages. And since, at any rate, he too is, without question, influenced by Karaism, and thus a product of the times, it is but proper to commence with him, although, as already intimated, and as will be shown still more clearly in the course of these articles, Saadia is the real inaugurator of the new period. We might term Jehuda Ibn Koreish a forerunner of it.

II.

Jehuda Ibn Koreish. As is the case with so many of the men of this period who have left their impress on the course of events, we know but little of the life of Ibn Koreish. Through a notice in a grammatical treatise of the famous Abraham Ibn Ezra,[2] we learn that he was born in Tohart in Morocco. The year of his birth is not known, but from several indications it is clear that he did not live *after* Saadia. Ibn Ezra, in the already quoted passage of Moznaim, which gives a list, chronologically arranged, of prominent Jewish grammarians, indeed places Saadia before Koreish, but this might just as well indicate that Koreish was

[1] Gaon, which is the exact equivalent of the English "Highness," was the title which Saadia bore as the chief of the Talmudical school in Pumbaditha (Babylon).

[2] Moznaim (Preface).

Digitized by Google

cotemporary with Saadia, and that the latter takes precedence on account of his greater importance. It is probably the safest to place him between 850 and 900. He wrote a book which he called אב ואם, "father and mother," probably of a lexicographical character. The work is, unfortunately, lost, so that we can only conjecture from quotations to be found in later writers what it contained. A second work of his, upon which his fame rests, is a "Letter to the Jewish Congregation of Fez." It is a plea for the study of Hebrew. From this alone it is clear that he stands under the influence of the Karaitic movement. Indeed Pinsker—an authority on the subject—believes that he was a Karaite; but while there are passages in this letter which may be construed as implying a censure of the Rabbanites, this in itself is not sufficient evidence that he was himself a member of the new party. The way in which Ibn Ezra and Menaḥem ben Saruk, and others who are of the party of tradition, speak of him, makes it very unlikely that he was their opponent in religious views. Ibn Ezra, more especially, who loses no opportunity in dealing a blow at the Karaites, would scarcely have mentioned Jehuda Ibn Koreish at all among the *eminent* grammarians, much less spoken in such terms of praise of him as he does, had he known Koreish to have been one of the "Sadducees" as he ironically terms the Karaites. An important fact which must not be overlooked is that Koreish wrote his letter in Arabic, and that, more than this, he shows the importance of a knowledge of Arabic for the study of Hebrew. He is indeed the first, as far as we know, to advocate the comparison of Hebrew with the cognate tongues, and thus laid the foundation for a method which was perfected by some of his successors. He also urges the congregation in Fez, in the most earnest terms, not to abandon the reading of the Chaldaic translation of the Bible, the so-called Targum—a custom introduced in Palestine when the knowledge of Hebrew could no longer be presupposed among the mass of the population—since the "Syriac," as he calls the dialect of the Targum, is of great importance for the explanation of the Hebrew. The language of the Mishna he also declares to be essential for a thorough training in Hebrew, so that, according to Ibn Koreish, Arabic, Aramaic, and the Mishna, ought to be mastered by every student of the Bible. He then proceeds to substantiate his theory by facts. Numerous instances are given of words which are explained by a reference to their Arabic or Aramaic equivalents, as the case may be. It is interesting to observe that Koreish has already a conception, naturally inexact, of the law of "consonantal transition between the several Semitic languages. Thus, he shows that a Hebrew Zayin becomes in Aramaic a Daleth, e. g., זמע is equivalent to דמעא. The whole Risalet—as the Arabic title reads—is divided into three divisions besides the introduction; (*a*) the explanation of difficult Hebrew words occurring in the Bible, by the aid of the Targum, (*b*) by the aid of Mishna and also Talmud, and (*c*) a comparison of the Hebrew with the Arabic. It needs scarcely be said that Koreish's comparative philology is of a very primitive kind. His errors are

Digitized by Google

frequently of a nature which almost every beginner in Hebrew to-day can verify, but that in no way detracts from his chief merit, which lies in having indicated the way to future investigators. He is still groping in the dark, but he is nearing the right road to a systematic study of the knowledge. It is, of course, impossible to estimate what influence his letter exerted upon the congregation at Fez—with whom he must have stood in high favor—or elsewhere. At any rate, its appearance was a sign of the times, and as such the Risalet is not without its importance even to-day. The minds of the Jews had been turned to the Bible through the platform on which Karaism claimed to stand. Jehuda Ibn Koreish showed that the Bible could only be understood—provided the language in which it was written be understood—in the full sense of the word. The fanciful interpretations of the Rabbis and the arbitrary deductions of the Karaites—both doing violence to the spirit of the Hebrew language as well as of the Bible—would vanish before impartial scientific research. This was the profound conviction of Jehuda Ibn Koreish which breathes in the pages of his Risalet. With his great successor, however, the study of Hebrew begins in real earnest, and the results of the renewed intellectual activity in this sphere are soon seen in the remarkable progress which was made in the knowledge of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and with this, in the interpretation of the Bible.

Digitized by Google

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEKASIM.

By Professor Paul Haupt, Ph. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In four post-exilic passages of the Old Testament we find a word נְכָסִים in the meaning of "riches, wealth," Greek *χρήματα*, *ὑπάρχοντα* or *ὑπαρξις*. Josh. XXII. 8, it occurs along with מִקְנֶה כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וּנְחֹשֶׁת בַּרְזֶל שַׂלְמוֹת; Eccles. V. 18, we find עֹשֶׁר וְנְכָסִים; *ibid.* VI. 2, עֹשֶׁר נְכָסִים וְכָבוֹד;[1] so too 2 Chr. I. 11, 12, עֹשֶׁר נְכָסִים וְכָבוֹד.

In the Aramean portions of the Book of Ezra we find for it the form נְכָסִין, constr. נִכְסֵי, viz. Ezra VI. 8, מִנְכְסֵי מַלְכָּא דִי-מִדַּת עֲבַר נַהֲרָה[2] *out of the moneys of the king from the tribute of the district Abar-Nahara*, i. e., *west of the Euphrates;* and Ezra VII. 26, עֲנָשׁ נִכְסִין *confiscation of goods* or *a fine*, Greek *ζημιῶσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*.

Usually the stem נכס is regarded as a metathesis from כנס *to gather together, to heap up*. This explanation is, for example, retained in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon. Friedrich Delitzsch, on the other hand, thinks (p. 181, n. 1 of his *Prolegomena*) that the word is probably connected with Assyrian nikâsu, which, according to its etymology (?), as well as its ideogramm (?), means something assigned to some one either as a possession or as a deposit.

To this I should like to remark, in the first place, that the long â, in Delitzsch's transcription nikâsu, does not seem to me to be certain. As far as I know, the

---

[1] LXX.: *πλοῦτος καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δόξα*; פשיטתא: עותרא ונכסא ואיקרא. R. Isaak ben Yehuda Ibn Ghiyath (غياث i. e., אסחאק בן יהודא אבן ג׳יאת) in his Arabic translation of the Book of Koheleth (edited by Jacob Loevy, Leiden, Brill, 1884) has for that יסארה ומאלא וכראמה, i. e., يسارة ومالا وكرامة.

[2] That מְדָה "tax, tribute," as well as the corresponding Aramean מראתא go back to the Assyrian mandattu or mandantu "tribute," from Assyr. נדן "to give" (= Heb. נתן, SFG. 43, 2), I have already remarked SFG. 16, 4. Why this explanation is attributed to Friedrich Delitzsch in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (p. 437) I am at a loss to tell. Pognon likewise in his "Inscription de Mérou-Nérar I.," p. 42, n. 1, remarks: Le mot mandattu, mandatta, qui vient du thème NDN, a passé en syriaque, où il est devenu ܡܰܕ̈ܬܳܐ, pl. ܡܰܕ̈ܬ̈ܳܐ, without citing my SFG. The combination of בְּלוֹ, on the other hand, in the connection מִנְחָה:בְּלוֹ וְהֶלֶךְ (occurring three times in the Book of Ezra, viz., Ezr. iv. 13 and 20; vii. 24) with Assyr. biltu "tax" goes back to Oppert (EM. II., 49, 92, cf. de Goeje-Kautzsch in the *Theologische Literaturztg.*, 1886, No. 22, col. 509 and has never been claimed by myself. Wâteh-ben-Hazael, p. 12, n. 2, (Hebraica, Vol. I., No. 4), I cited for it KAT. 377. It might be well to note that the form בְּלוֹ which Kautzsch ("Grammar of the Biblical Aramean," p. 100) would explain as a contraction from בְּלָו seems to me very suspicious. For biltu, constr. bilat (from בל "to bring," = Heb. הוֹבִיל) we should expect in Aramean בְּלָתָא, constr. בְּלַת, absol. בְּלָא. Besides in Assyrian the expression usually is bilat mandatti "gift of tribute" so that bilat is construct state to mandatti; at any rate, biltu always comes first. Perhaps it would be better to change מִנְחָה בְּלוֹ וְהֶלֶךְ into מִנְחָא וְהֶלֶךְ בְּלַת; cf. *φόρων πρᾶξιν καὶ συντέλεσμα* of the LXX., Ezr. iv. 13.

Digitized by Google

word is nówhere written ni-ka-a-su or ni-kas-su. The denoting of the vowel of the second syllable as â rests, I presume, only on the supposition, heretofore generally held, that all qital forms are to be assumed in Assyrian as qitâl.[1] I have repeatedly shown (cf. HEBRAICA, vol I., p. 175) that we must read šikaru *strong drink* and zikaru *man*, for instance, with a short *a*. The shortness of the *a* is implied by the occurrence of the syncopated by-forms šikru and zikru.[2] Similarly erroneous is the often repeated assertion[3] that all nominal formations written qatalu, in Assyrian, are to be read qatâlu. Instances of the form qătăl, with short *a* in the second syllable, in Assyrian, are, for example, išaru *straight, righteous* (= iašaru; cf. my SFG. 21, 1), fem. išartu, Hebr. יָשָׁר, fem. יְשָׁרָה; ma'adu *much*, fem. ma'attu, cf. Hebr. מְאֹד; ḫatanu *son-in-law* (cf. Schrader, COT. 126; V R. 5, 2; 40, 36 c) = Hebr. חָתָן.[4]

I should, therefore, prefer to read nikăsu, a form like Hebr. לֵבָב *heart* and עֵנָב *grape*. That נְכָסִים did not originate by metathesis[5] from כנסים, but should rather be combined with Assyr. nikasu, is quite right; yet the original meaning of nikasu is different from that given by Delitzsch. Nikasu comes from the common Assyrian verb nakâsu (Impf. ikkis) *to cut off* or *to cut down;*

---

[1] Hommel, in the Assyrian Index to his *Jagdinschriften*, writes, for example, شكار ,زكار with a long *a*. The same mistake occurs in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon, s. v. שָׁכָר and No. 139 of the "Schrifttafel" of Delitzsch's "Assyrische Lesestücke," (in the Glossary he gives correctly šikaru).

[2] Also Assyr. צִיל "rib" (with צ₃), pl. צִילָן, is a qitl form syncopated from qital. צִיל stands for צִלַּ, צִלְאָ, צִלַּעַ. In Arabic we find ضِلَع and ضِلْع alongside of another.

[3] Vide e. g. Hommel, *Jagdinschriften*, p. 12.

[4] Concerning חתן I should like to add that the etymology as proposed by Friedr. Delitzsch ("Prolegomena," p. 91) from Assyr. ختان "to protect" seems to me rather unlikely. The same opinion is expressed by Kautzsch in his review of Delitzsch's "Prolegomena" in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*,, 1886, No. 2, col. 508. The correct etymology seems to me to have been indicated by Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena," p. 360. According to him the circumcision of boys is historically explained Exod. iv. 25 as a milder equivalent for the primitive circumcision of youg men before marriage. In a note he adds: That this was the original custom is shown by the word חתן which means both "circumcision" and "bridegroom," or in Arabic [and Assyrian] "son-in-law." This at once explains the meaning of חתן דמים "bridegroom of blood, blood-bridegroom," in Exod. iv. 25. Even at the present time the primitive custom prevails among some Arabian tribes, just as Shechem in Gen. xxxiv. was compelled to be circumcised before marriage.

[5] On the other hand the stem נסך "to offer" (cf. Dan. ii. 45) (מִנְחָה וְנִיחֹחִין לְנַסְּכָה לַהּ might be due to metathesis from נכס. The fact that it is specially used of libations presents no difficulty. In Assyrian, for instance, נָקִי means libation and then specially "sacrificial lamb," while נָקְיָא in Aramean means "lamb" in general; cf. *Praetermissa*, 42, 53: נקיא = نعاجة na'je, pl. נקותא = نعاج na'âj. The stem נסך has developed the same meanings as the stem נקי. The latter means "to pour out, to bring a libation," then "to offer" in general, and finally "to expiate, to purify, to cleanse." Similarly نسك nasaka (from which نسيكة nasîke "victim" is derived) in Arabic means "to offer," then "to clean," specially clothes (غسل); finally "to be clean, pure, blameless, pious." But all these meanings go back to the original meaning of נכס "to cut off." For the metathesis of נכס to נסך, compare נָשַׁךְ "to bite," which appears in Aramean as נְכַת. In Amharic we have nasáka and nakása alongside of one another in the meaning "to bite."

Digitized by Google

e. g., kirâtišu[1] akkis *I cut down his parks*, or qaqqâsu[2] akkis *I cut off his head*.

We have from the same stem a noun nikṣu (constr. nikis) which means "slaughter, massacre." From the meaning "to cut down" there is developed the meaning "to kill, to slaughter." This is, as is well known, the usual meaning of the stem נכס in Aramean. The Aramean derivative ניכסתא, which is feminine to Assyr. niksu, means then "slaughter,"[3] and then, at the same time (like Heb. טֶבַח in טֶבַח טִבְחָה Prov. IX. 2), "what there is to be slaughtered," "pecus ad cultrum destinatum," "cattle to be killed," and then "animal to be immolated victim," or "offering"[4] in general, like Assyr. nikasu; just as Hebr. זבח means both "to slaughter" and "to offer."

In the three-columned vocabulary ASKT. 108, 4, this Assyrian nikasu corresponds to the ideogramm LAG, which, in other passages (ASKT. 22, 439; 71, 10; II R. 38, 11e; V R. 31, 6; S[b]. 241) is rendered by qirbânu or qurbânu, i. e., קָרְבָּן.[5] It is preceded by the words qîštu (cf. HEBRAICA, I., 179) *gift*, taklîmu *present*, and nindabû, i. e., Hebr. נְדָבָה *free-will offering*.[6]

The original meaning of nikasu is, accordingly, "victima, hostia, bloody sacrifice," קָרְבָּן מִן־הַבְּהֵמָה, Lev. I. 2. The original meaning of נְכָסִים, on the other hand, is really "pecus ad cultrum destinatum, cattle *to be killed*," then generally "cattle, herds." And it is from this that the meaning "property, wealth, riches" is developed. In Syriac, נכסא possesses not only the signification "wealth," like Hebr. נְכָסִים, but also the original meaning "herds of cattle;" cf. Lagarde, *Praetermissa*, p. 42, 4; l. 51, where נכסא corresponds to the Arabic جماعة الدوابّ والمال والمواشى; *ibid.*, l. 55, נכסתא = الذبح.

The connection between Lat. *pecunia* and *pecus* is well known. In the same way sugullatu in Assyrian means "herd;" the corresponding Hebrew word סְגֻלָּה, however, "property." On the other hand, the word מִקְנֶה, which properly means "property," from קָנָה *to appropriate, to acquire*, has, in Hebrew, exclusively assumed the meaning of "animal property, cattle;" cf. Greek κτῆνος =

---

[1] That the plural of כִּרְיוּ (cf. Heb. כַּר "meadow," Isa. xxx. 23; pl. כָּרִים, Ps. xxxvii. 20 and lxv. 14) should be kiretu does not follow from the text TSBA. viii. 287, cited by Pinches, II ZK. 159, 1.

[2] For qaqqadsu; cf. Heb. קָרְקֹד, a form like qaqqaru "ground," Heb. קַרְקַע by dissimilation with ع instead of ر.

[3] Cf. Acts viii. 32, פשיטתא: אַיךְ אִמְּרָא לִנְכָסְתָא אִתְדְּבַר *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη* = Heb. כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח יוּבָל, Isa. liii. 7.

[4] Cf. Acts vii. 42, פשיטתא: נכסתא או דבחתא קרבתון לי *μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι* = Heb. הַזְּבָחִים וּמִנְחָה הִגַּשְׁתֶּם־לִי Amos v. 25, where the פשיטתא gives דבחא וקורבנא.

[5] Cf. Mark vii. 11: *κορβᾶν ὃ ἐστιν δῶρον*. Dillmann's remark ("Exodus and Leviticus," 318), that in the other Semitic languages the word is borrowed from the Bible, naturally does not hold good for Assyrian. It is very probable that קרבן is a Babylonian loan-word. Cf. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena," p. 414.

[6] Cf. for this Johannes Latrille in ZA. I. 37.

Digitized by Google

κτέανον, κτῆμα.[1] In Syriac the word קִנְיָנָא *property* (Gen. xxxiv. 23, קִנְיָן) is specially used for "animal for riding;" vide Nestle, in ZDMG. xxxiii. 707. Similarly rukûšu, V R. 9, 36, does not mean "property," as Delitzsch, in the glossary to the third edition of his "Assyrische Lesestücke," s. v. רכשׁ (cf. also *Prolegomena*, p. 4), and Lyon, *Assyr. Manual*, p. 130, would have it; but "animals for riding;" cf. Heb. רֶכֶשׁ (Aram. רַכְשָׁא) and רֶכֶשׁ.[2] The passage in the Arabian Campaign of Sardanapalus,[3]—Gammale rukûšešunu ušalliqû[3] ana ṣûmešun[4] ištátû[5] dâme[6] u me paršu,[7 8]—means "they cut open the camels, their riding animals, and for their thirst drank the blood and filthy water" (i. e., the slimy, bitter, fetid fluid in the water-cells of the stomach of the camels, in the stomach-cells).

The result of our investigation, accordingly, is that Hebr. נְכָסִים *wealth*, as well as Assyrian nikasu *offering*, come from the stem nakâsu *to cut off*, while the stem נסך *to offer*, from which Arabic نسيكة nasîke *victim*, and Hebrew נְסָכִים, Aram. נִסְכִּין *libation*, are derived, seems only to rest on a metathesis from נכס.

---

[1] Similarly מַרְשִׁית, fem. pass. Part. of רשׁי (Impf. יִרְשֵׁי) "to possess," then also "to grant, to allow," means in Assyrian "herd." Assyr. מַרְשִׁית is feminine to the form مفعول just like Assyr. מַרְחִית "wife," which Zimmern, "Busspsalmen," p. 43, n. 2, erroneously considers as an abstract form maf'al. So too Assyr. מַגְרִי, fem. מַגְרִית "bond-man," cited by Zimmern, represents the form مفعول just as Assyr. מַלְתִּית or מַשְׁקִתִּית "drink," etc., etc.

[2] The development of meanings of רכשׁ is accordingly quite different from that proposed in Gesenius' Lexicon.

[3] This word is important for the passage Bechor. 45a, where it is told of the pupils of Rabbi Ishmael שלקו זונה אחת שנתחייבה שריפה למלך, which Levy translates quite correctly "they anatomized a harlot who had been condemned by the government to death by burning." To this Fleischer remarks in his addition to Levy's Chaldee Lexicon, p. 579: "This 'anatomizing' is in such entire opposition to oriental practices, and is so little in accord with the usual meanings of שלק, سلق that for the present I must doubt the correctness of this translation." These doubts are settled by the Assyrian יְשַׁלֵּקוּ. The Impf. Qal of this verb is יִשְׁלֹק and occurs V R. 4, 69: לִישָׁנָשְׁנוּ אֶשְׁלֹק "I cut out their tongues."

[4] Assyr. צוּם "thirst" (V R. 31, 4 ṣu-u-mu) is = צָמָא, צָמְאָה; cf. SD. 517, 2.

[5] Notice here the use of the form אִפְתַּעַל of שׁתי "to drink," on account of the following אֵן צוּמִישֵׁן "for their thirst."

[6] Plene da-a-mu Sb. 223.

[7] The correct reading and translation of this difficult word was first given by A. Delattre; see his interesting essay on *L'Asie centrale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, Bruxelles, 1885, p. 115, n. 2. He remarks there to me-paršu: littérallement "des eaux de paršu." Paršu est l'équivalent de l'hébreu פֶּרֶשׁ "excrément" de la même racine פרשׁ. But he wrongly translates "urine"! The Hebrew פֶּרֶשׁ which occurs in six passages of the Old Testament, viz., Exod. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11 (וְאֶת-עֹרוֹ וְאֶת-בְּשָׂרוֹ וְאֶת-קִרְבּוֹ וּפִרְשׁוֹ); viii. 17; xvi. 27; Num. xix. 5 (וְאֶת-עֹרָהּ וְאֶת-בְּשָׂרָהּ וְאֶת-דָּמָהּ עַל-פִּרְשָׁהּ יִשְׂרֹף); Assyr. הָמֵישׁ עַרֵי פַּרְשֵׁשׁ יִשְׂרַף); Mal. ii. 3, does not mean "excrementum" like צֵאָה, but "fimus interior corporis, fimus in ventriculo animalis," "contents of the viscera," "contenu d'un ventricule" just as the corresponding Arabic فرث farth. An important parallel passage to this וּמֵי-פַרְשׁ (cf. רם ופרתא Sanhedrin 67 b) is Sennach. v. 83, which I have for the first time correctly explained in my translation of the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halule, *Andover Review*, May, 1886, p. 546, 12.

[8] A complete translation of this highly interesting text has been given by me in the Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiés à Mr. le Dr. Leemans, Leide, E. J. Brill, 1885, pp. 139–142. Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. II., p. 248.

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By John P. Peters, Ph. D.,

Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, and in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Feminine Plural of Verbs.—In the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for June, 1886, p. 111, I called attention to the form צעדה, Gen. xlix. 22, as apparently a plural form, and not, as usually supposed, a singular verb used with a plural noun. The passage reads בנת צעדה עלי שור. A similar case occurs in 1 Sam. iv. 15, ועיניו קמה, where, however, a few codices read קמו (cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 4). Now, in the Hebrew verb, we find in the Imperfect a distinction between the endings of the feminine and masculine plural. In the cognate languages this distinction exists not only in the Imperfect, but also in the Perfect. In Assyrian we find (permansive) the masculine plural, third person, ending in û, the feminine in â; as, šaknû, šaknâ. The same is true of the Western Aramaic; as, כתבו, כתבה. The Samaritan and Syriac distinguish the feminine gender by î, instead of â, the latter adding also the letter *n*. Thus we have in Samaritan qaṭalû, qaṭalî, but in Syriac q'ṭalûn, q'ṭalîn. Turning to the South Semitic, we find the Ethiopic in agreement with the Assyrian, while the Arabic, although possessing a separate form for the feminine, has obscured the original ending. Thus we have in Ethiopic nagalû, nagalâ, but in Arabic qatalû, qatalna. As endings of the masc. and fem. plural in the Imperfect, we find: Hebrew, û (ûn), and nâ; Western Aramaic and Syriac, ûn, and ân; Samaritan, û, and ân; Assyrian, û (ni), and â (ni); Ethiopic, û, and â; Arabic, ûna, and na. Comparing these forms, I think we may make bold to assert that in the original Semitic language the masculine plural of the verb throughout ended in û, the feminine in â. It accordingly becomes reasonable to explain the forms צעדה, Gen. xlix. 22, and קמה, 1 Sam. iv. 15, as survivals in the language of the Northern Kingdom of the ancient use, which was lost in classical Hebrew (but compare possibly 1 Kgs. xiv. 6, and Micah i. 9).

This comparison would seem, also, to make it evident that the feminine plural ending נה in the Imperfect of the Hebrew verb has resulted from an original â by insertion of the weak euphonic letter נ, as in נָה, etc. It may further be suggested that the reason why the feminine plural became obsolete in the Perfect of the Hebrew verb is to be found in the peculiar development of the feminine singular; for, whereas in all the other languages of the Semitic family, the ending *at* has been retained as the feminine ending in the third person singular (Samaritan has an alternative form in â), in Hebrew the ending â has been substituted. This produced an inconvenient identity of form between the singular and plural, which

Digitized by Google

resulted in the loss of the latter. In the Imperfect, moreover, the Hebrew seems to have lost the sense of the essentially feminine character of the ending נה; accordingly, while in the third person the other languages of the family prefix the the simple sign of the Imperfect (י, Syriac ܢ), leaving both gender and number to be designated by the ending, the Hebrew prefixes the sign of feminine gender (ת), thus producing an accidental identity with the second person.

MASCULINE PLURAL IN ÔTH.—There are in Hebrew a few well known masculine plurals in ôth, such as אָבוֹת. All Hebrew grammars which I have examined explain these forms as feminine plurals with masculine signification. It is true that in Hebrew these forms have the appearance of being feminines, but a comparison with the Assyrian will show at once that the וֹת of the feminine plural, and the וֹת of the masculine plural have a different origin. The former is from an original ât, as shown by the Assyrian feminine plural ending âti, the latter from an original ût, as shown by the Assyrian masculine plural ending ûti. It is true that, owing to the identity of the resulting forms, some confusion has arisen in Hebrew use, but that does not affect the question of the origin of the masculine plural in וֹת. Another important case where an ô in Hebrew has resulted from an original *u*, is the Imperfect of the simple verb. The North Semitic used in the second syllable of the Imperfect either *u*, *a*, or *i*, as attested by the Assyrian; for example, iškun, iṣbat, iddin. These three vowels are represented in the Hebrew respectively by ô, a, ê; for example, יִקְטֹל, יִדְבַּק, יֹאחֵז. (It will be observed that in Hebrew the last form is used exclusively in verbs which have a weak initial consonant.) So also the ô in the Infinitive absolute of the Pi'ēl and Niph'ăl is the representative of an original *u*, while the ô in the Infinitive of Qăl represents an original â, as is shown by a comparison of the Hebrew קָטוֹל, נִקְטֹל, קַטֹּל, with the corresponding parts of the Assyrian verb šakan, namely, šakânu, naškunu, and šukkunu.

WAW CONSECUTIVE WITH THE IMPERFECT.—Turning to Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, I find three theories of the origin of וַ presented: (*a*) That it is a contraction from הָוָה (for הָיָה) by loss of initial ה; so that וַיִּקְטֹל was originally הָוָה יִקְטֹל, then וָהִיקְטֹל, and then by assimilation וַיִּקְטֹל; (*b*) that it is the representative of an original וְהָיָה; so that וַיִּקְטֹל stands by apocopation for וְהָיָה יִקְטֹל; (*c*) that it is merely a strengthened form of the simple וְ, the Dāghēš-forte representing no assimilation whatsoever. While at that time adopting the first of these three explanations, Gesenius admits a growing inclination toward the last. The editors of the ninth edition of the *Handwörterbuch* and of the twenty-third edition of the *Grammatik* have adopted the last explanation. Ewald regarded the Păthăḥ and Dāghēš-forte as proof of the existence in the form of another element beside the conjunction וְ, and thought that element to be the adverb אָז (archaic אָזַי, Assyrian adi). וַיִּקְטֹל would then be a contraction from וְאָזַיִקְטֹל. The analogy of the language appears to demand the explanation of Dāghēš-forte as due

Digitized by Google

to the assimilation of some consonant. The article presents phenomena similar to those of Wāw consecutive. In the case of the article the Dāghēš forte is explained by a comparison with the more remotely connected South Semitic family, where we find in Arabic the article *al*. This has been aspirated in Hebrew, from the same tendency which led to an aspiration of the preformatives of Nîph'ăl and Hîthpă'ēl, giving us the form הַל. The ל of this form has been treated as a weak letter, which it is also in Arabic, and hence assimilated, like ל in לקח. May we turn to the Arabic for the explanation of וַ also? We find in Arabic a conjunction *an* "that, so that, in order that, to," sign of direct quotation, equivalent, in its various uses. to *ut*, *quod*, ὅτι. Has this conjunction, lost elsewhere in Hebrew, been possibly preserved in the Dāghēš-forte of the Wāw consecutive? In that case וַיִּקְטֹל would be a contraction from an earlier וְאַן יִקְטֹל, the Dāghēš-forte representing, as so often, an assimilated *nun*. If this hypothesis were adopted, we should have to suppose that syntactically the וְ represented an ellipsis to be supplied in thought before אַן. This would involve, apparently, the supposition that the original force of the Wāw consecutive was the expression of purpose or consequence, that of mere consecution being a later development. This would, moreover, involve the supposition that the use of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect was the result of supposed analogy, after the origin and original force of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect had been lost sight of. Whether this proposition be worthy of consideration or not, at least it seems to me that both the form and sense of וַ compel us to reject the theory that it is a mere variation of וְ.

THE USE OF NUMBERS IN HEBREW.—In HEBRAICA for April, 1886, I called attention to some peculiarities in the use of numbers in Hebrew. Every one, conservative as well as radical, has doubtless been perplexed by the astonishingly large number of persons who are stated by Hebrew writers to have perished in certain battles and the like. In a few places, the editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have offered an explanation of puzzling numbers of this sort, which may be of interest to those who have not seen it. 1 Kgs. xx. 30, we read:

וַיָּנֻסוּ הַנּוֹתָרִים אֲפֵקָה אֶל־הָעִיר וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה עַל־עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁבָעָה אֶלֶף אִישׁ הַנּוֹתָרִים וּבֶן־הֲדַד נָס וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָעִיר חֶדֶר בְּחֶדֶר׃

In its apparent sense, this sounds like a physical impossibility. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have done it into English thus (p. 375): "And Ben-hadad, with twenty-seven thousand of them that were left, fled to Aphek, into the city; and the wall fell upon them. And Ben-hadad took refuge in an inner chamber in the hold." Similarly, in the same story, the number of Syrians said to have perished in the battle, verse 29, is referred back in sense to verse 27, as the total number of the Syrian army. A third instance of the same sort will be found on page 473 of the above-mentioned work. 2 Kgs. xix. 35, we are told:

וַיְהִי בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא וַיֵּצֵא מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה וַיַּךְ בְּמַחֲנֵה אַשּׁוּר מֵאָה שְׁמוֹנִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה אָלֶף וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ בַבֹּקֶר וְהִנֵּה כֻלָּם פִּגְרִים מֵתִים׃

Digitized by Google

The number in this verse the editors have understood to refer to the total number of Sennacherib's army, and not literally to the number that perished.

A word or two will explain the principle on which the Hebrew idiom has been thus interpreted. We say in English that an army perished utterly, where we have no intention of saying that all the individuals composing it perished. It is, literally considered, a hyperbolical statement. We might say that so and so invaded such and such a country with an army of one hundred thousand men, and that he was defeated, and his whole army perished. No one would suppose the narrator to mean that one hundred thousand men were actually killed. And yet, by a very slight change of wording, which, if both parts of the former statement be literally understood, involves no real change of meaning, we might narrate the same thing thus: So and so invaded such and such a country, and was defeated, and one hundred thousand men perished. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have assumed the existence of the latter idiom, and translated it into terms of the former.

JUDGES V. 30.—The Revised Version translates this verse:

> **Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?**
> **A damsel, two damsels to every man;**
> **To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,**
> **A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,**
> **Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?**

Scriptures Hebrew and Christian translates it thus:

> **Do they not find and share the spoil?**
> **A vulture crest or two for the head of the warrior,**
> **A spoil of gay robes for Sisera,**
> **A spoil of gay embroidered robes,**
> **A gay embroidered robe or two for the neck of the spoiler?**

הלא ימצאו יחלקו שלל
רחם רחמתים לראש גבר
שלל צבעים לסיסרא
שלל צבעים רקמה
צבע רקמתים לצוארי שלל

Examining this with a special view to its parallelism of external form, we find that line 2 corresponds to line 5, and 3 to 4, word for word. It is evident that the first two words of line 2 refer to some sort of booty. רַחַם, or רֶחֶם, means "womb;" but in no place does any word from that root mean "woman." Here, however, tradition has assigned to it that sense, apparently on the ground that it meant some sort of booty, and that was the only sort which could in any way be brought into connection with the root sense "womb." But the word לראש creates a new difficulty. Commentators have argued that it is used in the sense of "individual," as we sometimes use "head." To say the least, this would not be an apt occasion for the use of "head," meaning "individual." Moreover, in the parallel line we have "neck" used in its literal sense, which certainly creates a strong presumption that "head" is also used in its literal sense.

Digitized by Google

In view of the parallel line, and indeed of the contents of the entire stanza, which represents very graphically a woman's interest in dress, we expect to find in רחם some article of dress or adornment for the head. Now, we have in Hebrew a word רָחָם, a Semitic root, meaning "vulture." This has led Heilprin (*The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, I., 146) to suggest that the word meant vultures of precious metal, used as adornments of the helmets of men of station. At least I think it may be argued much more plausibly that it means vulture-crests, either as vultures of precious metal, or as much esteemed wings or plumes, like ostrich feathers among us, than that, following the old tradition, it means "woman."

A comparison of lines 2 and 5 also shows us that עבר and שלל are parallel. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* regard שָׁלָל as a *nomen agentis*, in which sense it is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. I think it quite possible that the pointing should be changed to שֹׁלֵל; but in any case the parallelism proves a *nomen agentis*.

There is a looseness of grammatical use, in line 5, in the case of the dual רקמתים. The proper translation is suggested by the parallel words in line 2.

THE MEANING OF שדה.—In Assyrian the same sign (𒆳) is used as a determinative for either land or mountain. In the former sense the word is not infrequent in Hebrew, so that we have שדה העמלקי, שדה מואב, שדה פלשתים, שדה צען, שדה אדום, שדה ארם, etc. In this sense it is a synonym of the more common ארץ; it is accordingly used in 1 Chron. XVI. 32 and Ezra XXVI. 6, 8, as a synonym for another sense of the word ארץ, namely, "dry land." But by far the most common use of the word in Hebrew is in the sense of "country," as over against "city," and, a secondary sense to this one, "fields," as over against vineyards and the like. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* give, as the first meaning of the word, "flat country," in distinction from "mountain land." This is one of the cases in which the editors have abused their position as lexicographers. They have invented a meaning to accord with their theory of the etymology of the word. There is absolutely no support for their theory in Hebrew usage. They refer to only one passage, Hos. XII. 13, וַיִּבְרַח יַעֲקֹב שְׂדֵה אֲרָם *And Jacob fled to the land of Aram.* A glance at the names of countries used in the Old Testament with the prefix שדה will show any one that this statement of the *Handwörterbuch* fairly deserves to be characterized as ridiculous.

In Judges V. 18, we find the phrase על מרומי שדה. It is very evident that here not only does שדה not mean "level ground," in distinction from "hill country," but it actually means the latter. Another passage looking in the same direction is Judg. XX. 31; perhaps also Jer. XIII. 27; XVII. 3, and Ezek. XXI. 2. Num. XXIII. 14, also, becomes much more intelligible if we understand by שדה "hill country" or "mountains," instead of "field," thus, "And he took him to Watchers' Mountains, to the top of Pisgah." Probably, however, the most inter-

Digitized by Google

esting passage in this connection is 2 Sam. I. 21. Here we have שדי used as parallel to and synonymous with הרי. Wellhausen (Sam. 152) has pointed out that the true LXX. text here read ὄρη θανάτου, and Thenius is of the same opinion. Both, moreover, recognize a corrupt text, and both object to the form שדי, which is found nowhere else. Adopting, not the LXX. text, but a suggestion from it, I would propose to amend ושדיתרומות into ושדות רמות, and translate "lofty mountains" (cf. Judg. v. 18).

The sign 𒀭 in Assyrian, when referring to a country, is read m a t u, when referring to mountains š a d u. The words š a d u and שדה are manifestly the same. But while שדה is used in Hebrew as the determinative of country, and the meaning "mountain" has almost vanished, the word š a d u in Assyrian means only "mountain," while another word has taken its place in the meaning "country." But the use of the same determinative for both words shows us that š a d u in the earliest Assyrian times carried the meaning "land," as well as "mountain." And I believe that the passages which I have adduced above show us that in Hebrew the word originally meant "mountain" as well as "land."

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament.—Josh. x. 21, לֹא־חָרַץ לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאִישׁ אֶת־לְשֹׁנוֹ: the Lamedh in ישראל was doubled and the second Lamedh was pushed forward to the following איש.

Josh. x. 24, הַהָלְכוּא אִתּוֹ: the Aleph in ההלכוא was carried over from the following אתו to the preceding word (ההלכו) which should be written without an Aleph.

Josh. xv. 12, וּגְבוּל יָם הַיָּמָּה הַגָּדוֹל: the He in הימה has arisen from the He of the following הגדול.

Josh. xxii. 7, עִם־אֲחֵיהֶם מֵעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן: in my opinion the Mem in מעבר is quite superfluous and has arisen from the מ of אחיהם.

Judg. i. 14, לִשְׁאָל מֵאֵת־אָבִיהָ הַשָּׂדֶה: the text of Josh. xv. 18 is correct. The ה before אביה has been doubled, as Studer has already correctly conjectured.

Judg. vii. 8, וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־צֵדָה הָעָם: one should perhaps read צד and regard the ה as having arisen from the initial letter of העם.

Judg. xx. 38, הֶרֶב לְהַעֲלוֹתָם מַשְׁאֵת הָעָשָׁן: read with Studer להעלות without Mem. The Mem is superfluous and has arisen from the מ of משאת.

1 Sam. ii. 27, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנִּגְלֹה נִגְלֵיתִי: the first He of הנגלה probably arises from the He of יהוה.

2 Sam. vii. 23, כְּעַמְּךָ כְיִשְׂרָאֵל: the final Kaph of כעמך went over to the following word.

2 Kgs. xi. 1, וַעֲתַלְיָה אֵם אֲחַזְיָהוּ וַתִּרְאֶתָה: one should read ראתה only, without Waw, as the final Waw of אחזיהו was doubled.

Jer. xxxi. 39, קָוֹה הַמִּדָּה: read קו without He.

Ezek. xxi. 31, הַשְׁפָּלָה הַגְבֹהַ: it should read הַשְׁפֵּל הַגְבֹהַ as the He arose from the doubling of the first letter of הגבה. Pirchon, in his grammar, notes that the He in השפלה is superfluous, but does not give any reason for it.

Ezek. xlvi. 10, יֵצֵאוּ: read with Smend יֵצֵא, the Waw arising from the first word in verse 11, ובחגים.

Hab. i. 16, 17, מַאֲכָלוֹ בְּרִאָה; הַעַל: it should read על without He. The He appears to have arisen through the doubling of the last letter of בראה.

Ps. lxix. 20, נֶגְדְּךָ כָּל־צוֹרְרָי: the Kaph in נגדך has arisen through the doubling of the first letter of כל. Read נֶגֶד כל־צוררי.

Prov. xxx. 1, לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל: is it perhaps to be read אִתִּי אֵל ואוכל, "God is with me and I shall triumph"?

Job xxvii. 13, זֶה חֵלֶק אָדָם רָשָׁע עִם־אֵל: "This is the reward or portion of the bad *with* God" is entirely unintelligible. As xx. 29 proves, the ע of

Digitized by Google

עם arises from the ע in רשע and the ם is to be connected with אל, "This is the reward or portion of the bad *from* God." The sentence is thus rendered intelligible, and corresponds to the parallel וְנַחֲלַת עָרִיצִים מִשַּׁדַּי יִקָּחוּ.

Job XXXIII. 24, 25, מָצָאתִי כֹפֶר : רְטַפַּשׁ בְּשָׂרוֹ : the ר in רטפש is superfluous. It should be טפש (it is fat).

Dan. XI. 4, כִּי תִנָּתֵשׁ מַלְכוּתוֹ וְלַאֲחֵרִים : it should be לאחרים without Waw. The Waw is doubled from מלכותו.

1 Chron. XV. 16, לְהַרִים־בְּקוֹל לְשִׂמְחָה : cancel the ל in לשמחה. It has arisen through the doubling of ל of בקול.

Neh. V. 2, וְיֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר אֹמְרִים בָּנֵינוּ וּבְנֹתֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ רַבִּים וְנִקְחָה דָגָן : as long as we stand by the traditional reading, this verse remains obscure. It can, however, be understood at once if we accept that רבים is a miswriting for עֲרֻבִים, "We pledge our sons and daughters and buy corn." The conjecture is confirmed by verse 3.

M. A. ALTSCHUELER,
Warsaw, Poland.

Translated from Stade's Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissenschaft by Robert F. Harper.

An Old English Semitic Series.—It is commonly stated, or left to be implied, by the Syriac scholars and bibliographers, that no Syriac grammar was printed in England during the eighteenth century. That, however, is a mistake. A series of grammars was prepared and printed at London, whose scope may be learned from the title to the Hebrew grammar of the series, which runs as follows:

"THE | *Compleat Linguist.* | OR, AN UNIVERSAL | GRAMMAR | Of all the Considerable | TONGUES in Being. | In a Shorter, Clearer, and more Instructive | METHOD than is extant. | ———— | *Collected from the most Approv'd Hands.* | ———— | To be publish'd Monthly, One Distinct GRAMMAR each Month, till the whole is perfected: | With a PREFACE to every *Grammar*, relating | to each *Tongue.* | ———— | NUMB. VI. | For the Months *March, April, & May*, 1720. | BEING | A GRAMMAR of the *Hebrew* Tongue. | By *JOHN HENLEY*, M.A. | ———— | *LONDON:* | Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane;* and | J. PEMBERTON, at the *Buck* and *Sun* against | St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleetstreet.* 1720. Price 2 *s.*"

All of the series which I own are bound in one volume, and are the following: Hebrew grammar (No. VI.), Chaldee grammar (No. VII.), Arabic grammar (No. VIII.), and the Syriac grammar (No. IX.). The title of the Syriac grammar, *mutatis mutandis*, is precisely like that of the Hebrew grammar, except that it omits the names of the months (and their year) for which the number was issued, and bears the date 1723 (at the place where the Hebrew grammar has the date 1720 for the second time). The size is a small octavo. Contents: False title, true title, dedication "To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," eight pages, signed by John Henley; Preface, pp. xviii; grammar proper, pp. 77. It is a very respectable work, and shows a pretty good knowledge of the work that had been done in the field of Syriac study and printing in Europe. Of course the author was not in advance of his times, and the book has a number of misprints. The Syriac is stated to have been "the vernacular Tongue of our Blessed Saviour;" the defects of previous grammars (except that of Dr. Beverege)

Digitized by Google

are attributed to their authors' lack of opportunity to study the Old Testament; Hebrew and Chaldee are laid down as prerequisites to a study of Syriac; and so on. The Syriac translation of the Old Testament "*is thought more Antient than all that have been made since the Time of Christ; and to have been written in the Time of* Jude *the Apostle, when the* Syriac *Version of the* New Testament was penn'd." The author's comments on the New Testament are worth quoting, since they show his clear bibliographical knowledge. "The latter" [the N. T.], says he, "*is extremely Pure and Elegant, and was composed either by the Apostles, or Apostolical Men. In the truest Edition of it, that of* Widmanstadius, *are wanting some parts of the* New Testament, *which were not then receiv'd by the general Consent of the whole Church; the 2d Epist. of* Peter; *2d and 3d of* John; *that of* Jude, *the Apocalypse, and the Accusation of the Adulteress; which is also wanting in* Chrysostom, Theophylact, *and* Nonnus. *But doubtless,* these were *turned into* Syriac, *when receiv'd into the* Canon. Lud. de Dieu *put out the* Apocalypse, *Dr.* Pocock, *the Epistles, and all together were in the* Polyglott."

The lexicons recommended are those of "Trostius, Buxtorf, *Junior, or* Ferrarius (*the last of them*)." It is also stated that "*Dr.* Beverege, *who wrote his Grammar of this Tongue, while very Yong, promis'd a fuller* Lexicon *of it, than any extant.* With regard to the other matters, such as Syriac idioms and words in the New Testament, the printing of the Syriac Old and New Testament, the grammars, and so on, the preface is worth reading to-day, notwithstanding some fossil errors. We need not go into the merits of the grammar, but the titles of its chapters will be interesting: "Chap. I. Alphabet, Consonants, Vowels, Diphthongs, Sheva, Dagesh, Raphe, Mappic, and the diacritical Points." "Chap. II. Noun, Declension, Pronoun." "Chap. III. Verbs Perfect or Regular" (the Paradigm has "PEAL," "Benoni," "Pehil," "Infin.," "Imper." [s. c. -ative]; "ETHPEEL" (with same moods); "PAEL" (with same moods); "ETHPAAL" (with same moods); "APHEL" (with same moods); and "ETHTAPHAL" (with same moods)). "Chap. IV. Verbs Defective and Irregular, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, Interjection." "Chap. V. Syntax, in all its Parts, Figures, Accents." Under accents is one paragraph about "*Syriac* Verse," which, as it states, "does not depend upon Quantity, but the Number of Syllables and Feet; Kinds of Verse are two; taking their Names from the Authors of them, *Aphræm* and *Jacob.*"

It need scarcely be said that this grammar, in giving the names of the vowels, not only gives the now ordinary ones, but also those in which the modern Syrians, especially the Maronites, so much delight, viz., "*Abrohom*, Eshajo, Ischok, Odom, Urijo" (i. e., Abraham, Isaiah, Isaac, Adam, Uriah).

Long as this bibliographical note is, the reader will doubtless pardon an added though digressive remark. A Peshitto New Testament has lately come into my hands which is not in Nestle's bibliography. It was printed at London by Macintosh, in 1836. Its text I have had no opportunity to examine. Also, on the occasion of a correction of the plates of the New York edition of the American Bible Society's Ancient Syriac New Testament and Psalms, the Committee on Versions have permitted the Antilegomena Epistles to be corrected from the Williams Manuscript in cases of *obvious error*. The gain is very great, and one to be thankful for.

ISAAC H. HALL,
New York.

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

JEWISH LITERATURE.*

A recent Italian dictionary of Hebrew abbreviations bears the title "This Great and Wide Sea." If any work deserves this title it is rather one on the literature of the Jews. For the sons of Israel have had their part (usually an honorable one) in almost every great literary period. From Josephus down to Mendelssohn they have been influenced by the intellectual activity of their Gentile neighbors, and shared in it. In a sense the literature of the Jews is, therefore, a world literature, just as the history of the Jews is the world's history.

This fact renders the subject an extremely difficult one to treat. If by Jewish literature one means the literature produced by Jews (as our author does) it is first a literature in a dozen different languages. No one can have an adequate knowledge of such a literature. All he can do is to summarize or digest the knowledge furnished by others. We cannot, from the nature of the case, make the same demands upon the author of such a work that we should make upon the historian of English or of German literature—that he should be familiar with his subject by personal study, and should give us the results of his own critical investigations.

That such a work as we have in hand may have real scientific value, there is, however, one thing we may rightfully demand. This is: that the author should name for us the secondary sources from which he draws, so that for a particular period or even a particular statement we may go to some one who will be responsible, and whose line of study we can follow out for ourselves. This our author has not done. He is undoubtedly familiar with the literature of the subject. He often quotes at length from the authors on whom he depends. But we are never referred to the book from which the quotation is taken, and never informed whom we may consider as authority for any statement—even one which we might be inclined to call in question. The extensive *Literaturnachweise* (23 pages) at the end of the work, while valuable, do not answer the purpose we have in view.

That a history of Jewish literature should be one volume of a comprehensive "History of the Literature of European (!) Peoples" is a thought worthy of an Irishman rather than a German or a Jew. This arrangement—indicated on the title-page of our work—is probably to be laid at the door of the publisher and not of the author. But the author must bear the blame of more serious faults. We will not emphasize the matter of style; for here tastes differ, and what seems to us bombastic may meet the popular demand. Clearness and definiteness, however, we have a right to ask—and we ask too often in vain. What shall we make of the following paragraph?

"Is now this 'Man Moses' the author of the Pentateuch by divine inspiration? The unbiased judgment will probably answer—Yes. Biblical criticism opposes its decided—No. According to the Christological conception, the 'Law' was the writing of Moses. Paul and James, John and Jesus himself speak often

* GESCHICHTE DER JUEDISCHEN LITERATUR. Von Gustav Karpeles. Berlin, 1886. viii and 1172 pages octavo.

Digitized by Google

of this Law, and therefore the church has consistently made the authenticity of the Tora and its Mosaic authorship one of her articles of faith.... Seven centuries before the origin of Christianity there was no doubt that Moses received the Tora by divine inspiration."

What is the *christologische Auffassung* of the Pentateuch question? Where has the church made the Mosaic authorship an article of faith? How shall we know that it was already such seven centuries before Christ? What does the author himself think of the critical argument? To these questions we receive no answer. Very often we are left in doubt as to how much of the assertion of tradition which the author quotes he himself believes. Such inaccuracies, also, as are noted above, are frequent. When we receive the legendary account of the making of the Septuagint translation we get the impression that the whole Old Testament canon is the subject. We learn that twelve men from each tribe are sent by the high-priest to Egypt, making 72 in all (!). The author is certain that this version "attracted the attention of curious Greeks." Whereas it seems tolerably certain that its language would be incomprehensible to any one who had not been trained in the jargon of Greek-speaking Jews. The author, indeed, confesses as much a little later on—"Whether the version was known also to the heathen is not yet established." (Cf. pp. 217 and 220.) What shall we make of this statement?—"Long before the Exile, Jews were living in Spain, and the prophet Jonah (according to the legend) fled to this land from the wrath of the Lord." The author, while certain that the story of Jonah is legendary, yet makes a positive statement concerning the Jews in Spain for which there is not even legendary authority. "The present Hebrew alphabet was introduced by Ezra"—this assertion is made without any qualification. "The Book of Samuel was *originally* two books and *redivided* in the sixteenth century" (p. 45)—no authority is given. "That the Book of Daniel does not belong to the prophetic writings is shown by its place among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Bible, while in the Christian canon it follows Ezechiel *for dogmatic reasons*" (p. 126). "The historian Josephus received this whole library *from the Temple* as a present, and it consisted, as can be proved, *of exactly the books* which we now know as constituting the Biblical writings" (p. 133). The true reason for the antipathy of the Greeks for the Jews was this, "that they feared lest they be surpassed intellectually by these foreigners" (p. 211). "The Jewish literature migrated with the Jewish race over the earth, and so became in truth *a world literature*." Except the Bible, the Jewish literature is not in truth a world literature, and the cosmopolitan importance of the Old Testament is not due, in any sense, to the migrations of the Jews.

But enough. We have indicated distinctly by our italics the objections that every reflecting reader must find to many statements of the author. They suffice to show the caution with which the book must be read. Yet we have read it with interest. It treats of many things which are obscure and little known. It treats them generally in an interesting manner. In spite of its many inaccuracies of detail, it probably gives a good general picture of the literature of Judaism. For this, many passages would, however, better be pruned away. That the author's point of view is that of the Jew, according to which the Talmud is "born of the spirit of prophecy," cannot, of course, be urged against him, however incomprehensible we may find it.

H. P. SMITH.

Cincinnati.

Digitized by Google

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH'S PROLEGOMENA.*

These prolegomena are intended to lay the groundwork for the author's new Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary, which is now, we believe, almost ready for publication. In chapter one, he maintains that the dictionary to the Aramaic portions of the Bible shall be kept separate from that for the Hebrew; because by the present method of mingling the vocabularies, the beginner in Hebrew is confused, and because the keeping of the Aramaic glossary by itself will afford a quick and useful review of its contents, while at the same time it will enable us to make of it a useful preparation for the study of the other Aramaic dialects. The author maintains, also, that the proper names be put in a section by themselves. He will thus shorten as much as possible the dictionary proper, while he will escape the difficulty of attempting to classify them according to roots. In the third place, it is insisted upon that the true principle of arranging the words in the Hebrew dictionary, as the analogy of the dictionaries of the other Semitic languages suggests and favors, is the arrangement according to roots. The present method is useless for the teacher. It is hurtful to the student, since it is liable to cause him to forget the principles of etymology already learned, and necessitates the burdening of his memory with a multitude of derivatives where a few root-meanings might suffice. Moreover, this arrangement has two great practical advantages. It takes up less room, and the space saved is to be filled with references to all the places in the Old Testament where the word occurs, thus rendering a concordance superfluous. Secondly, each root, or word without root, is to be numbered, and the indexes will be made with reference to these numbers and not to the pages on which the words occur, thus rendering unnecessary a completely new index with each revised edition. In order to cut out extraneous matter from the vocabulary proper, all notes, such as those containing translations, comments and conjectures from the Septuagint and other sources, are to be placed at the foot of the page.

The other five chapters are taken up with the subject-matter. In chapter two, he treats of the relation in which Hebrew stands to the other Semitic languages, prefacing his remarks with the statements that each of them has some words peculiar to itself, that in many cases we have two roots with the same radicals, but of entirely different meaning, that there is no historical tradition of the meaning of the Hebrew words, nor any substantial dependence to be placed upon the old versions and commentaries, and that hence our main reliance for the derivation and meaning of the Hebrew words must after all be upon the Old Testament text itself. That this source of information has not been exhausted, he attempts to prove from רְאֵם and נָהַל, of which the meaning "wild ox" for the former and "to rest" for the latter he takes to be clear from the usage of the Old Testament writers, and to have been misunderstood on account of the injurious influence of the Arabic. He illustrates further the danger of depending too closely on the Arabic by such examples as גָּלַשׁ, of the Song of Songs IV. 1; VI. 5, which some have interpreted by means of the Arabic جلس "to sit," but which should rather have the sense of "to move downwards," as it is in modern Hebrew.

* PROLEGOMENA EINES NEUEN HEBRAEISCH-ARAMAEISCHEN WOERTERBUCHS ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. Ord. Hon. für Assyriologie und semitische Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.* 1886.

Digitized by Google

In articles 9 and 10 he attempts to show the insufficiency of the Arabic for the explanation of the Hebrew by giving lists of important Hebrew roots, which either have a different meaning in the Arabic, or else are not found in it at all. We fail to see that he has proven in article 10, that Aramaic is superior to the Arabic as a help for the elucidation of the Hebrew. He shows that this is true in the case of the fifty words which he mentions, of most of which the very roots are absent from the Arabic, (notice, however طاب, عود, شرش, أبيل, أهلّ and others); but he does not show that there are not fifty words also which have analogies in the Arabic, but not in the Aramaic. Nor does he show that there are more words in the Hebrew which can be explained by the Aramaic than by the Arabic.*

Too little attention, doubtless, has been paid to the Aramaic; but too careless, or unscientific, rather than too much reliance has been placed upon the Arabic. Bearing well in mind the consonantal changes and the root theory of chapters five and six, little harm can come from the use of any of the other Semitic languages for the illustration of the Hebrew.

Article 12 will be to most readers the most interesting in this chapter, because it shows the close relationship of the Hebrew to the Assyrian, and gives a list of words and a number of sentences and grammatical forms by way of illustration. Chapter three exemplifies and amplifies the importance of the Assyrian. It is, certainly, the most noteworthy contribution which Assyriology has yet furnished to biblical science. Almost four hundred roots, or words, are mentioned whose meaning or derivation has been confirmed or discovered by means of the Assyrian. However much doubt there may be about a few of these, the proof for most of them seems to be convincing. It is especially gratifying to see the number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* that have been explained, such as תְּמַחַץ Ps. LXVIII. 24, which is compared to the Assyrian m a ḫ â s u "to wash," "to pour over;" נְחִשֶׁת Ezek. XVI. 36, shown by the Assyrian to be a synonym of עֶרְוָה; אַבְחָה Ezek. XXI. 20, which is the Assyrian a b û ḫ u "torture." Words hitherto of doubtful meaning have been satisfactorily explained: e. g., תַּחַשׁ "a kind of goat;" יַנְשׁוּף "an owl;" חֹסֶף (1) "work," (2) "pottery;" לַבָּה Exod. III. 2, "flicker, flame;" מְזוֹר Obad. 7, "net." The root meaning of לְבָנָה, שׁר, מחיר, שׁדה, צאן, פרד, שַׁדַּי, and others, has most probably been conclusively settled; while almost convincing arguments are given in favor of the author's derivation of לבב, חתן, אֵם and אָב. In general, we think, if the facts of the Assyrian are found upon review to be as stated in this chapter, that the positions taken will be mainly tenable and that the book will be an epoch-making one in Hebrew lexicography and for biblical exegesis. It will revolutionize lexicography by introducing a new element on a par with the Aramaic and the Arabic. It will work many changes of front in certain schools of exegesis; for Assyriology has shown not merely that most of the words hitherto thought to be of Persian origin are of true Semitic stock or usage (compare פחה, סגן); but in almost every instance, it confirms the

* There are 87 roots in Hebrew beginning with ב. Of these, 47 occur in Arabic and 46 in the Aramaic dialects with the same or a similar meaning. 15 do not occur in Arabic and 24 cannot be found in any of the Aramaic dictionaries in my possession. In this calculation there may be slight errors; but the strictest rules of consonantal changes have been followed.

Digitized by Google

Massoretic text as against the LXX. (*Proleg.* pp. 69, 71, 77, 80 et al.), and in many cases it overthrows, while in others it establishes, the emendations proposed by our modern scholars (pp. 70, 74, 76, 89 et al.).

R. D. WILSON,
Allegheny City, Pa.

SMEND AND SOCIN: DIE INSCHRIFT DES KÖNIGS MESA VON MOAB.

It is now more than fifteen years since the German missionary, C. F. Klein, upon his return to Jerusalem from a journey in the district of ancient Moab, informed Dr. Petermann, then acting German Consul at Jerusalem, of a curious monument lying among the ruins of ancient Dibôn, and showed him a few specimens of the writing on the stone. Dr. Petermann at once recognized the characters to be Phœnician, and soon satisfied himself of the value of the stone. The romantic story of the stone, with the rather tragic end, how Prof. Petermann received orders from the Prussian government to purchase, how, meanwhile, the Frenchman M. Clermont-Ganneau also learned of the existence of the stone and endeavored to secure it, and how the rivalry between the two governments finally ended in the destruction of the stone by the native Arabic tribes—all this has frequently been told and is well known to scholars.

The literature on the Moabite stone has assumed gigantic proportions. We are certainly not going too far if we estimate the number of books, pamphlets, articles and letters on the subject which have appeared in England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Russia, Hungary, and America, at five hundred. It might be concluded from this that another edition of the monument is superfluous. This, however, is far from being the case. Notwithstanding the large number of eminent scholars who have occupied themselves with the stone, there is still something, if not much, to be done. The unfortunate state of some of the fragments and the numerous gaps have caused difficulties which could only have been expected to yield gradually to the combined efforts of many minds. This hope is being fulfilled, and the new edition of Professors Smend and Socin marks a further and decided advance upon previous publications.

The number of new readings for doubtful places are numerous and in the main correct. The most important one is that proposed for king Meša's father. Instead of כמשגר, Smend and Socin show, beyond a doubt, that it is to be read כמשמלך—a correction which is as striking as it is happy. Dr. Neubauer, in a recent number of the *Athenæum*, takes exception to the reading במשע משע (l. 3) as not being idiomatic Hebrew. It strikes us as again being exceedingly happy; and if the genius of the Moabites resembled that of the Hebrews in any way, this propensity to play upon proper names, so common in the Old Testament, is certainly exceedingly characteristic. The "pun," it may be added, is continued on through the phrase כי השעני. In the fifteenth chapter of Isaiah, with the heading "The Doom of Moab"—which reads almost like a reply to king Meša's vainglorious words—we have instances of two such plays upon proper names. The word יעערו is very clearly an allusion to the city of Aroer, and the other, דימון (verse 9), which is Dibôn, and where the ב is intentionally changed to מ—a very slight one, as the Assyrian, where a similar interchange is constant, shows—in order to play upon the following דם. The whole verse, as has already been

Digitized by Google

recognized, refers to the miracle of the "waters red as blood" related in 2 Kgs. III. 22. Possibly, also, there is in קרחה (verse 2) a play upon the place K R Ḥ H of the Moabite stone. Smend and Socin take the final Waw in ויענו as radical, and not, as has sometimes been done, as the suffix of the third person masculine. This will meet, I think, with the approval of the best authorities. Besides the fact that the suffix of the third person masculine is always ה on the stone, the construction with the suffix followed by the object to which the suffix refers is decidedly Aramaic idiom, and in the whole inscription there is scarcely a trace of a leaning in this direction, unless it be the plural in în, for which, however, another explanation may be offered.

The reading כרבר is certainly correct, as Dr. Neubauer in the above-quoted notice (*Athenæum*, 3072) justly points out. It seems to me that there is scarcely room for the two letters בר which Smend and Socin see proper to add. We might read כזה, which would have the advantage at least of being idiomatic usage, but even the preceding word אמר is by no means clear, so that it is best to hazard no further conjectures. The reading חצי in line 8, though extremely ingenious, appears to me very doubtful indeed. The line would read, "And he (Omri) dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son" apart from the fact that the chronological difficulties would only be enhanced thereby, it certainly must strike one as strange to find such an expression as "*half* the days of his son" in an inscription of this nature. It is entirely too accurate; we would in this case be obliged to suppose that Meša knew exactly how long Ahab reigned; that he outlived him and only erected this monument after Ahab's death. Furthermore, Ahab having reigned twenty-two years, the rebellion must have broken out in the twelfth year of his reign, and we must then further suppose that the war lasted at least until Ahab's death, or that Meša postponed the erection of this monument for a long period. Neither supposition is plausible. Besides, it is highly improbable that Meša should have rebelled *during* the reign of the powerful Ahab. It is far more likely, and in accordance with what we know of the times, that a change of rulers should have been seized upon as a favorable moment for revolt; and if we bear in mind the weak character of Ahab's immediate successor, and his long illness, there is every reason to place the beginning of the rebellion at the death of Ahab, in accordance with the Jewish tradition (2 Kgs. I. 1 and III. 5). The question, of course, would still remain whether the victories celebrated by Meša occurred previous to the defeat of the Moabites through the combined forces of Judah, Israel and Edom, or whether—which seems to me far more plausible—the war finally turned in favor of Moab, and that our inscription refers to the defeat of the Israelites so obscurely alluded to in 2 Kgs. III. 26 and 27. At any rate, it is clear that these two verses have no connection with what precedes, and have reference to a different and, as I believe, later stage of the rebellion.

I would also call attention to the fact, which Smend and Socin seem to have overlooked, that the צ and part of the י stand on an isolated fragment, and that possibly the fragment is entirely misplaced. There is certainly room for it elsewhere. At any rate, it appears to me that everything points to a reading כל ימי בנה "all the days of his son." Forty years would then be a round number, as it so frequently is in the traditional Jewish chronology. The ועלאדה which Dr. Neubauer takes for a locality, I am inclined to consider a verb, the ה at the end representing the suffix. If the close of line 31 is correct, it is easy to supply at

Digitized by Google

least the sense of the beginning of line 32, where there must have been a phrase similar to the אענו את מאב of line 6. In the same way it is quite safe to fill up the gap at the beginning of line 3 with ····חם בחורנן ו·· or possibly בחרנן. The most obscure passages are now the close of 27, and beginning of 28 and 31.

It but remains for me to call attention to the splendidly executed copy of the inscription which accompanies the work. It is in the full sense a masterpiece for neatness and accuracy. With it and the copious notes and references given by the German professors, every one is placed in a position to study this important monument of antiquity for himself. The work cannot be too highly recommended. We should like to see an edition of the Siloam inscription of equal excellency.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
University of Pennsylvania.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

AMIAUD, A. Simple coup d'œil sur la Bulle de Tovanoff et sur les inscriptions héteénnes. *Ztschr. f. d. Assyr.*, Band I., Heft 3.

BACHER, W. Die hebräisch-neuhebr. u. hebr.-aramäische Sprachvergleichung des Abulwalîd Merwân ibn Ganâh. (E. Nestle.) *Lit. Ctrlblt.*, Nov. 20, '86.

BASSETT, JAMES. Persia: the Land of the Imams. (C. E. Wilson.) *Academy*, Nov. 13, '86.

BERLINER. Targum Onkelos. (De Lagarde.) *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 22.

BERTIN, GEORGE. The Pre-Akkadian Semites. *JRAS.*, XVIII., 3.

——— Pre-Akkadian Writing. *Academy*, Nov. 6, '86.

——— "The Burning Fiery Furnace." *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Dec., '86.

BOSCAWEN, W. ST. CHAD. Gleanings from Clay Commentaries. No. I. *Ibid.*

CHWOLSON, D. Lyrische Grabinschriften aus Semirgetschie, hrsg. und erklärt. St. Petersburg.....M.2.

CHEYNE, T. K. Hittites and Amorites. *Academy*, Nov. 20, '86.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU. Mané, Thécel, Pharès, et le festin de Balthasar. *Journ. Asiatique*, Série VIII., 1.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament. *Theol. Lit.* (Kautzsch), Oct. 30, '86. *New Englander* (Robert F. Harper), Dec., '86.

DERENBOURG, H. Dusâma ibn Mounkiah II. (Wellhausen.) *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Nov. 6, '86.

——— et SPIRO, JEAN. Chrestomathie élémentaire de l'arabe lettéral, avec un glossaire. (W. P.) *Lit. Centrlblt.*, Nov. 27, '86.

GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN D. The Massorah. Compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically arranged. Vol. III. Supplement. (H. P. Smith.) *Pres. Rev.*, Oct., '86.

GOTTHEIL, RICHARD J. H. A List of Plants and their Properties from the M'nârath kudhšê of Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrâyâ. (Printed for private circulation.)

GRUENBAUM, M. Anmerkungen zu "Ueber Schemhammephorasch als Nachbildung eines aramäischen Ausdrucks und über sprachliche Nachbildungen überhaupt." *ZDMG.*, XL., II.

HOMMEL, FRITZ. The Sumerian Language and its affinities. *JRAS.*, XVIII., 3.

JENSEN, P. Der Kakkab míšrî der Antares. *Ztschr. f. d. Assyr.*, Band I., Heft 3.

——— Das Wild-Schwein in den assyrisch-babylonischen Inschriften. *Ibid.*

JEREMIAS, ALFRED. Die Höllenfahrt der Ištar. Eine altbabylonische Beschwörungslegende. *Inaugural Dissertation.* Leipzig. iii, 42.

KIHN u. SCHILLING. Praktische Methode zur Erlernung der hebräischen Sprache. (A. Müller.) *Ztschr. f. Orient. Phil.*, III., 1.

LACOUPERIE, TERRIEN DE. The Kushites. Who were they? *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Dec., '86.

——— Sumerian and Akkadian in Comparative Philology. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

——— Pre-Akkadian Writing. *Academy*, Nov. 13, '86.

Digitized by Google

LANSING, J. G. An Arabic Manual. *Independent*, Dec. 30, '86. *Christian Intelligencer* (Chambers), Dec. 1, '86.

LOLLI, E. Corso di grammatica ebraica. Padova. 8vo, vii, 415.....L.5.

LYON, D. G. An Assyrian Manual. *Athenæum*, Oct. 16, '86. *New Englander* (Robert F. Harper), Nov., '86. *Andover Rev.* (Taylor), Nov., '86. *Unitarian Rev.* (C. H. Toy), Jan., '87.

——— The Cyrus Cylinder. *Journ. of Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exeg.*, June, '86.

MAHLER, E. Biblische Chronologie u. Zeitrechnung der Hebräer. Wien: *Konegen*.....M.7.

NEUBAUER, A. The Moabite Stone and אראל. *Athenæum*, Sept. 25, '86.

NÖLDEKE, TH. Die arabischen Handelschriften Spitta's. *ZDMG.*, XL., II.

——— Ueber den Namen Assyriens. *Ztschr. f. d. Assyr.*, Band I., Heft 3.

OPPERT, J. Napaḥ, être élevé, culminer. *Ibid.*

——— Explication de quelques formules juridiques. *Ibid.*

PINCHES, THEO. G. Assyrian Antiquities. Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon. (A. H. Sayce.) *Ibid.*

——— Singašid's Gift to the Temple E-ana. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Nov., '86.

——— The Erechite's Lament over the Desolation of his Fatherland. *Ibid.*, Dec., '86.

PICK, B. The Massoretic Piska in the Hebrew Bible. *Journ. of Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exeg.*, June, '86.

SAYCE, A. H. Ariel. *Athenæum*, Oct. 9, '86.

SCHREIBER, J. Manuel de la langue Tigraë parleé au centre et dans le nord de l'Abyssinie. Wien: *Hölder*.....M.6.

SCHULTZE, M. Zur Formenlehre des semitischen Verbs. Wien: *Carl Konegen*. 8vo, 55.

SMEND u. SOCIN. Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab. (Geo. F. Moore.) *Andover Rev.*, Nov. '86.

SOCIN. Arabische Grammatik. (A. Huber.) *Ztschr. f. orient. Philol.*, III., 1.

STRASSMAIER. Verzeichniss der Assyr. u. Akkad. Wörter, u. s. w. (Schrader.) *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Nov. 6, '86.

TOMKIN, H. G. Hittites and Amorites. *Academy*, Nov. 13, '86.

VON ARNHARD. Maṣḥafa ṭemqat. Liturgie zum Tauffest der Ethiopischen Kirche. (F. Praetorius.) *Ztschr. f. orient. Philol.*, III., 1.

WAHRMUND. Praktisches Handbuch der neuarabischen Sprache. 3. Aufl. mit Schlüssel dazu. Giessen: *Ricker*.....M.20.

WILHELM, EUGEN. Königthum u. Priesterthum im alten Erân. *ZDMG.*, XL., I.

WINCKLER, HUGO. De inscriptione Sargonis regis Assyriae quae vocatur annalium. *Inaugural Dissertation*. Berlin, '86.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. III. APRIL, 1887. NO. 3.

ON THE SYNONYMS עדה AND קהל.

BY REV. PHILIP A. NORDELL, D. D.,
New London, Conn.

A study of these words is important not merely because of their frequent occurrence and intimate relationship, but because of their reflecting the evolution of political and ecclesiastical institutions. This interest is greatly increased by the unusual difficulty experienced in drawing a well-defined line of demarcation between them. Both seem to designate popular gatherings, especially of the people of Israel. Like many other closely related synonyms, they are sometimes used in this general sense without any discernible effort on the part of the writer to discriminate between them.

The root יעד (to make fast, fix, or determine), which gives מועד (a fixed time or place, and hence a fixed or predetermined gathering), gives also עדה, which is often taken to be an assembly or congregation gathered at some fixed time or place. But this sense, so fundamental and conspicuous in מועד is far less apparent in עדה. It may be said, indeed, that no well-defined instance of עדה being used in this sense of מועד exists in Hebrew literature. In קהל the radical meaning passes from the participial form of the verb קהל (a calling together or summoning), to a designation of the assembly so called or summoned. Etymologically it means the *convocata societas*, and corresponds to the ἐκκλησία called together by the Greek magistrates. Still a קהל is not always a convocation; it may designate a spontaneous and unpremeditated gathering, as in Num. xx. 4, 6; Ezra ii. 64. An עדה, on the contrary, seems in many places to partake of the nature of a קהל in that it is formally summoned to the place of meeting, Ex. xxxv. 20; Lev. viii. 3; Num. i. 18, etc. The etymology, therefore, cannot be relied on in determining their meanings.

Nor is the result more satisfactory if we turn to writers who have attempted to state the difference between them. Perfect agreement is found among those only who, like Bevan in Smith's *Bib. Dict.*, s. v. "Congregation," dismiss them as practically equivalent. Other writers reach the most varied and contradictory

Digitized by Google

conclusions. Prof. Plumptre in the same work, s. v. "Synagogue," following the etymology, makes the predominant idea in עֵדָה that of an appointed meeting, and in קָהָל of a meeting called together. Umbreit understands a קָהָל to be any general assembly, and an עֵדָה, more precisely, a representative assembly, "*senatus*, Rath der Aeltesten" (*Die Sprueche Salomo's*, 5: 14). Delitzsch on the same passage controverts the opinion that these words point respectively to the civil and ecclesiastical aspects of the Hebrew commonwealth, but is inclined to think that קָהָל denotes the "Gesammtekklesia," and עֵדָה the "Gesammtheit ihrer Repräsentanten." Köstlin, treating of the Church in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, holds that an עֵדָה is any general assembly, and that a קָהָל is a gathering for divine worship. Girdlestone, *Hebr. Synonyms*, p. 367, admits that it is not easy to distinguish between קָהָל and עֵדָה, but thinks that "there is some reason for taking the first as generally referring to the *representative* gathering, while the second often signifies an informal massing of the people." Bedarshi, a much-prized Jewish writer on Hebrew synonyms, whose work dates from the thirteenth century, following the Talmud, decides empirically that a ruling עֵדָה, i. e., a quorum for the transaction of business, must consist of not less than ten representative men; a קָהָל, on the contrary, is a promiscuous assembly. These are only a few of the definitions that might be cited.

We naturally turn to the Septuagint Version for light, but the help it offers is not so satisfactory as it might have been if the LXX. had observed some degree of uniformity in their renderings. In respect to עֵדָה, however, there is little cause for complaint. In its 148 occurrences it has been translated by *συναγωγή* 130 times; in the remaining 18 it has been omitted, as pleonastic, eight times, Num. I. 58; XXVII. 20; XXXI. 12; Josh. IX. 18; XXII. 12, 18; 1 Kgs. VIII. 5; in three instances, Job XVI. 7; Jer. VI. 8; Hos. VII. 12, the translators seem to have used a Hebrew text in which the word עֵדָה was replaced by some other expression; twice, Num. III. 7; XXXII. 4, עֵדָה is rendered by *υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ*; other renderings are *σκηνή*, Num. XVI. 9; *ἐπισύστασις*, verse 40; *παρεμβολή*, verse 46; *οἴκους*, Job XVI. 34; *βουλή*, Ps. I. 5, and *μαρτύρια*, Jer. XXX. 20. The last six, then, are the only real departures from practical uniformity, and these variations are easily justified. The LXX. therefore, treated עֵדָה and *συναγωγή* as substantially equivalent. The same consistency does not appear in their renderings of קָהָל; for, while *ἐκκλησία* prevails, occurring in 76 out of 123 instances, *συναγωγή* is also given in not less than 37 places; *ὄχλος* occurs six times, *συνέδριον* twice, and *σύστασις* and *λαός* once each.[1] Whatever conclusion might be drawn from the almost uniform translation of עֵדָה by *συναγωγή* is vitiated by the confusion in the renderings of קָהָל.

The English versions attempt to be consistent in respect to עֵדָה, rendering

[1] For an analysis of these renderings as they occur in the various books, see Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Woerterbuch*, s. v. *ἐκκλησία*.

Digitized by Google

it "congregation" when it refers to theocratic Israel, and "company" when it refers to Korah's conspiracy. The revised version corrects the few exceptions of the common version in all places but two, Ps. XXII. 16; Prov. V. 14, where both have "assembly." The renderings of קָהָל, on the contrary, are strangely arbitrary. Aside from the sixteen places where it is translated "company," the other renderings are about equally distributed between "assembly" and "congregation." With a single exception, Num. XXII. 4, the Revisers give "assembly" throughout Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Job, Joel, Micah; "congregation" throughout Kings, Chronicles, Ezra; "assembly" and "congregation" in Nehemiah, Psalms, Proverbs; "assembly" and "company" in Genesis, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. One might suspect that this confusion originated in the Revisers permitting themselves to be guided by the LXX. Not at all. The best scholarship of the nineteenth century is able to be independent in its arbitrariness.

What, then, is the distinction between these terms? Even a brief examination dispels the impression that they are used indiscriminately. Nor is it likely that the terms employed in such intimate relation to every movement of Israel's national life denote only the community in general, or a mere fortuitous concourse of its individual units. The more closely they are scrutinized, the more clearly it is seen that Hebrew writers not only distinguished between them, but that one at least, if not both, was used almost invariably with a unique and technical import. This is true of עֵדָה. Is there no passage where it defines itself, or is defined for us? Such a definition occurs in Num. I. 2, "Take ye the sum of all the עֵדָה of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, every male by their polls: from twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel." No incidental definition could be more explicit. Moses and Aaron are commanded to take the census of the עֵדָה. They find (verse 46) that the עֵדָה of Israel numbers 603,550 males of twenty years and upward. Another census of the עֵדָה is taken at the close of the wanderings in the wilderness (Num. XXVI. 2), when it was found to consist of 601,730 men of twenty years old and upward. At the construction of the tabernacle a poll-tax of half a shekel was collected from "them that were numbered of the עֵדָה," "from twenty years old and upward, for 603,550 men," Exod. XXXVIII. 25, 26. When the spies brought up an evil report, and all the עֵדָה in a riotous outbreak would have stoned Joshua and Caleb, the Lord said "How long shall I bear with this evil עֵדָה, which murmur against me?.... As I live, saith the Lord, surely as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do unto you: your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness, and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward. I, the Lord, have spoken, surely this will I do unto this evil עֵדָה," Num. XIV. 27–35. Here, then, was the central conception of the עֵדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל. It was the national body politic,

Digitized by Google

the πολῖται, composed of all the circumcised males above a certain age.[1] It had a fixed and well-determined constituency, that fluctuated only with the ebb and flow of the population from age to age. This fact reveals the etymological propriety of this technical term, and explains the fact already noted that it never occurs in the sense of an assembly gathered at a *fixed* time or place.[2] Right here, too, is the fundamental error in all the definitions cited above, in that they make the idea of an *actual assembly* the essential thing in the עֵדָה, whereas it is altogether incidental.

Practically and primarily, then, the עֵדָה stood for the nation in the strength and maturity of its manhood. Representing the nation in its wholeness, it was often used where, strictly speaking, all the people were included; e. g., "All the עֵדָה of the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Sin," Exod. XVI. 1; cf. XVII. 1; Num. XXII. 1, 22, etc. When the people suffered from hunger or thirst, the עֵדָה voiced the general discontent, Exod. XVI. 2; Num. XX. 2–11. It is the עֵדָה, representing all the people, that kept the passover, Exod. XII. 3–47; were commanded to be holy, Lev. XIX. 2; sinned through ignorance, Lev. IV. 13, 14; or mourned for Aaron, Num. XX. 29.

To convene so large a body of men in a judicial or deliberative assembly, or even to communicate directly to them the divine injunctions given to Moses, was of course out of question. The political organization of the people, which had developed itself in patriarchal fashion even before the establishment of the theocracy, found its natural representatives in the heads of families and tribes, the זְקֵנִים and the נְשִׂיאִים. These coming together formed a smaller body which represented the whole עֵדָה, as the עֵדָה represented the whole nation. In the majority of instances where the word occurs, it seems to apply to this smaller body of elders and princes, but always with a tendency, almost irresistible, to glide into the larger technical sense of the entire political constituency, in which it so sinks its own individuality that in many instances it is impossible to distinguish between them. How large this representative body was there is no means of knowing, but it was of sufficient magnitude to have necessitated the selection of a still smaller body of seventy men to assist in the transaction of public business.

The עֵדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל *was the technical name of the whole body of circumcised males above twenty years of age, who either represented all the people, or were represented by the heads of their respective families.*

---

[1] From the description of the קָהָל in Josh. VIII., 35, which included "the women, the little ones, and the strangers that walked among them," Girdlestone draws the strange conclusion that the קָהָל "properly meant all the male adults of the nation," p. 363,—a proceeding not less remarkable than when, on the same page, he illustrates the meaning of קָהָל by passages that employ עֵדָה.

[2] Gousset's definition of the עֵדָה (*Lex. ling. hebr.*, 1743), as a *conventus hominum tempore indicto et locum indictum* is therefore not only wrong, but unsupported by a single fact.

Digitized by Google

Running through all the occurrences of קהל we perceive an explicit or implied reference to the fundamental idea—that of a gathering summoned, called, selected, or elected for a specific purpose or end. Sometimes it was gathered in view of a secular or social emergency (Num. xx. 10; Ezra x. 8), but far more frequently it designated an assembly of Israel gathered for strictly religious or theocratic purposes. Even in Deut. xxiii. 2–8, which seems to be the foundation of Vitringa's definition of the קהל[1], it does not point to a close political corporation, but to a people called, elected from the surrounding nations to be holy unto the Lord; and therefore it was commanded to keep itself holy by the expulsion of illegitimate contaminations whether indigenous or foreign. In other words, it was a מקרא קדש. As such, while it covered the same constituency as the עדה (for which it is very rarely interchanged), it contemplates this constituency from a widely different point of view; e. g., Num. xx. 8, where Moses and Aaron were commanded to gather the עדה, and they summoned the קהל. Plainly this term would be used to designate the assembled representatives of the עדה, who, either during the hagiocracy (Lev. iv. 13), or during the monarchy (1 Chron. xiii. 2, 4; xxviii. 8, 29; i. 10, 20; 2 Chron. i. 35; xxiii. 3), were formally summoned to act respecting the secular or religious interests of the people. From this it easily passed into the designation of a political meeting (1 Kgs. xii. 3), or even an army (Judg. xx. 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 47; Jer. l. 9). As a rule, however, the קהל denoted either that part of the עדה of whatever rank which responded to the summons for a meeting at the אהל מועד, and such meetings were usually for religious purposes; or a solemn assembly of all the people, such as that gathered before Sinai to receive the law "in the day of the קהל," before the courts of the temple at its dedication and at Hezekiah's passover, or before the Lord in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The קהל *was, in general, the name of any theocratic gathering of the people, and was composed of those who freely responded to a summons proceeding directly or indirectly from Israel's divine king.*

Apply the discriminations here made, and the correctness of the above conclusions will appear still more clearly. It was the עדה that murmured against Moses and Aaron, and said (Exod. xvi. 2, 3), "Ye have brought us forth into this wilderness to kill this whole קהל with hunger." The latter term, not the

[1] After a prolonged examination he concludes: "Vocabulum קהל valet significatu magis restricto et determinato quam vocabulum עדה. Notat enim proprie universam alicujus populi multitudinem, vinculis societatis unitam et rempublicam sive civitatem quondam constituentem, cum vocabulum עדה ex indole et vi significationis suae tantum dicat quemcunque hominum coetum et conventum, sive minorem sive majorem: imprimis tamen conductum statumque, non integri populi (etsi adeo latae sit significationis, ut et illi applicatur, ceu in textu modo adducto vidimus) sed certorum quorundam de populo virorum, quales sunt conventus et consilia magistratum."—*De synagoga vetere*, p. 80. From this it appears that he laboriously misses the meaning of עדה, as well as of קהל,

Digitized by Google

former, contemplated the people as brought forth, summoned, out of Egypt. The same distinction applies in Num. XVI. 3. In case the whole עדה of Israel sinned and the thing was hid from the eyes of the קהל, then, when the sin became known, the קהל was directed to take a bullock for a sin-offering, upon which the elders of the עדה were commanded to lay their hands, Lev. IV. 13–15. The עדה is here the whole body politic, the קהל its summoned representatives, further defined as the זקני העדה; for it is always the עדה and never the קהל that develops along genealogical lines. In 2 Chron. v. 2, 3, it is told that Solomon assembled "all the men of Israel" of all ranks at Jerusalem. In the sixth verse this assembly is rightly called the עדה of Israel. But in VI. 3, where it is said that Solomon "turned his face and blessed all the קהל of Israel,"—the same assembly,—the predominant thought is that of a congregation assembled for religious worship. With this view of קהל a deeper meaning is seen in the patriarchal blessings (Gen. XXVIII. 3; XXXV. 11), than is conveyed by the words "multitude" or "company." A קהל עמים, or a קהל גוים, designated peoples or nations specially called, and, in so far as called, chosen out of the surrounding heathenism; it pointed not so much to a *convocation* as to an *evocation* of nations.

In the light of these definitions many facts otherwise inexplicable become easily understood. Since the constituency of the עדה depended on conditions beyond the control of the individual, it follows that we never read of a great or little עדה. Its magnitude was not contingent on the pleasure of those who composed it. Whether many or few, they represented the whole עדה, and transacted its business. Hence the pertinency of the Talmudic decision given by Bedarshi, that no ruling עדה should consist of less than ten elders. The קהל, on the contrary, had a constituency measured simply by personal willingness to respond to the summons. Because it was liable to be large or small we read of a קהל רב, Ps. XXII. 11, a קהל גדול, 1 Kgs. VIII. 65, and even a קהל גדול מאד, 2 Chron. VII. 8. A man was born into the עדה; he went to the קהל or stayed away as it pleased him. This explains why no census was taken of the latter, but only of the former. In view of this distinction it is clear also why no instance occurs where women and children are spoken of as included in the עדה, and why their presence is repeatedly mentioned (Ezra X. 1; Neh. VIII. 2; Jer. XLIV. 15), or implied (Deut. V. 22) in the popular קהל. Since the former was the technical name for the Hebrew body politic, it would manifestly be inappropriate to use it of a non-Israelitish body, and it is never so used; the reverse is true of קהל, e. g., throughout Ezekiel. Because of the rebellious murmurings, sentence of death was pronounced on the עדה, as we have seen, but not on the קהל. The one naturally exercised political, judicial, and administrative functions; the other just as naturally did not. We meet the expression כל-קהל עדת בני ישראל, Num. XIV. 5; Exod. XII. 6; but never כל-עדת קהל, an impossible thought to a Hebrew writer to whom the former phrase was not a mere rhetorical amplification, but a

Digitized by Google

climax of social magnitudes. It is clear, finally, how such a writer might discriminate sharply between these terms, and yet, from different points of view, apply them to the same constituency.

Exceedingly interesting it is to follow these words in their historical evolution,—the עדה into the later synagogue and sanhedrim, and the קהל into the New Testament ἐκκλησία; to trace their bearing on the fundamental conception of modern national churches; and to notice their misinterpretation and misuse in recent rationalistic criticism. The length of this paper, longer already than was anticipated, forbids anything beyond the mentioning of these lines of investigation.

Digitized by Google

KOTTEK'S "DAS SECHSTE BUCH DES BELLUM JUDAICUM."

By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.,

Columbia College, New York City.

Das Sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum [Syrisch], nach der von Ceriani photolithographisch edirten Peschitta-Handschrift übersetzt und kritisch bearbeitet von Dr. Hermann Kottek. Berlin: *Rosenstein & Hübesheimer*. 1886. 8vo. 30 pp. text, 45 pp. introduction and translation.

This little publication, with its rather ostentatious title, gives us the first two chapters of the Sixth Book of the περὶ τοῦ ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολεμοῦ of Josephus in a Syriac translation. The text is a copy of the same edited by Ceriani in his photolithographic edition of the P'šiṭtâ.[1] We must be thankful to Dr. Kottek for placing this, in many respects, interesting translation within the reach of ordinary students. At the same time, we would recommend care in the use of Dr. Kottek's text in its present form. Had he collated his proof-sheets once more with the MS., he would have saved his readers much useless work. The text seems to be very negligently edited. S'yâmê points are at times placed, at times not; neither Wau 'aliṣtâ nor Yûdh ḥ'bhista are expressed. In the punctuation, taḥtâyâ and 'elâyâ are either not noticed at all, or confounded with zaugâ. Nor is this all. The copula Wau is omitted, an 'âlaph placed for an Hê, Dê(i)n for Gê(i)r, and words misspellt in a most confusing manner. In texts of the age and worth of the Ambrosian P'šiṭtâ we have need of accurate diplomatic copies, such as those to which scholars like Lagarde, Sachau, Wright, etc., have accustomed us.[2] Further down I give a list of corrections, mainly made by collating again Ceriani's text. My own corrections I designate as such. I omit to note the errors in punctuation, in order not to swell the list unnecessarily.

The translation bears the superscription (fol. 679 [320 v.] inaccurately given by Dr. Kottek, p. 5) ܟܬܒ ܐܠ ܕܫܒܥ . ܡܩܨܡ ܕܝܘ ܣ ܫܒܥ ܡܩܨܡ . ܟܬ[ܒ ܐ]ܠ ܕ[ܫ]ܒ[ܥ ܡ]ܩ[ܨ]ܡ ?] ܐ . . . . ܟ[ܬ]ܒ ܐ[ܠ ܕ]ܫ[ܒ]ܥ ܡ[ܩ]ܨ[ܡ .

[1] In the preface Ceriani speaks of his having edited the text of this Sixth Book in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. V. I was unable to find this publication in any of the New York libraries. Prof. Lyon of Harvard University, to whom I turned for information, very kindly wrote to me (Sept. 11), "By reference to vol. V., fasc. I. of Ceriani's *Mon. Sac. et Prof.*, I find that book 6 (as far as I., 1-7) of Josephus' Jewish Wars is given in Syriac. The statement is made that the rest of book 6 would be in fasc. III., but this fasc. is not in the Harvard Library."

[2] The more so, since the editor himself (introd. p. 6) calls attention to the "accuracy and consistency" with which the points are placed. Had Dr. Kottek read a few more Syriac MSS., he would not have designated the two points placed under the third person feminine sing. of the Perfect as peculiar to this text. These two points, called m'pagg'dhânâ (bridle), are peculiarly Nestorian. The Jacobites make use of two points, one underneath and the other above the final Tau; cf. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 7; Duval, *Traité de Grammaire Syriaque*, § 67.

Digitized by Google

The headings read (I correct without further mention the mistakes of Dr. Kottek): fol. 676 (328 v.) across this page and the next: (sic) ܫܥܙܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕ[ܝ]ܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ ; fol. 666 (323 v.) ܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ.

Dr. Kottek is probably right in assuming that the superscription is not original; but not so in his rendering of the last heading. I should translate: "fifth treatise; (written) by Josephus." The mistake seems to be an old one. 'Abhdîšô' bar B'rîkhâ, speaking in his catalogue of Syriac books of the biblical and apocryphal writings, says:[2]

ܘܫܥܙܐ . ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ.[3]

ܘܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ .

ܘܫܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ :

ܘܫܪܒܥܝܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ :

ܘܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ[4]

ܘܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܣܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ

Evidently 'Abhdîšô' has understood the matter differently, making Josephus the author of the five treatises here mentioned. Counting the books of the Maccabees as one book, the "last destruction of Jerusalem" will be the fifth in order. Dr. Kottek is hardly right in speaking of this last as having been admitted into the Church Canon. Although the fourth book of the Maccabees occurs several times in biblical MSS.,[5] the Ambrosian is the only one containing the "last destruction of Jerusalem." Dionysius bar Ṣâlibi (A. D. 1192), in his commentary on the Old and New Testament, says:[6] ܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܒ ܐܚܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܣܦܘܣ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܕܒ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܘܫܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܘܪܒܢ ܐܝܠܝܐ ܕܒ

Maccabees,"[1] early ascribed to Josephus. This would be the "taš'yâth b'nai Šemûni" of 'Abhdîšô'. The other items would cover the ground gone over by the sixth book of the "Bellum." See the scope of the same as laid down by Josephus himself in the preface, § 7. That the first part fell away, owing to the existence of the Maccabean books, is not surprising.

In the text I have noticed the following corrections:—p. 1: l. 2, حلت. l. 5: The reading of the MS. شعيما, i. e., sughâyâ, is correct. It occurs again in Walton's Polyglott, 2 Macc. VIII. 16. See Payne Smith, col. 2521. Targ. סוגיא; Levy, TW., II. p. 143, where شعيما is a misunderstanding of Castell, p. 578. *ibid.* MS. ٥٥٥ for ٥٥٥. l. 6, MS. ٧عيما. l. 8, ٥٥٥; above ٥٥٥ MS. shows the word ؟ے. MS. ؟؟ے. l. 9: For سما of the MS. read لسما *omen, sign* = κληδών, not لسما *divination*, as proposed in note c. l. 11, MS. حلت؟. l. 13, MS. ٥٥٥٥٥٥ without Yûdh. The reading of the word rê(i)šâ is not always clear in old MSS. See Merx, ZDMG., XXXVII., p. 249. Even where it is so, one and the same MS. gives the word at times with, at times without the Yûdh. Note a, read اقدلنا.

p. 2: Read صحقما. l. 5, ٥٥٥؟ is the correct reading. In the note appended to this word there is a strange confusion. ٥٥٥ is the exact equivalent of τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ χώραν. Dr. Kottek is wrong (text, p. 30, Nachtrag) in assuming that the word denotes the inner portion of a city. Lee had already (Payne Smith, col. 36) translated correctly "in its borders." This rendering is supported as well by the passage in the Theophania of Eusebius, which is a free rendering of Luke XXI. 21, where our texts read ٥٥٥؟, as opposed to the preceding ٥٥٥, as it is by our passage here.[2] In the translation Dr. Kottek has given the proper meaning. I may add that the word ٥٥٥ occurs again in Hoffmann's Bar 'Alî (Kiel, 1874) p. 142:10, where ٥٥٥ has been changed from ٥٥٥. l. 6: The reading of the MS. is correct, i. e. ٥٥٥; Cf. Prov. XXI. 26, where the Greek text has ἀφειδῶς. Payne Smith, col. 1223. l. 7, MS. ٥٥. l. 8, MS. ٥٥٥. l. 9, MS. ٥٥٥ے, ٥٥٥ for ٥٥. l. 11: Read ٥٥٥, which may possibly be the reading of the MS. l. 12, MS. ٥٥٥ے.

p. 3: l. 7, MS. ٥٥٥٧. l. 8, MS. ٥٥٥٥٥٥٥. l. 9, MS. ٥٥٥٥. l. 13: ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥؟ = δεξιᾷ τύχῃ; where the text, as it now stands, is entirely unintelligible. l. 17, MS. ٥٥٥؟. l. 18, MS. ٥٥٥, ٥٥٥. l. 20: MS. ٥٥٥٧, ٥٥٥ = πρὶν. See Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, glossary, p. 57. MS. ٥٥٥٥٥٥٧. In the text we must read ٥٥٥ without S'yâmê, and omit note c. Dr. Kottek has

[1] περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ.

[2] Josiphôn ben Gôrion (ed. Breithaupt, 1710), p. 809, סביבות ירושלים.

Digitized by Google

been misled by supposing ܩܕܡܝܬܐ to be feminine. George Karmseddinâyâ (Payne Smith, col. 1681) says expressly ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ. Our text is an exact translation of the Greek *πρὶν ἐγγίσαι τοῖς χώμασι.*

p. 4: l. 3, MS. ܒܗܘܢ. l. 4, MS. ܒܬܪ; note b, read ܒܬܪ. l. 8, MS. ܩܕܡܝܬܐ, ܒܫ, ܐܢ. l. 11, MS. ܒܬܪ. l. 16, MS. ܒܨܩ.

p. 5: l. 2, MS. ܐܒ. l. 3, MS. ܒܐ, ܒܬܪ; delete note b, and cf. Payne Smith, col. 1705. l. 13, MS. ܒܬܪ, ܒܬܪ. l. 14, MS. ܒܫ. l. 15, MS. ܒܩ. l. 16, MS. ܐܚ; also 6:3. l. 18, MS. ܐܩ, ܒܬ. l. 20, MS. ܐܩ.

p. 6: l. 4: The manuscript reading is correct. Wau introduces the apodosis of the sentence commencing with ܟ. l. 9, after ܒܬܪ MS. adds ܒ. l. 11, the text is correct. ܒܬ ܐ = *οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην.* See Payne Smith, col. 479. l. 14, MS. ܒܟ; delete note f, and cf. 6:4.

p. 7: l. 7, read as in note a. ܐܒ = *τοὺς ἀλκίμους.* l. 8, MS. ܒܬ. l. 11, MS. ܒ = *δεῖ δε.* l. 13, MS. ܒܬ. l. 15, MS. ܐܒ.

p. 8: l. 1, MS. ܒܬܟ, ܒܬ. l. 2, MS. ܐ to distinguish it from ܐ. l. 4, MS. ܐ. l. 8, MS. ܒܬ. l. 12, for the unintelligible ܒܩܬ read with the manuscript ܒܩ, which is not to be translated "with few," which would be ܒܩ, but "with great speed;" in the same sense as ܒ is used; see Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. W. Wright, 56:24, Jes. 5:26; Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 70; Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the N. T.*, 31:23; or "suddenly," 'Aprêm, I., 74 D. l. 15, MS. ܒ. l. 16, MS. ܒ. l. 17, MS. ܒ. We must undoubtedly read ܐ, although the manuscript reading is ܐ, Greek *μετὰ τοιούτων ὅπλων.* ܫ is omitted in Dr. Kottek's translation and in the Greek; but curiously enough, is found again in Whiston's translation. l. 18, MS. ܒ. l. 19, read ܒ. l. 20, MS. ܒ. l. 21, MS. ܒ, also 9:2. l. 22, MS. ܒ.

p. 9: l. 3, MS. ܐ. l. 4, MS. ܐ, ܒ. l. 6, MS. ܒ. l. 7, MS. ܒ. l. 8, MS. ܐ. l. 9, MS. ܒ. l. 10, MS. ܒ, ܒ. l. 11, MS. ܒ. l. 14, MS. ܐ, ܒ. l. 16, MS. ܒ. l. 17, MS. ܒ. For the use of this form for ܒ see Wright, *The Homilies of Aphraates*, I. list of errata. MS. ܒ ܐ. l. 18, MS. ܒ ܒ. Read ܒ as in manuscript. For the meaning "commence" see Bernstein's Lexicon to his Chrestomathy, p. 547.

Digitized by Google

p. 10: l. 1, MS. ܗܘܢ ܕܐ. l. 2, MS. ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫ. l. 3, MS. ܡܢ ܕ. l. 6, MS. ܒܝܬ. l. 11, MS. ܐܫܬܡܥ. l. 22, MS. ܡܫܡܫ. l. 23, MS. ܡܫܡܫ.

p. 11: l. 3, MS. ܡܬܡ. l. 4, MS. ܬܩܦ. l. 6: The text here is in perfect order. I see no necessity whatever for adding ܗܘ. Such constructions (where the subject is repeated by a possessive pronoun) occur often in Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syrische Gram.*, § 317), as in other Semitic dialects. Cf. زيد قام ابوه Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, § 275, p. 409; Caspari-Müller, *Arab. Gram.*, § 485. For the intransitive use of ܐܬܐ see Payne Smith, col. 1739. l. 7, MS. ܐܚܙ. l. 8, after ܒܗ MS. reads ܐ. l. 9, MS. ܫܟ as proposed in note c. l. 10: Here too the text, although paraphrasing the original, is correct. The MS. shows a point after ܡܫܬ, indicating that this word is not to be construed with the next one, but with the preceding. I hardly see how Dr. Kottek could translate this sentence as he has. ܫܬ is never construed with ܒ. Waving the question raised in note d, whether ܚܕܐ can have the meaning "envy," as the text stands, we can only take ܚܕܝܐ as the plural fem. of ܚܕܐ (for this form of the adjective used as a noun see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 215 a, p. 299) *that which is stable, firm*, Castell-Michaelis, p. 969; Bernstein, Lexicon, p. 369. Cf. ܚܕܘܬܐ two lines lower down (Bernstein, *loc. cit.*, 570; Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*, 216:11 seq, ܚܕܐ ܕܡܬܐ, Wright, *Catalogue*, 506 b.

p. 12: l. 1, MS. ܒܫܒܥ ܒܫܒܥ ܒܫܒܥ, ܒܫܒܥ!. l. 4, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 5, ܒܫܒܥ. l. 6: The text is here in order. ܒܫܒܥ refers to ܒܫܒܥ (for similar constructions see 3:1; 13:6); ܒܫܒܥ = ܒܫܒܥ. l. 9, MS. ܐܠܡ. l. 10, MS. ܬܩܦ. l. 13, MS. ܡܬܚܕ. l. 16, MS. ܐܙܠ ܐܙܠ.

p. 13: l. 4, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 5, MS. ܬܡ. l. 6, MS. ܒܚܙ. l. 8, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 14, MS. ܒܗ ܒܗ.

p. 14: l. 3, read ܒܩ. l. 5, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 9, read ܒܫܒܥ. l. 15, MS. reads ܒܫܒܥ in place of ܒܫܒܥ, and *vice versa*.

p. 15: l. 5, MS. ܡܐ. l. 6, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 8, MS. ܒܗ in place of ܒܗ. l. 16, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 17, MS. ܒܫܒܥ. l. 20, manuscript reads ܚܕܐ, which I have met with only in the meaning "angustia, tristitia;" Castell-Michaelis, 642; Bernstein, 366; Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis*, 196:31, "morbis lethalis," 'Aphrem, II., 83 D, 84 C; "periculum morbis," *ibid.*, 96 b. Dr. Kottek is right in reading ܚܘܕܐ (18:4; 29:14), Greek βοή. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, III., 205:15; Lagarde,

Digitized by Google

Analecta Syriaca, 119:22,24; Castell-Michaelis gives ܩܛܝܠܐ as the plural. Read ܩܛܠܐ, Bernstein, p. 366; Duval *Grammaire Syriaque*, p. 260; Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, Grammar (ed. Martin), I., 32:4,

p. 16: l. 1, MS. ܐܝ, l. 8, manuscript has the wrong reading ܡܕܡܠܝ. l. 12, MS. ܟܡܘ. l. 14, MS. ܐܬܝ. l. 16, MS. ܙܘ. I suppose that 'Αρσίμων (Josîphôn ben Gorion, ed. Breithaupt, 1710, p. 821, has ארשימון) is some old corruption of 'Ιαείρος + Σίμων.

p. 17: l. 1, MS. ܗܕܐܬܐ. l. 2, MS. ܡܫܡܠ. l. 3, MS. ܟܡܘܣܡܣ. l. 4, MS. ܐܝ ܐܝ. l. 6, MS. ܐܣܝ. l. 9, MS. reads ܠܡܩܕܡܝ!. l. 14, MS. ܡܡܘܙܡܡܝ.

p. 18: l. 12, MS. ܡܫܡܣ. l. 13, MS. ܠܡܕܟܡ. l. 14, MS. ܠܡܬܐ, ܣܡܣ. l. 20, MS. ܡ. l. 22, MS. ܡ.

p. 19: l. 2: The change of ܐܡܡ into ܠܡܡ is unnecessary, although I know of no such use of the word. It is guaranteed by p. 17:5. l. 7, MS. ܗܕ. l. 12, MS. ܒܟܡܕܘܣ.

p. 20: l. 1: I read the first word ܡܗ. l. 2: The addition of ܡ is unnecessary; Payne Smith, col. 479. l. 3, MS. ܟܡܬ. l. 5, MS. ܡܡܒܟܡ ܒܟܡ ܣܐ. l. 8, MS. ܡܬ. l. 9, ܐܣܐ ܡ ܡܟ is correct. I fail to see in what way the proposed emendation would better the text. "And another Bar Mattai" clearly distinguishes him from the four sons of the other of the same name. l. 9, MS. ܡܬ. l. 10, MS. ܡܡܬ. l. 11, MS. ܡܬ, ܡܬ.

p. 21: l. 1, MS. ܒܐ, i. e., ܒܟܐ, to distinguish it from ܒܟܐ. 'Ebhdokhos (private manuscript of Professor Sachau, Berlin), fol. 55 a; ܒܟ ܒܡ ܐ ܡܠܟ ܒܟ ܒܟܐ · ܒܟܐ ܒܟܐ · ܐܟ ܒܡ ܒܟ ܒܟ ܐ ܒ ܒܟܐ استحبر. l. 2, MS. ܒܟܡܐ; in note *a* read ܐܠ for ܐܟ. l. 9, delete point after ܡܡ; read ܡܡܡܡܡ. l. 13, MS. ܐܡܣ. l. 15, in the MS. the traces of the S'yâmê points over ܡܡ are still to be seen.

p. 22: l. 1, MS. ܡܟ. l. 4, MS. ܡܡܡܡ. l. 5, MS. ܠܐ. l. 9, MS. ܡܟ. l. 12: Omit the unintelligible Dâlath of ܡܡܣ; it is not in the MS.

p. 23: l. 3, MS. ܣܠ. l. 4, read ܟ. l. 10, MS. ܢܟ. So l. 12.

p. 24: l. 3, MS. ܐ. l. 10, MS. ܡܟ. l. 13, MS. ܡܒ.

p. 25: l. 4, MS. ܣ. l. 7, MS. ܠ. l. 10, MS. ܐ, ܡ. l. 15, MS. ! l. 16, MS. reads ܡܟ after the word ܡܡ. l. 21, MS. ܡ.

p. 26: l. 2, read ܐ. l. 5, MS. ܡܬ, compare l. 7. l. 7, MS. ܠ, i. e,,

Digitized by Google

ܐܝܟ . l. 8, read ܐܝܟܐ, Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 125. Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, *Gram.* I. 26:25. Read ܕ[ܐ]ܢܫ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ . l. 11, MS. ܐܢܫ .

p. 27: l. 1, MS. ܐܬܐ . Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 239. l. 2, in the MS. I see the traces of a bê(i)th before ܐܢܫ . l. 12, MS. ܒܢܝ . This mistake between Dâlath and Rîš occurs often in the Syriac Bible; compare cases such as ܒܢܝ, ברוך, Gen. II. 12; ܥܒܕ, עובד, 1 Chron. XI. 47; ܥܝܪ, עיר, Gen. IV. 18; ܪܦܬ, ריפת, Gen. X. 3; ܕܪܢ, דרן, Gen. X. 7; ܓܪܪ, גררה, Gen. X. 19; ܐܪܦܟܫܕ, ארפכשד, Gen. X. 22; ܒܝܬ ܟܠܕ, XIV. 1; ܒܝܬ ܐܠ, *ibid.*; ܒܝܬ ܐܝܠ, XXII. 22. Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, in his 'auṣar (')râzê, reads ܒܝܬ ܐܠ *ibid.*; ܐܝ, XXV. 3; ܐܫܘ XXV. 14; ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ XXVI. 1; *ZDMG.* XXXI. 317. Perles: *Melemata Peschittoniana*, p. 19. l. 16, MS. ܐܫܘܪ . l. 20, MS. ܒܝܬ , read ܒܢܝ .

p. 28: l. 5, MS. ܐܒܝܬ . l. 7, MS. ܒܢܝ . l. 11, read ܐܫܘܪ . l. 13, the incorrect reading ܒܝܬ has been caused by the occurrence of the word in the next line. MS. ܐܠ . l. 18, MS. reads ܒܢܝ , as proposed in note b. What follows in the MS. I cannot make out. The three points do not indicate a gap. The following word gives no sense. Nor can the middle letter be a Semkath, as no MSS. of this age which have come under my notice show this letter bound to the next one on the left side. See Wright: *The Homilies of Aphraates*, p. 15, note. ܐ does not, in any case, belong here. l. 20, Dr. Kottek's emendation will not hold, as ܐ is unnecessary. Read ܐܦ = *μέγα*, and translate "is no great thing."

p. 29: l. 5, MS. ܐܠ . l. 12, MS. ܒܢܝ .

So much for the text. As regards the German translation, I am sorry that I am not able to speak more favorably. The translation of an Oriental text may be of use in either of two ways. It may assist the Orientalist in understanding a difficult passage, and in getting at the exact meaning of a certain word. It may, however, furnish the non-Orientalist with a faithful picture of what the original text offers. In either case, exactness is demanded, even at the expense of style, as Gildermeisten has done, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXVII., pp. 525 seq. It is true, Dr. Kottek intended to offer us "as literal a translation as possible" (p. 16). I do not think he has been successful in carrying out his intention. At times he has allowed himself to be led astray by the Greek "translation," in face of the plain sense of the Syriac, viz., p. 4:13, the word r(h)ômâyê is omitted as in the Greek; p. 4:18, s'ghâ is translated "surround" (*φράσσω*), with which meaning I have never met; p. 21, l. 9, "The former bad the rebels in the presence of the Romans;"—the second clause being the Greek *καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱστάμενοι*, which is omitted in the Syriac. In a translation it is often necessary to add a word or two to render the sense of the original clear. Such additions should invariably be put in brackets.

Digitized by Google

See transl. p. 18, l. 11: "would be compelled to lament;" p. 19, l. 1: "for;" l. 11: "they asked themselves;" p. 21, l. 13: "although the Roman;" p. 22, l. 1: "individualities." Dr. Kottek has not seen that it is but an awkward rendering of the Greek *διέτεθη τὰ φρονήματα*. P. 36, l. 4: "naturally;" l. 6: "in truth," etc. A number of passages are insufficiently—some incorrectly—translated. I will only notice a few instances; e. g., p. 1, l. 4 "aufreiben," instead of some such word as "consume" (Gr. *νέμω*). Dr. Kottek, it seems, has understood the word r'â in the sense of ra'; l. 7, damkârbîn (h)wau 'amhôn means "those who fought with them" *τοῖς μαχομένοις*, and not "those who fought with one another (bah'dhâdhê); l. 12 is translated: "reviled their enemies, and went courageously to battle with them." I do not know on what authority Dr. Kottek gives k'lâ this meaning. We must translate: "they derided (maklê(i)n) [the idea of] fighting with their enemies." For k'lâ with 'al in this meaning see 29:10, where the whole construction is very similar; 'Aph'el, Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, 'Auṣar (')Râzê to Gen. XII. 4; Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 63; Michaelis (Cast.-Mich., p. 798) doubts that the root k'lâ has this meaning. But see the examples quoted above, and compare Levy TW. II., p. 362. P. 3, l. 12 must be translated: "nor their courage shaken by their suffering" *ἀνάλωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς εὐθυμίαν εἶναι*. What follows is also badly translated. It is an awkward rendering of the Greek, and must read: "for what would they not enjoy [favored] with good fortune—*δεξιᾷ τύχῃ*—who, through evil, are led to valor" taknâîth = *πρὸς ἀλκήν*. The root t'kan is often used in this more ethical sense. Compare 'abhdê taknê 'Aprêm I. 395 A. 272 C.; dubbârê taknê Wright, *Catalogue*, 573b; Eusebius, on *Theophania* II. c. 71; Bernstein, *Lexicon*, p. 570. taknâîth Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 70. This makes note 5 on p. 19 trans. unnecessary, as also the addition in the text of "they asked themselves." L. 18, translate "the Jews sought to hinder them in their works;" l. 20, "and before they came near to the banks their hopes were blighted," reading 'adh and tukhlâthhôn. *Ψυχρότεροι πῆς ἐλπίδος*; compare tukhlânâ, 7:15; p. 4, l. 1, supply "but;" l. 4, the text reads w'men, where the Waw does not seem to be in the right place; p. 20, trans. note 4 is wrong. 'en hâlê(i)n nezk'yân l'dhîlhôn = *εἰ πάντα κρατήσειαν*; *ibid.*, note 5, read: "wanting in the Syriac;" p. 7, l. 12, "and that the ascent of the wall is difficult, I am the first to say to you;" l. 15, "the good fruits of bravery" belongs to the preceding sentence. In the MS. there is a point after d'ḥallîṣûthâ. Translate: "and first let the hope for a proper commencement—do you not be witheld [by this argument (a free rendering of *τὸ τινὰς ἴσως ἀποτρὶπον*)]—come to you from the perseverance of the Jews;" *ibid.* note *a* must be omitted, Nöldeke, § 24; p. 9, l. 11, read w'kallîl; p. 10, l. 11, "of those, however, who were in the cohort, one did service, by name Sabinus." Dr. Kottek seems to have read pâlḥîn, which would agree with the Greek *στρατευομένων*; l. 19, the translation "that my power and good-will follow upon thy victory" gives no sense. Unless the Syriac translator has taken n'mann'ôn bâthar as equivalent to the Greek *ἀπὸ κολουθῆσαι*, we must read: d'bhâthar ḥail(i) w'ṣebhyâ-

Digitized by Google

n(i) n'mann'ôn sâkhôthâkh. Whiston translates "my fortune;" with what authority, I do not know. The received text has σὴν. P. 12, l. 9, "as if through some evil genius" â(i)kh d'men = ἀναλόγως ?; p. 13, l. 14, I would emend the text in the following way: šuryâ (h)wâ lakrâbhâ bh'ma'lânâ takkîphâîth; p. 15, l. 4, "a man whom I had seen in the war" ὃν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον; p. 15, l. 19, "fell upon his side;" p. 16, l. 1, the fifth, sixth and seventh words seem to be out of place, and to belong to the second line, which would then read: w'men yûkârêh d'zainâ lâ 'eškakḥ. P. 16, l. 5, Dr. Kottek gives the curious translation: "lost his courage" instead of "his soul expired," i. e., he gave up the ghost. Compare an exactly similar expression, Wright: *Contributions to the apocryphal Literature*, 56:4; Zunz: *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641. The word naphšâ is generally omitted, Mark xv. 3; 2 Macc. i. 7, 13 (Cast.-Mich.). P. 17, l. 4, the translation "On the 17th of Tamus [read Tammûz] all the people were humiliated" is impossible. Dr. Kottek seems to have read gurgâyê, a word which seldom occurs in Syriac literature, Payne Smith, col. 774. If the text reading—gurâghâ—is right, we must translate: "there was an excitement on account of the [scarcity of] people." I regard as doubtful, however, the MS. reading, which ought probably to be some word corresponding to the Greek ἀπορία; p. 17, l. 9, Dr. Kottek entirely ignores the word lêh. Translate: "The offerings should be allowed him (i. e., it should be allowed him to bring offerings) with the aid (b'yadh) of such Jews as he should select for himself;" l. 13, lam'sâph "to consume it;" p. 18, l. 14, 'en is omitted in the translation, which should read "seeing that foreign nations," and should be connected with the foregoing. "But you" commences a new sentence; l. 22, "bore captivity." P. 19, l. 13, k'bhar not "perhaps," but "already, now," Gr. ἀρα; p. 20, l. 16, "cheerfully" is omitted in the translation; Gr. ἀσμένοι; p. 22, l. 1, the text here is very difficult to understand. Dr. Kottek's translation gives no sense. Some emendation is necessary. If in lines 3 and 4 we change the places of r(h)ômâyê and yûdhâyê respectively, we get a sense approaching the Greek original: "and [indeed] so far did all their wickedness [reach]—men who should, by rights, have been plunged into sorrow and grief, if one of the Romans had shown the intention ('emar) of desecrating (n'awwel and not ne"ôl, as Dr. Kottek takes it. ἐξνθρίζοιεν, compare 17:9 trans. p. 37, note 6) their (the Jews') sanctuary—[that], because the Jews were [steeped] in such wickedness, the Romans themselves commenced to despise [them]." P. 23, l. 8, s'kubhlâ "opposition;" p. 25, l. 25. It has been entirely misunderstood, and has unnecessarily occasioned note 1, p. 41, trans. If we make one or two emendations, the Syriac text corresponds exactly with the Greek. The word rê'šâ 25:23 ought to have shown the way. We must read 25:23 dh'khudhnawâthâ; 26:1 wath'rênâyâ men 'akhsedra dhê(i)n garb'yaitâ dh'îthêh "so that they raised the foremost one of the banks over against that corner of the inner court which [looked] to the north-west, a second one against the northern edifice, which was between its two gates. The other two were at the

Digitized by Google

western and northern cloisters of the temple." P. 26, l. 7, "on account of the long time;" p. 27, l. 2, "and especially on account of the care [which the Romans would have to give] their bodies," Greek *πρὸς θεραπείας ἤδη τοῦ σώματος ὄντων*; l. 21, "in those days" b'hânê(i)n [yaumâthâ] and not = b'hâdhêdh, as Dr. Kottek seems to understand it. P. 28, l. 5, "then the Jews cut off [the roof]; l. 16, "the thought also occurred to some—[and] not unreasonably," a hard rendering of *λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀσύνετος*; p. 29, l. 4, the text has 'ûdos or 'eudos (compare ܥܘܕܣ Θευδᾶς Nöld., *Syr. Gram.*, § 144). Dr. Kottek translates Pudens. Perhaps we ought to read ܦܘܕܣ. The Latin translation and Whiston have Pudens! l. 6, "*because* he overestimated;" l. 8, "and threw him down;" l. 16, the plural is right here, *τοῖς ἀλόγως εὐτυχοῦσι*.

There are a few extracts from Josephus which I have met with in my Syriac reading. They may as well find a place here. In the *Theophania* of Eusebius (ed. Lee), 4:21, there is a passage which is also contained in Ceriani's publication. It will be interesting to compare both texts. It is from *Bell. Jud.*, 3:3. In the accompanying foot-notes, A = Ceriani, B = Eusebius.

ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ[1] ܐܢܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬ ܒܥܐ ܘܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ
ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ[2] . ܐܡܪ[5] ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܥܐ[4] ܕܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ[3] ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܒܥܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ[6] ܐܢܐ . ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐ ܡܕܡ[7] ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ[8].
ܕܐ ܐܡܪ[9] ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ
ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ[10] . ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ[11] ܐܢܐ ܕܐ (fol. 238 r)
ܐܡܪ[13] . ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ[12]

---

[1] B ܐܡܪ

[2] B ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐ·ܐ = *εἰμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἐργον.*

[3] B ܠܗ

[4] B ܒܥܐ

[5] B ܐܡܪ *ἱστόρηται.*

[6] Wanting in B.

[7] ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ

[8] B ܐܡܪ . ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ . A's ܐܡܪ = *τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτόν*, a very unusual expression.

[9] B ܐܡܪ

[10] B ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ

[11] This seems to be the reading of the MS., although it is conjectural on my part. Greek *βηθεζωβ*. Wanting in B. The text in A should probably read ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ

[12] B ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ [13] B ܐܡܪ

Digitized by Google

ܐܝܬ . ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܡܢܬܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܠܡ
ܡܫܟܚܝ ooo . ܐܢܐ ܗܘ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡ .
ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟ .
ܫܟܚܝ ooo . 7ܟܣܝܠ
ܬܒ8 . ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ
ܕܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܐ . ooo ܠܡ
ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܐܠ ooo .
ܗܘ ܒ ooo . ܠ ܐܫܬܟܚ
9[ ]ܬ ooo ܠ 10ܪܚܡ
ܠܡ . ooo]ܐ[ܫܬ
ooo . ܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ
ooo ܗܘ ܒ . ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo . ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo . ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo . ooo ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo . ooo ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ

B ooo ܗܘ ܒ ooo ܕܐܡܪ
ooo . 1ܐܫܬܟܚ ooo ܗܘ ܒ
ooo ooo ooo ooo ooo
ooo . ooo ooo ooo ooo

Bk. V., 10:5 = Eusebius *Theophania*, IV., 22.

In Ceriani's Hexapla, p. 112 b, note, I find the following:

---

[1] B

[2] B A follows here the Greek text more closely.

[3] B

[4] Wanting in B.

[5] B

[6] B

[7] B with following

[8] *συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν.*

[9] The next four lines are wanting in the Syriac.

[10] Some such word as nûrâ seems to have been omitted here = *τὸ πῦρ.*

[11] The Greek text has here the temple and not the fire as object.

[12] *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία.* Bk. IX., ch. X., § 4.

[13] Gr. *Ἀζαρίου.*

[14] As the Syriac cannot use bainâth alone, hâlê(i)n is added. Over the word dê(i)n are three points, which generally are a sign that the word is to be omitted. Here, however, dê(i)n stands for the Greek *δὲ.*

[15] Pa"el, indicated by the point above, = *ἐκλόνησε . . . . μέγας.*

[16] Read ? (= *φέγγος*, = *λαμπρόν.* Payne Smith, cols. 1125, 2438).

Digitized by Google

ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܠܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܘܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܠܝ

3:15; men kulhôn, 4:5 = πάντων; šabhkê, 4:16 = ἀφετήρια. If the following words of the text are correct,—perhaps we ought to read hânôn,—they are a poor rendering of the Greek τῶν προστηδώντων. 'adh nê'thê....k'râbhâ l'îdhaihôn, p. 5, l. 2 = εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν; nettebh 'al ṣ'wârhôn, p. 8, l. 21. Dr. Kottek affirms (preface, p. 15) that there occur in the translation many words which are only to be found again in the Aramaic—by which, I suppose, he means the dialects of the Targumîm and Talmûdhîm. I have been unable to find such, and am sorry that Dr. Kottek has so limited the number which he himself quotes. And even these three vanish, when looked at a little closer. The word š'bhaḳ, "permit" does occur in Syriac, Mark I. 34, w'lâ šâbheḳ (h)wâ l'hôn. This passage, as well as the others cited Cast.-Mich. p. 888, s. v. šâbhôḳâ, belong under the rubric š'bhaḳ. Bernstein, *Lexicon*, p. 500. For the 'Ethp'el in the same meaning, Hahn and Sieffert, *Chrestomathia Syriaca* (1825), p. 224. For k'nâ "envy," Dr. Kottek could have cited, in support of his theory, its occurrence in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Franciscus Miniscalchi Erizzo, *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, etc., p. 393). My collections for Syriac lexicography do not contain the word in that meaning in Edessenian Syriac. k'nê'thâ, Job v. 2 (Bernstein, p. 449) is simply the Hebrew kin'âh. Dr. Kottek would, however, have done better to have left this word out of his argument, as it rests (p. 11, l. 10 and note d) on the very slender basis of conjecture and emendation. I have shown above how untenable both are. Compare also 18:15. The form of the root gûph, 24:11 (not gaph, as Dr. Kottek has it) can as well be read m'ghayy'phîn in Pa"el, for which Payne Smith, col. 687, gives one authority. The Targumîm seem also to use this word as an 'Ayin-U one. Levy, TW., I., 131 (the place to which Dr. Kottek refers) gives gûph.

If the external arguments fail thus to support the theory propounded, so do the internal ones taken from a comparison of the Syriac with the Greek text. From a consideration of the general character of the text, very little can be won. Few of the translations from the Greek—if we except those of the Aristotelian Canon—keep closely to their original. Few translators are as conscientious as Sargîs Riš'ainâyâ (Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 134:23 seq.). On the contrary, they seek rather to give only the meaning conveyed by their originals. On this point, Licentiat Ryssel has summed up the evidence in his two excellent essays, *Ueber den text-kritischen Werth der Syrischen Uebersetzungen Griechischer Klassiker*, *I.*, *II.* Leipzig, 1880.

Our translation of Josephus belongs to the second of the three divisions of Ryssel (I., p. 4). But this would surely be no reason (Kottek, preface, p. 9) to doubt its having a Greek original. The other arguments might be noticed here. ch. 1, § 5: If we accept the very probable conjecture of Dr. Kottek himself, both texts will agree. § 5: The opening sentences of the speech, as it stands in the Syriac version, seem to me more in accord with what has preceded than in the Greek. Josephus says expressly that Titus was of the opinion that "exhortations

Digitized by Google

and promises would strengthen the courage of his soldiers." ch. IV. § 1: I have not the Syriac text at hand; though I doubt whether there is any real difference between it and the Greek. I understand the Syriac to mean that the Romans first weakened and partly demolished the gate, and then applied ladders and fire. ch. 5. § 3: The Syriac translator has simply blundered here, having been led astray by the preceding mention of the night of the festival. In the same way, many of the "additions" (as 3:10; 5:13) can be explained as omissions on the part of the Syriac translator. On the whole, he seems to strive after conciseness of expression, ch. 2: 3, n. 2; ch. 3:1. In ch. 1, § 6, note 3, ὁρμῇ τινι δαιμονίῳ did not suit the Christian Syrian; for which reason he altered it. Ryssel, *loc. cit.*, I., 4; II., 50. To the same category belong the changes in ch. 2, § 4, note 3, ch. 2, § 10, Pudens succumbs to Jonathan rather than to chance. See ch. 1, § 1, note 6, § 8, note 1. οὐκ ἀσημος ἦν ἀνήρ is omitted as not necessary for the sense; *ibid.* note 9, it is only the first five words which are left out in the Syriac. The translator did not deem it necessary to add these words, as the fact is easily understood from the narrative itself.

It may be permitted me to call attention to some lexicographical points which I have noticed while reading the text. 1:10 m'phalpal in the sense of "stained" φύρω. Hex. Jerem. 2:3 (Cast.-Mich.); Bar 'Alî ed. Hoffmann, 228:7; Payne Smith, col. 1504; 'Aprêm I., 205 A. Compare farther on 21:18, where it is a translation *ad sensum* of θερμάς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες; 29:10 in the meaning of the German "wälzen" (*Sindban*, ed. Baethgen, 9:10); Targûmish כלכל (Levy, TW., II., 271). p. 2, l. 2, d'lâ bhûnâyâ = ἀπόγνωσις "desperation" (to be added Payne Smith, col. 469). p. 2, l. 4, kudhnawâthâ. Payne Smith, col. 1181, has a remark on this passage. p. 2, l. 9, tašb'yâthâ. Jer. 2:32, 4:30; 'Aprêm I., 345 D; *Spicilegeum Syriacum*, 26:16, 48:3. In the same sense sebhtâ, l. 12; Eusebius, *Theophania*, I., 4:1; Jes. 3:18; Hoffmann, *de hermeneuticis*, 203:27. Curious is the use of nestakbal, p. 2, l. 12, "arrive, come to." Levy TW., II., 185. p. 14, l. 15 it has its usual signification. p. 3, l. 3, t'ḥebh, of which the P'al is not given. Cast.-Mich. p. 936; see ZDMG., XXIV., 268:25; Bar 'Ebhrâyâ to Jes. 19:2, Tullberg 14, note p. 12; Dionysius Telmaḥrensis 117:8, note, p. 303; Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 69 s. v. p. 4, l. 1, 'ethpakkah; 29:16. Bickell, *loc. cit.* p. 60, 'Ebhdokhos (private MS. of Prof. Sachau, Berlin) fol. 26a. إرفضه (!) كمد . إرفضه خضمه٥١ . من السماج in the meaning "pacare," 'Aprêm, II., 242 C; "temperare," *ibid.* I., 10 A, 16, 5 C; *Spic. Syr.*, 21:3. p. 5, l. 19, سهلمس (sic) 24:11; سهلمس "scutus"? p. 8, l. 3, šu'lâyâ, "superbia." 'Aprêm, II., 119 D, 124 F; I., 339 E. p. 10, l. 2, šuph'ân, "profusio." l. 15, šîyûthâ, "color of the face," where the masc. 'ukkâmâ next to h'wâth is strange. Nöldeke, ZDMG., XXXVII., 535, note 1. The citation from Titus of Bostra is a slip of the pen, as the word mentioned there is šanyûthâ. 'Ebhdokhos also gives the pronunciation as trisyllabic (fol. 137 b). أقما ٥ سهلمس with the marginal

Digitized by Google

note ܐ ܠܚܕܐ الحسنة الجميلة p. 11, l. 4, m'arg'lîn "roll." Prov. XVI. 3; Hex. MS. or. Berl. Petermann, 1:19 (Sachau, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung*, p. 34, No. 49:4). ܐܬܦܥܠ ܡܙܓ فرزل عف 'Ethpa, "roll oneself." *Spic. Syr.*, 27:25; עֶרְגִיל Levy, TW., II., 243. p. 13, l. 7, ḥal, "dig," add to Payne Smith, col. 1268. durṭê, "lances," 14:4, Payne Smith, col. 858. I think that the Greek δόρυ, δόρατος (δούρατος) is in this word. p. 5, l. 4; 15, l. 22, šâphyê, Bernstein, *Lexicon*, 530. Bar 'Alî (private MS. of Prof. Sachau in Berlin). ܕܚܕ ܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܕ ܕܚܕ ܕܚܕ

THE STROPHICAL ORGANIZATION OF HEBREW TRIMETERS.

By Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D.,

Union Theological Seminary, New York.

An absence in Europe for eight months prevented me from continuing the series of articles on Hebrew Poetry, begun in the Hebraica in April, 1886, until the present time. In the first article I presented some specimens of the trimeter movement, with a study of the lines and their interrelation in the varied forms of Parallelism. I now purpose to consider the strophical organization of the trimeter poems. The strophes are sometimes marked externally by the initial letters of the strophes being in alphabetical order, or by refrains. But in most cases, the strophical organization can be determined only by a careful study of the poem, with reference to the breaks in the sense and emotion, and of the parallelism of the sections on a larger scale. There is great freedom and variety in the strophical organization.

1) The simplest strophe is the distich. We have an example of this in the alphabetical Psalm xxxiv.

אברכה את־יהוה בכל־עת
תמיד תהלתו בפי

ביהוה תתהלל נפשי
ישמעו ענוים וישמחו

גדלו ליהוה אתי
ונרוממה שמו יחדו

דרשתי את־יהוה ויענני
ומכל מגורותי הצילני

הביטו אליו ונהרו
ופניהם אל יחפרו

זה־עני קרא ויהוה שמע
ומכל צרותיו הושיעו

These six strophes sufficiently illustrate the movement. The strophes continue through the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. There is one letter omitted, namely, the ו that should come in between ה and ז. There is also an additional

Digitized by Google

strophe at the end with פ. This shows that the original poem has been changed by omission and addition in these two instances, and opens our eyes to look for other similar modifications of Hebrew poems where the alphabetical structure does not aid us to determine them. These lines are all trimeters except the first in the strophe with ף. The tetrameter here seems to be designed to make an antithesis between the calling and the answering.

2) We have a specimen of a trimeter poem with strophes of four lines in the prayer Psalm III.

I.

יהוה מה־רבו צרי
רבים קמים עלי
רבים אמרים לנפשי
אין ישועתה־לו באלהים

II.

ואתה יהוה מגן־בעדי
כבודי ומרים ראשי
קולי אל־יהוה אקרא
ויענני מהר קדשי

III.

אני שכבתי ואישנה
הקיצותי כי־יהוה יסמכני
לא־אירא מרבבות עם
אשר־סביב שתו עלי

IV.

קומי הושיעני אלהי
כי־הכית את־כל־איבי לחי
שני רשעים שברת
ליהוה הישועה על־עמך ברכתך

At the close of strophes I. and II. the Massoretic text gives סלה. This is thought by some to mark strophical divisions at times. I do not believe this. These strophes are so arranged that the second is antithetical to the first and the fourth to the third. But the strophes are really in introverted parallelism, in that the two middle strophes are antithetical to the strophes that begin and close the prayer. The lines are trimeters with the exception of the initial and the concluding lines of the last strophe. Here the movement is changed to the tetrameter in the last line, in order that it may become more deliberate and quiet at the end,

Digitized by Google

expressing the firm confidence of the Psalmist in his God. But we can see no reason for a change to the tetrameter movement in the first line. Accordingly we have stricken out the יהוה which is unnecessary to the thought and really out of place in the rhythm. We have found a large number of examples in Hebrew poetry and prophecy in which divine names have been inserted by later editors who did not understand the rhythm. It is also probable that the relative אשר in the closing line of the third strophe is such a prosaic addition. It may be combined with סביב by Maqqeph, but it is more commonly omitted in Hebrew poetry.

3) Psalm CXLVIII. gives us an example of strophes of six lines.

I.

הללו את־יהוה מן־השמים
הללוהו במו מרומים
הללוהו כל מלאכיו
הללוהו כל צבאיו
הללוהו שמש וירח
הללוהו כל כוכבי־אור

II.

הללוהו שמי השמים
והמים אשר־מעל השמים
יהללו את־שם יהוה
כי־הוא צוה ונבראו
ויעמידם לעד לעולם
חק נתן ולא־יעבור

III.

הללו את־יהוה מן־הארץ
תנינים וכל תהמות
אש וברד שלג־וקיטור
רוח־סערה עשה דברו
ההרים וכל גבעות
עץ־פרי וכל ארזים

IV.

החיה וכל בהמה
רמש וצפור כנף
מלכי־ארץ וכל לאמים

Digitized by Google

שרים וכל שפטי־ארץ
בחורים וגם בתולות
זקנים עם נערים

V.

יהללו את־שם יהוה
כי־נשגב שמו לבדו
הודו על־ארץ ושמים
וירם קרן לעמו
תהלה לכל חסידיו
לבני־ישראל עם קרבי

This is a Hallelujah Psalm indicated by its appended title הללויה. There can be no doubt that there is a division at the third strophe, where there is an antithesis between

הללו את־יהוה מן־השמים

and

הללו את־יהוה מן־הארץ

This would seem to divide the Psalm into two parts. There is, however, manifestly another strophe, beginning with

יהללו את־שם יהוה

This last strophe has but six lines. It therefore seems necessary to break the previous parts in two, if the strophes are to be uniform. Such a break is given in the first part by rising to the more general statement in the

הללוהו שמי השמים

and in the second part by passing over to the animal kingdom.

Furthermore, the last strophe is as closely related to the second part, as the second strophe is to the third part. For in the third line of the second strophe we have

יהללו את־שם יהוה

followed by the reason

כי־הוא צוה ונבראו

and it is evident that the first and second lines are in parallelism with them:

יהללו את־שם יהוה
כי נשגב שמו לבדו

Thus the Psalm is composed of two parts, with two strophes in the first and three in the second. It is of the nature of the hymn thus to swell in ascriptions of praise.

One modification of the text seems to be necessary. The second line of the Psalm is a dimeter if we read במרומים, but I can see no propriety in such a

Digitized by Google

dimeter here. It is probable that we should separate the ב and write it after the poetic style במו and so get the third beat of the accent.

4) We have an example of a strophe of seven lines in Psalm II. We shall give the two strophes of the first part:

I.

למה רגשו גוים
ולאמים יהגו ריק
יתיצבו מלכי ארץ
ורוזנים נוסדו יחד
על-יהוה ועל-משיחו
ננתקה את מוסרותימו
ונשליכה ממנו עבתימו

II.

יושב בשמים ישחק
אדני ילעג למו
אז ידבר אלימו
באפו ובחרונו יבהלמו

ואני נסכתי מלכי
על-ציון הר קדשי

The second strophe is here antithetical to the first strophe. This antithesis is complete, extending through every line but the fifth, which is omitted in the second strophe. It seems to us clear that the original poem has been mutilated by the omission of this line which ought to have given the גוים ומלכי ארץ as the antithesis to על יהוה ועל-משיחו. It would seem that this latter line is a dimeter in order to make a pause of a single beat before giving the words of rebellion. The Massoretes have incorrectly arranged the third and fourth lines of the second strophe by attaching באפו to the third line and thus making the fourth line a dimeter. There would be a sufficient reason for this if it was the original line preceding the words of Jehovah to the rebels, but this is probably not the case. Furthermore, the rhyme is preserved if we make the three lines close with למו, אלימו, and מו__. The Hebrew poet is fond of rhyming through a few lines, as here; but he does not care to carry it on to any great length.

5) Psalm XLIX. gives us strophes of eight lines.

I.

שמעו זאת כל-העמים
האזינו כל-ישבי חלד

Digitized by Google

גם בני־אדם גם־בני־איש
יחד עשיר ואביון
פי ידבר חכמות
והגות לבי תבונות
אטה למשל אזני
אפתח בכנור חידתי

II.

למה אירא בימי־רע
עון עקבי יסובני
הבטחים עלי חילם
וברב עשרם יתהללו
אח לא־פדה יפדה־איש
לא־יתן לאלהים כפרו
ויקר פדיון נפשם
וחדל לעולם

III.

ויחי עוד לנצח
לא יראה השחת
כי־יראה חכמים ימותו
יחד־כסיל ובער יאבדו
ועזבו לאחרים חילם
קרבם בתימו לעולם
משכנתם לדור ודר
קראו בשמותם על־אדמות
ואדם ביקר בל־ילין
נמשל כבהמות נדמו } Refrain.

IV.

זה־דרכם כסל למו
ואחריהם בפיהם ירצו
כצאו לשאול שתו
מות־ירעם וצורם לבלות
שאול מזבל לו
וירדו־בם ישרים לבקר

Digitized by Google

אך־אלהים יפדה נפשי
מיד שאיל כי־יקחני

V.

אל־תירא כי־יעשר איש
כי־ירבה כבוד ביתו
כי־לא במותו יקח־הכל
לא־ירד אחריו כבודו
כי־נפשו בחייו יברך
ויודך כי־תיטיב לך
תבוא עד־דור אבותיו
עד־נצח לא־יראו אור
אדם ביקר ולא־יבין
נמשל כבהמות נדמו } Refrain.

This Psalm is clearly divided into two parts by the refrain. The first part has an introductory strophe, and then two strophes that have in parallelism the two strophes of the second part. It is common not to distinguish these two strophes and to treat the poem as if it had an introductory strophe of eight lines, and then two long strophes, each with a refrain. But it is easy to divide the second part into two strophes of eight lines, and these correspond in length with the introductory strophe. There are but two difficulties. The former is the absence of the refrain. But this difficulty is met by the opinion that here, as elsewhere, the scribe has omitted the refrain from the intermediate strophes. The principal difficulty is in the connection between the first line of the third strophe and the last line of the second strophe. It is common so to connect them that there can be no break in the sense. We agree, however, with Hitzig and Graetz in the opinion that a new sentence begins with ויהי עוד. Bickell attaches these two words to the previous line, so that it becomes וחדל לעולם ויהי־עוד and the first line of the strophe begins with

לנצח לא־יראה השחת

It seems to me that ויחי עוד is the usual congratulatory wish, such as we found in Ps. xxii. 27, where, as here, the verb אמר is to be supplied. The clause

לא יראה השחת כי־יראה

reminds us of Isaiah xxvi. 11, in its contrast,

בל יחזיון יחזו ויבשו

The last line of the strophe is four-toned with עלי; we may reduce it by writing על־אדמות. However, Bickell thinks the text is corrupt and makes two lines

Digitized by Google

ישכחו אשר קראו
בשמותם עלי אדמות

He is followed by Cheyne. In this way he gains the line that he loses above. It would suit our arrangement just as well. The second part is difficult in the third, fourth and fifth lines. These are variously arranged by critics. Hupfeld, Bickell, Cheyne, and others, transpose lines four and six. This is the easiest way of overcoming the difficulty.

6) We have an example of strophes of ten lines in the Penitential Psalm LI.

I.

חנני אלהים כחסדך
כרב־רחמיך מחה פשעי
הרבה כבסני מעוני
ומני חטאתי טהרני
כי־פשעי אני אדע
וחטאתי נגדי תמיד
לך לבדך חטאתי
והרע בעיניך עשיתי
למען תצדק בדברך
תזכה בשפטך

In this strophe we notice the constant recurrence of the ending in ' emphasizing in expression, as well as in the idea, the personal guilt of the Psalmist. In the ninth line we have an example of the attraction of בדברך into an unusual grammatical form by the parallel בשפטך. The strophe ends with a dimeter, which is not uncommon. But there seems to be no good reason for a dimeter in line four. Therefore we separate the preposition from the noun and read ומני the archaic form of the preposition.

II.

הן בעון חוללתי
ובחטא יחמתני אמי
הן־אמת חפצת בטחות
ובסתם חכמה תודיעני
תחטאני באזוב ואטהר
תכבסני ומשלג אלבין
תשמיעני ששון ושמחה
תגלנה עצמות דכית
הסתר פניו מחטאי
וכל עונתי מחה

Digitized by Google

III.

לב־טהר ברא־לי אלהים
ורוח־נכון חדש בקרבי
אל תשליכני מלפניך
ורוח־קדשך אל־תקח ממני
חשיבה־לי ששון ישעך
ורוח נדיבה תסמכני
אלמדה פשעים דרכיך
וחטאים אליך ישובו
הצילני מדמים אלהי־תשועתי
תרנן לשוני צדקתך

The second strophe is entirely plain. There is but one difficulty in the second strophe: אלהים makes the ninth line too long. It has been inserted by a later writer, probably from dittography.

IV.

אדני שפתי תפתח
ופי יגיד תהלתך
כי לא־תחפץ זבח
ואתנה עולה לא־תרצה
זבחי אלהים רוח־נשברה
לב־נשבר ונדכה לא־תבזה
היטיבה ברצונך את־ציון
תבנה חומות ירושלם
אז־תחפץ זבח־צדק וכליל
אז־יעלו על־מזבחך פרים

This strophe has several difficulties in the Massoretic text. The rhythm is better if we attach ואתנה to the fourth line. The sixth line is too long if the divine name אלהים is retained. It is unnecessary. The poet would not have so lengthened his line without cause. The ninth line seems to have been enlarged by inserting עולה to explain the unusual כליל and make it correspond with line four. It is held by some that the last four lines are a later liturgical addition. But they are necessary to complete the strophe and are in entire accord with the rest of it. This theory of a later liturgical addition will not save the traditional theory expressed in the title that the Psalm is Davidic. Its doctrine is exilic, and the conclusion of the Psalm is in accordance with its historical situation.

Digitized by Google

7) Fine specimens of the strophes of twelve lines are given in that group of Psalms XCV.–C. We shall give the one strophe of Psalm C.

הרִיעו ליהוה כל־הארץ
עבדו את־יהוה בשמחה
באו לפניו ברננה
דעו כי־יהוה הוא אלהים
הוא עשנו ולו אנחנו
עמו וצאן מרעיתו
באו שעריו בתודה
באו חצרתיו בתהלה
הודו־לו ברכו שמו
כי־טוב יהוה
לעולם חסדו
ועד־דור ודר אמונתו

The eighth line is a dimeter, the verb באו should be inserted to make it a trimeter. There is no good reason for a dimeter line here. It would be natural for a scribe to omit the second באו which he would think unnecessary to the sense. The tenth and eleventh lines are dimeters in order to metrical pauses at the close of the lines, in order that the trimeter might close the piece with the more vigor.

8) There are many Hebrew trimeters that have strophes of fourteen lines. We shall give as an example four strophes from the great poem of the origin and early fortunes of our race preserved in the narratives of the Jehovist in the earlier chapters of Genesis. The story of Cain and Abel is given in four strophes:

I.

והאדם ידע אשתו
ותהר ותלד את־קין
ותאמר קניתי את־יהוה
ותסף ללדת את אחיו
ותקרא שמו את הבל
ויהי הבל רעה־צאן
וקין־היה עבר אדמה
ויהי מקץ ימים
ויבא קין ליהוה
מפרי האדמה מנחה

Digitized by Google

והבל הביא גם־הוא
מבכרות צאנו ומחלבהן
וישע אל־הבל ואל־מנחתו
ואל־קין ואל־מנחתו לא־שעה

The poem has been modified here and there by the Jehovist and the final redactor of the Pentateuch. But it is easy to trace his work and restore the poem to its original form. In the first line the editor has inserted the name את חוה as he did in the poem in the previous chapter. In the third line he has inserted איש in order, if possible, to prevent our taking את יהוה as the object of the verb. The style of this poem is to give the names of the children. Accordingly we insert the usual phrase ותקרא שמו in the fifth line. The poetic order requires us to transfer ליהוה from the end of the verse to the end of the previous line after קין in the ninth line. The editor has inserted יהוה in the thirteenth line. The parallelisms and the steady flow of the rhythm is manifest in the poem as we have given it above.

II.

ויחר לקין מאד
ויפלו פניו
ויאמר יהוה אל־קין
למה חרה לי
ולמה נפלו פניו
הלא אם־תיטיב שאת
ואם לא תיטיב
לפתח חטאת רבץ
ואליך תשוקתו
ואתה תשמלו בו
ויאמר קין אל־הבל
נלכה אלי השדה
ויהי בהיותם בשדה
ויקם־קין אל־הבל ויהרגהו

There are but few editorial changes here. The LXX. and Samaritan codex and most critics justify the insertion of the twelfth line נלכה אלי השדה. The editor has inserted אחיו in the last line to bring out more distinctly the idea of fratricide. There are two dimeters that seem to be designed, namely, in lines two and nine.

Digitized by Google

III.

ויאמר יהוה אל-קין
אי הבל אחיך
ויאמר לא ידעתי
השמר אחי אנכי
ויאמר מה עשית
קול דמי אחיך
צעקים אלי מן-האדמה
ועתה ארור אתה
גרשתיך מן האדמה
אשר פצתה את-פיה
לקחת את-דמי-אחיך מידיך
כי תעבד את-האדמה
לא-תסת תת-כחה לך
נע-ונד תהיה בארץ

The only editorial change in this strophe is the omission of גרשתיך in the ninth line. The use of it in the next strophe, line three, seems to require it here also.

IV.

ויאמר קין אל-יהוה
גדול עוני מנשוא
הן-גרשת אתי היום
מעל פני האדמה
ומני פניך אסתר
והייתי נע-ונד בארץ
והיה כל-מצאי יהרגני
ויאמר לו יהוה
לכן כל-הרג קין
שבתים יקם
וישם לקין אות
לבלתי הכות אותו
ויצא מלפני יהוה
וישב בארץ נוד

In the fifth line it seems necessary to separate the preposition from the noun and write the archaic form מני. There is no reason for a dimeter here. The

Digitized by Google

tenth line is a natural dimeter. In the eleventh line it is better to strike out יהוה and in the thirteenth line קין as prosaic addition. It is not necessary to do this, because they may be combined with the verbs by Maqqephs, but it seems better to do so.

Thus, with a very few easy modifications that have been caused by editorial work, where the poetical character of the piece was lost sight of, the original poem stands before us with all its original beauty and power.

We have given a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the strophical organization of the trimeter poems. There are strophes of longer lines in the Psalter and the prophets, and in the historical books. The song of Moses, Deut. XXXII., is composed of three parts, and the scheme of the strophes in these parts is 12, 10, 10, 15, | 12, 10, 10, 10, | 10, 12, 15, 10, with a refrain of four lines. Proverbs VIII.–IX. have the scheme 10, 12, 10, 10, | 10, 12, 10, | 12, 12, 12. Job. III. has the scheme 20, 18, 14; Job. XXXI. has the scheme 8, 9, 8, 6, 6, 10, 10, 8, 12, 6. Job. XXXVIII.–IX. has the scheme 8, 8, 8, | 6, 6, 6, 6, | 6, 6, 4, 6, | 7, 8, 8, | 8, 12, | 15, 10.

Psalm XLV. gives us an example of a bridal song in which the first strophe is six lines with its refrain, the second twelve lines with its refrain, and the third, twenty-four lines with its refrain.

Psalm LXXX. gives us two strophes of eight lines, the third strophe of sixteen lines, and the fourth strophe of eight lines. The third strophe has been doubled to embrace the allegory of the vine, and has a double refrain on that account.

We shall conclude with a specimen of responsive trimeters—Psalm XXIV. 1–6.

CHORUS.

ליהוה הארץ ומלואה
תבל וישבי בה
כי־הוא על־ימים יסדה
ועל נהרות יכוננה

QUESTION.

מי־יעלה בהר יהוה
ומי־יקום במקום קדשו

RESPONSE.

נקי כפים ובר־לבב
לא־נשא לשוא נפשו
ולא נשבע למרמה

Digitized by Google

ישא ברכה מאת־יהוה
וצדקה מאלהי ישעו

CHORUS.

זה דור דרשיו
מבקשי פניך יעקב

The אשר should be stricken out in second line of the response. Another specimen of such songs is found in XXIV. 7–10. See also Hosea XIV., Isaiah LXIII. 1–6, and Psalm XX.

These examples will be sufficient to illustrate the great variety of strophical organization that we find in Hebrew trimeter poems. In our next article we shall give some specimens of tetrameter poems.

Digitized by Google

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, VARIANTS OF AN UNPUBLISHED DUPLICATE OF THE NEW YORK CYLINDER.

A.H.82:7-14:649:631:
McGEE: BEIT. J. ASSYR. III p55

By J. F. X. O'Conor, S. J.,

Woodstock College, Md.

Through the kindness of the assistant of the British Museum and of my learned confrère, J. N. Strassmaier, I have been enabled to secure for the readers of the New York inscription, the text of an unpublished duplicate of this cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, which was brought to light by the publication of the New York original in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The value of the first text as published, becomes enhanced by this corroboration of its general accuracy, though differing in some minor points, especially where the original was partly indistinct. This new copy of the text, besides confirming the substantial correctness of the first translation, supplies us with a number of variants that will be of interest and value, to the students of the first text who wish to become familiar with this peculiarity of the Babylonian scribes.

The first publication supplied three styles of writing, which give a useful table for the study of variations between Assyrian and early and late Babylonian characters. The present notes indicate in one inscription several instances of variants in the Babylonian text itself. The text of this new cylinder of the British Museum, is the same as that published in my pamphlet, in January, 1885, but the division of lines is quite different, as well as many of the characters, as will be seen from the accompanying plate, and the following parallelism. In both cylinders there are the same number of lines, one hundred. In the duplicate of the British Museum, column I. continues as far as line 35 inclusive; in the New York cylinder, column I. continues as far as line 28, a difference of eight lines. Column II. in each ends at line 70. On the British Museum cylinder, lines 47 and 48 are represented by one line. It is the reverse for lines 76, 77. These two lines of the British Museum cylinder are represented by one line on the New York cylinder. Lines 92, 93, and lines 97, 98 are also represented by one line on the cylinder of New York.

Digitized by Google

DIVISION OF LINES

BRITISH MUSEUM (unpublished).	NEW YORK CYLINDER (O'Conor).
Col. I.	Col. II.
Line 29 is seven lines from the beginning of Column II.	Line 29 is precisely the beginning of Column II.
30. a-na ma-na-ma	30. a-na ma-na-ma šarri ma-aḫ-ri-im
31. šarru ma-aḫ-ri-im	31. la im-gu-ur-ma
Col. II.	
36. a-na e-bi-eš eš-ri-e-ti	36. a-na e-bi-eš eš-ri-e-ti
37. li-ib-bu-am	37. li-ib-ba
38. ti-is-mu-ur-ma	38. u-ga-ru am-ša-as-si (?)
39. i-na ši-ga-ti	39. aš-ši ga-ti ....
40. u-sa-ap-pa ša-aš-ši	40. u-sa-ap-pa ša-aš-ši (?)
44. ni-iš ga-ti-ia	44. ni-iš ga-ti-ia im-ḫu-ur-ma
45. im-ḫu-ur-ma	
47. one line.	47. e-bi-eš biti ša il Šamaš
48.	48. il Šamaš il Ramanu u il Marduk
Col. III.	Col. III.
71. li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šu-ku-nu	71. li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šu-ul-bi-ir
75. i-na ki-bi-ti-ka	75. i-na ki-bi-ti-ka ki-it-ti
76. ki-it-ti lu-uš-ba-a	76. lu-uš-ba-' li-it-tu-ti
77. li-it-tu-ti	
78. ba-la-ṭam u-ûm ru-ku-ti	77. ba-la-ṭam ana û-um ru-ku-ti
79. ku-un kussî	78. ku-un kussî lu-si-ri-ik-tu-um-ma
80. lu-ši-ri-ik-tu-um-ma ri-'u-a	79. li-ri-ku li-iš-ša-li-bu
81. a-na da-er-a-ti	80. ri-'-u-u a-na da-ra-a-ti
92. i-ša-ri-iš	92. i-ša-ri-is a-pa-la-an-ni
93. a-pa-la-an-ni	.....
94. i-na a-ma-ti-ka	93. ina a-ma-ti-ka
95. el-li-ti	94. ša-li-mu
96. šu la šu-pi-e-su	95. ša la (ma bi-e-ri) uttakaru
97. lu-ti-bu-u	97. lu-ti-bu-u lu-za-ak-tu
98. lu-za-ak-tu	98.

For the rest the division of lines is the same.

Digitized by Google

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

The name of Nebuchadnezzar has been handed down to us, not only in the Sacred Writings, and in early profane history, but especially and with peculiar interest in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The records of this king, however, confine themselves, for the most part, to descriptions of edifices erected or restored by him; and not one document has yet been brought to light which may be termed strictly historical; none that recount his military expeditions or conquests, as we find so abundantly with regard to the Assyrian Kings Tiglath-pileser, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. It may be that future excavations will reveal such a monument, but up to the present, there has been a remarkable contrast in this regard between the Babylonian and Assyrian documents.

Those who have been interested, hitherto, in one or other of these texts, will be pleased, no doubt, with an enumeration, complete, as far as known, of the previously published texts.

The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar already edited, independently of recent ones, are thirteen in number. They are familiar to many readers of Assyrian, not so to others. They vary in length and importance from the seal of the king, bearing simply his title, to the standard inscription including over six hundred lines. This last is usually known as the East India House Inscription. It was published in I R., and has been translated and commented upon by various authors.[1]

In recording the inscriptions we begin with the smallest.

No. I.—This is a seal containing the profile of the king, with the inscription, "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, to Merodach, his Lord; he made it for his own life." This cameo is preserved in the Berlin Museum. It was published by Schenkel in his *Bibel-lexicon*, and in the monthly journal of the Academy of Science, Berlin.

II.—Among the incriptions found by Smith in Babylon, one is inscribed on the pupil of the eye of a statue of the god Nebo,[2] "To the God Nebo, his Lord, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, for his preservation he made."

III.—Three contract tablets, discovered by Smith, bearing the date of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar:

1) City of Babylon, month of Tammuz, 15th day, 20th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

2) City of Babylon, month of Iyyar, 21st day, 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

---

[1] See Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, Rawlinson, Schrader, Menant, Lenormant, Budge, Flemming, Brunengo, etc.

[2] Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 385.

Digitized by Google

3) City of Babylon, month of Kisleu, 8th day, 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

These are of special interest on account of the dates.

IV.—Numberless bricks with the inscription "I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, restorer of the Temple of Saggil and the temple of Zida, oldest son of Nabopolassar, am I"—(Menant, Schrader).

V.—The epigraphs of Larsam (Senkereh), and Mugheir (Ur), which, in addition to the preceding inscription, add that this king restored the temple of the Sun at Larsam, and of the Moon at Ur.

VI.—On the side of a brick was found a record of the palace of the great king. This inscription begins like No. IV, and continues thus: "I built a palace for the sojourn of my majesty in the city of Babylon, situated in the land of Babylon. And I dug foundations to a great depth, below the water of the river, and wrote there the record on cylinders, covered with bitumen and brick. With thy aid, I, Merodach, God of the gods, I built this palace in the heart of Babylon. Come and dwell there, multiply its progeny, and make the people of Babylon, by my hand, victorious forever." On the gate of one of the palaces of Babylon is the short inscription, "Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, restorer of the temple Saggil and Zida, constant in the adoration of Nebo and Merodach, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon."

VII.—Among the ampler inscriptions is that of the temple of Zarpanit (Mylitta) of which there are four copies, two in the Berlin Museum and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, I.—

"I founded, I built the august temple, the temple of Zarpanit in the midst of Babylon, in honor of Zarpanit, the august sovereign, within the limits of Babylon. I had built of brick and bitumen a square sanctuary. I dug the arches of its niches in the depth of the earth.

"O Sovereign of the gods, august mother, be propitious to me, my work is perfected with thy assistance. Favor the increase of families, watch over the mothers at the time of bringing forth, thou who presidest over the birth of children."[1]

VIII.—Similar in style, but longer, is the inscription of Senkereh or Larsam. After the usual titles and salutations to the god, the king recounts his building the temple of the Sun in the City of Larsa.

It ends with the invocation, "O Sun, great God, bless thy offering in its beginning and end, the temple of the Sun, the glorious work of my hands. By thy help, give me a happy life for long years, the permanency of my throne, and the victory of my arms. May the arches, porticoes, the columns of the temple of the Sun, my glorious works, make perpetual remembrance of me in thy sight."

[1] Menant, *Babylon and Chaldea*, p. 215.

Digitized by Google

IX.—As at Larsam, so at Sippara (Abu Habba), there was a temple of the Sun, Eparra, which had fallen to ruin. This Nebuchadnezzar restored, and left a record of it on the recently discovered cylinder, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It has been named the New York cylinder, in contradistinction to the cylinder of Senkereh, and to the duplicate of the same text in the British Museum. The variants of the British Museum duplicate cylinder are given in the plate in parallel lines with the New York original.

X.—Among inscriptions of greater length is the famous inscription of Bor sippa, where Nebuchadnezzar built the great temple Bît Zida to Nebo.

XI.—Next in order comes a cylinder of the British Museum, in two columns of thirty lines each. It describes the defences of Babylon (Menant, *Babylon et la chaldée.*

XII.—The cylinder of Sir Thomas Phillips, similar to the preceding, with the additional enumeration of the building and restoration of temples in other Chaldean cities, at Cutha, Sippara, Larsam, Ur, Nipur, Uruk, in honor of Nergal, Šamaš, Sin, Anu and Ištar.

This inscription of 170 lines is in three columns, in the cursive cuneiform. It was published first by Grotefend, in 1848, and then by Sir Henry Rawlinson in I R., 65–66. This, with the exception of the following, is the largest of the inscriptions.

XIII.—This, perhaps the best known of the inscriptions, has been named the Standard Inscription. It is inscribed on a block of black basalt, one meter high, ten centimeters wide. It includes ten columns with 619 lines of writing in archaic characters. For a long time it remained in the museum of the East India Company, and hence it is sometimes called the East India Inscription. Sir John Hartfoot was the first to translate it, and later it was published with modern transcription by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the I R., 56-64. Oppert read the entire translation to the Academy of Rhiems, Nov. 3, 1865. A complete version was given by Menant, and subsequently by Lenormant, Rawlinson, and in 1883, a transcription with translation and commentary was published by Flemming.

This list includes the earlier published inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. The number of cuneiform cylinders is not large; but the vast multitude of contract tablets of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Neriglissar, Cambyses, Cyrus and Darius, not yet translated, but pregnant with knowledge of those times, leave a useful task for the lover of Assyrian.

The writer acknowledges the generous welcome extended by the Assyriologists of America and Europe to the first translation and publication in America of a Babylonian original.

Digitized by Google

New York Cylinder (Oppert)

1 Nabû-ku-du
3 ša-aš-ru ša-aḫ-tu
13 û. bit zi-
15 ša Nabû-aplu-u
16 šarru a-na-ku
22 u uš- diš-uš eš-ri-e-ti-šu
23 šu-ma si-ra-am
27 ša u-ul-la-mu-a
28 e-mu-u
31 la im-gu-ru-ma
33 a-šu
34 e-im-du mu-ut
36 a-na e-bi-eš
37 li-ib-ba
38 aš-ši
39 aš-si. ga-ti
40 u ša-ap-pa ša-aš-ši
43 u-um ana mm im-um-ma
45 iš-ša-a su-pi-e-a
47 same as l. 47.
49 ip-ru-us-ma
52 an-mm si-i-mm
57 ša ša-me-e u ir-si(ti)
61 pu-u-ru sa-it-ti
63 bit -
64 ša si-ri-ib
69 a-na bit Parra biti-šu
70 i-na e-ri-bi-ša
71 li-bi-it ga-ti-ia
73 si-ni-iš na-ap-li-is-ma
76 lu-uš-ba li-ib-tu-ti
77 ba-la
78 su-um sussi li-ši-ri-ia-tu-ma
79 li-ri-šu li-iš - li-bu
80 ii-u a-na
84 mu-ša-li-im
86. lu-i-ba šar-u-ti-ia
89 um-ma-ni-ia
91 ina di-i-mm u bi
94
95 ša-la
100

British Museum (unpublished)

1 Nabû-su-dur-
2 ša-aḫ-tu
13 û bît zi-
15. šá Nabû-aplu-u
16. šarru a-na-ku
22.
23.
37. ša u-ul la-mu-a
28. e-mu-u
31. la im-
33 ia-si
34. e-im-du mu-ut mu-u
36. a-na e-bi-eš
37. li-ib-ba-am
38. u-ga-a-am ša-aš-ši
39.
40.
42.
46. su-pi-e-a
47.
49.
52.
57. ša ša- -e û ir-si-
61. pu-u- si-it-ti
63. bît- bit Šar-ra
64. ša si-ri-ib
69. a-na bit Šar-ra bîti-šu
70. -di-iš
71. li-bi-it gatiia
72. si-ni-iš na-ap-li-
76. lu-uš-ba- -it-tu-ti
77. ba-la
78. su-um sussí ši-i-ri-a-tu
79. li- -su li-iš
80. da-a-a-ti
84. mu-ša-li-im
85. -u-ti-ia
89. lu-u-lu um-ma-mi
91. i-na di-i-mm u bi-
94
95 ša la
100 li-mi-e-

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

III.

Is it altogether an accident that, as a general thing, we know very little, frequently nothing, about the lives of great men? It cannot be said that this applies only to such as lived in very remote times; for many instances in quite modern periods may be cited,—Shakspeare being perhaps the most prominent,—of eminent men, even such as had gained renown during their life-time, concerning whom we are in profound ignorance. Besides, hero-worship was surely as strong in antiquity as to-day, if not indeed, as there is every reason to suppose, stronger; and people no doubt observed eagerly the doings and noted the sayings of those whom they regarded with awe and reverence, or even looked upon as superior beings. Eminent minds in all probability were in every age surrounded by Boswells and Eckermanns, who watched the object of their worship. "Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt." And while they may not have committed their observations to writing on stone, clay, wax, papyrus or parchment, still there was oral tradition; and it is yet a question whether memory, untrustworthy as it is in transmitting *exact* knowledge, is not as capable of ensuring *permanence* to events as the stylus, pencil, quill, or even printing-press. We to this day remember what we are told better and much longer than what we read; and how much more so was this the case at a time when the average memory was so much stronger because so much more needed. A more satisfactory explanation of this rather curious phenomenon that we know so little about those who are best known seems to be that the personalities of great men are overshadowed by their achievements; the man is lost in the hero, the father in the scholar, the neighbor in the writer. But however this may be, the fact remains that, of some of the greatest productions of the human mind, not even the authors are known. Almost all of the Old Testament is anonymous; for the fanciful and crude conjectures of a later age in parceling out the authorship of the various books among certain personages are rejected to-day by most critics as utterly without foundation and incongrous. Of the writer of the Iliad nothing is known, and by many the very personage of Homer is regarded as mythical. Who wrote the Vedas? the Zend-avesta? the Nibelungen? The fact that the question has been asked "Who wrote Shakspeare?" must at all events be taken as an evidence of uncertain and defective knowledge concerning him.

Digitized by Google

Saadia ben Joseph, or as he is more commonly known, Saadia Gaon, by virtue of his position as head of the Rabbinical Academy at Sura, a man who left an indelible impress upon his age, forms no exception to the rule. We know but very few of the facts of his life. He was born in Fayum; but the exact year of his birth has not been ascertained. The date ordinarily assumed, 942, can scarcely be correct, and it is safer to place it between 870 and 875. More than half of his life he spent in his native place, though it is not known in what capacity. His energetic opposition to Karaism brought him into prominence and secured for him the honor of being chosen head of the school in Sura. This was in the year 928. A controversy with the "Resh Galutha" (Prince of the Exile) the highest dignitary of the Babylonian Jews, cost him his position, and he retired into private life for a period of about five years. He utilized his seclusion by writing the work on which his chief claim to immortal fame rests, the "Kitab al-Amânât w'al-Itikâdât," i.e., Book of Faith and Knowledge, or as we might say in modern phraseology, Religion and Science, which, as its title shows, is a treatise of religious philosophy. It is the first attempt, as far as we know, at harmonizing the faith of Judaism with reason. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the work, the fact itself that such a book was written is significant for the period in which Saadia Gaon lived. Necessity, no doubt, called it forth; and its appearance is a signal proof of the mental activity of the times. While upholding Rabbinism in all its essential particulars, Saadia's treatise is characterized by a spirit of free inquiry. He is as violent against those who shun the light of reason from being shed on religion as against those who reject rabbinical tradition. His philosophy is naturally quite crude, his reasoning anything but deep, and at times very shallow, his arguments frequently childish; but no one can fail to be impressed with his broad spirit and his great sincerity. The book is of course written with a purpose,—namely, to crush Karaism; and while it did not accomplish this, there can be no doubt that Saadia was instrumental in checking the progress of Karaism, which at one time threatened to assume large dimensions. The rebellious spirit against the tyrannical sway of Talmudical authority was abroad, and the new movement had a most important result in bringing about a reconstruction of the old party. This was due, in a great measure, to Saadia, who fought his opponents with their own weapons and met them on their own territory. Opposition to Karaism was no doubt a prominent factor also in his numerous grammatical and exegetical works. Unfortunately almost all of the former and most of the latter have become lost; and it is only through numerous quotations in later writers that we learn the nature of their contents. The great fertility of his mind is best seen by the large list of his publications, as follows:—

1. Kitâb al-lugât (Book of Speech).
2. Kitâb al-Daghesh w'al-Rafē (Book of Daghesh and Rafē).
3. A treatise on the Vowel and Massoretic Points.

Digitized by Google

4. On the Gutturals.

5. Sefer Sachoth (Book of Elegance), no doubt of a grammatical character.

6. Tafsir el-Sabîna lufsât el-farâd, i. e., Explanation of seventy ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the Old Testament.

7. Sefer Hâ-Igarôn (Book of Gathering), probably a collection of difficult words occurring in the Old Testament.

Besides these, there is to be mentioned his famous translation of large parts of the Bible into Arabic, accompanied by copious commentaries. Some scholars are, indeed, of the opinion that Saadia made a complete translation of the Bible. But there is no positive evidence for the fact. It is probable that such was his intention, but that he did not live long enough to carry it out. The parts extant comprise the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Owing to the loss of his grammatical works, it is rather difficult to form an accurate picture of his method, and we are left to reconstruct it chiefly from the general traits of his commentaries on the biblical books, and secondly, as already intimated, from quotations in such writers as Menachem ben Saruk, Donash ben Librat, Ibn Ganach, Ibn Ezra, Rashi and Kamchi. There is one feature which deserves special mention. He did not confine himself, in his explanation of the Bible, to the Hebrew of the Bible, but frequently sought the aid of the language of the Mishna and the Gemara, besides—and not rarely—the Arabic. In his little treatise on the seventy words occurring but once in the Old Testament, this trait is especially noticeable. More than half of these ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are brought into connection with some words of the Gemara.

From the high terms in which he is invariably spoken of when quoted, it is clear that he must have stood in high repute even when many of his views and much of his method had become antiquated. A grammarian of the generation following upon Saadia consecrated an entire treatise to a review of Saadia's commentaries and grammatical treatises, in which, while exposing a large number of errors, he nevertheless speaks in terms of the highest respect for his important achievements.

The great defect in Saadia's grammatical method consists in his ignorance of the functions and peculiarities of the so-called vowel-letters, Waw, Yodh, He, when present in stems. Here he is all at sea; and while Donash corrects many of his errors, he, as little as Saadia, is able to bring about a systematic presentation of the subject. It will be shown later on how, by a single stroke, Abu Zakarija Hajjug put an end to the confusion prevailing with regard to the so-called weak stems. Saadia is thus led to make some very childish mistakes. In the passage Exod. II. 5, he takes the word אמתה as "her elbow," instead of "her maid," confounding אַמָּה with אָמָה. The stem of משתאה (Gen. XXIV. 21) he supposes to be שׁתה, and renders, accordingly, "demand a draught." His weakness is also apparent in a neglect of nice distinctions. So

Digitized by Google

in Num. XXIV. 6, he takes אֲהָלִים as though identical with אָהֳלִים. Again, מאירות (Isa. XXVII. 11) he derives from ארה, instead of אור; again, נעתם (Isa. IX. 18) from נוץ, instead of עתם. He stumbles over the difficult אדרה (Isa. XXXVIII. 15) in regarding it as a derivative from נדד. But for all that, Saadia shows himself far superior to his cotemporary, Jehuda Ibn Koreish. He is no longer satisfied with merely guessing and conjecturing, but attempts to frame his investigations within a system. He has already very clear ideas of the distinction between the letters that form the stem and those that merely serve the purposes of modifying the same. The mere titles of his grammatical treatises show that he proceeded systematically, and had already divided the subject of Hebrew grammar into certain divisions.

But even more than his purely grammatical works, did his translation of the Bible, with commentaries, contribute towards arousing a great interest in grammatical studies among the Rabbinites. The next generation already boasts of a large number who devote themselves, almost to the exclusion of the Talmud, to Hebrew grammar; and what is more remarkable still, different *schools* soon make their appearance. With Saadia, the revival of the study of the Bible among the Jews may be said to have fully begun.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON מַבּוּל, נְפִילִים, ETC.

By Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D. D.,

Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in Oxford University, England.

1. Ps. xxix. 10, מַבּוּל. Gen. vi. 4; Num. xiii. 33, נְפִילִים.

There are five possible renderings of Ps. xxix. 10:

(*a*) Yahwe sat at the Flood, and Yahwe sitteth on as a king forever; i. e. (as Driver expresses it, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 79), "from that moment went on and continues sitting" (to account for the Imperfect with strong Waw).

(*b*) Yahwe sat (enthroned) at the flood; therefore [consequently] Yahwe sitteth as king forever; i. e., the fact that Yahwe controlled the flood, produced by rain-storm and swollen torrents, increases the Psalmist's faith in the general truth of His government of the world.

(*c*) Yahwe sat (enthroned) for the flood (to produce the storm-flood), etc. Cf. ix. 8, "Yahwe shall be seated forever; he hath prepared his throne *for judgment*."

(*d*) Yahwe sat (enthroned) on the flood, and Yahwe sitteth on as king forever (i. e., continueth his royal rule from the time when he erected his throne on the created heavenly ocean. These waters above the firmament were already referred to in verse 3 (cf. Gen. i. 6, 7; Am. ix. 6; Ps. civ. 3). For the construction cf. יָשַׁבְתָּ לְכִסֵּא, ix. 5.

As to (*a*), an abrupt reference to the Deluge, in this fine descriptive poem, seems improbable. Remember too that this is the only place where מַבּוּל occurs outside the Book of Genesis, and that Noah himself is very rarely mentioned except in that book (see Isa. liv. 9; Ezek. xiv. 14). Until, therefore, some very cogent reason shall be given for the capital letter in the Revised Version's "Flood," I ask leave to reject it. Against (*b*) and (*c*) it may be urged that no mention of a rain-storm occurs in the foregoing description. One may be surprised at this. It is otherwise in the fine description of a storm in the Mu'allaqa of Imra-al-Kais (see Lyall's translation, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 103), which in other points is strikingly parallel to the Hebrew poem. But one can neither venture to suppose that a stanza has dropped out of the latter, nor yet that there is an abrupt reference to a phenomenon which the description has ignored. Against (*d*) is the preposition, which does not harmonize with the construction in verse 3; besides, the construction seems too condensed ("sitteth on the flood" = "sitteth in his upper chambers, which are on the flood"), and it is too bold an assumption that מַבּוּל = מַיִם, simply on the ground of Gen. vi. 6, וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מַיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ.

I venture to propose a fifth explanation, viz., that מַבּוּל means not "flood," but "destruction," and so "destructive storm." I accept Friedrich Delitzsch's

Digitized by Google

view,[1] that מַבּוּל is connected with Assyrian nabâlu *to destroy*, from which comes nabalu, nabal *destruction* or *wasting* (Esarhaddon, *Annals*, col. 2, 26, milic nabali *a journey of desert-land*[2]). I would also ask if nabbâltu, rendered by Delitzsch "the wasting storm-flood," would not be more precisely rendered without "flood." Our passage may, then, it would seem, be translated,—

> In the wasting storm Yahwe sat enthroned;
> Therefore (ἄρα) Yahwe sitteth as king forever.

I make no reference to Arabic wablun and wa'bilun *heavy rain* (cf. *Kuran*, Sura II. 266, 267, and *Hamasa*, p. 611, with Freytag's note), as these must be connected with another root.

It remains to account for the enigmatical נְפִילִים. Dillmann (on Gen. VI. 4) inclines to Tuch's view, who renders הַנְּפִילִים "the heroes," strictly "the extraordinary ones," connecting with the root פלה, פלא, to which נפל stands in the same relation as נבל to בלה. So too Lenormant, *Les origines*, vol. I., ed. 1, p. 344; Schrader, KAT., ed. 2, p. 99. The former gives evidence for the fact that Assyr. naplu is equivalent to the Akkadian ušu-gal *unique in greatness*, but not for the existence of an Assyrian root palâ. Schrader, therefore, in a supplementary note (KAT., p. 609), points out that Lenormant's naplu must be the same as nablu *destruction* (epithet of Tiglath-pileser). I see that the late Edward Norris, in his *Assyrian Dictionary*, quotes naplu; but obviously he might just as well have transcribed nablu (see Sayce, *Syllabary*, 168); so that we cannot say that there were two forms of the root in Assyrian. Still there may have been in early Hebrew; נפל and נבל would co-exist, like פזר and בזר, if, that is, we think it necessary to assume that מַבּוּל and נְפִילִים ever had a living connection with Hebrew at all, and were not simply loan-words, derived at different times, and perhaps by different channels, from Assyrian tradition. At any rate, it seems to me but little less probable that הַנְּפִילִים means the "destruction" than that מַבּוּל signifies "destructive storm."

2. Eccles. XII. 1. In *Job and Solomon* (London, 1886), pp. 225, 226, 300, I have ventured, with unfeigned reluctance, to abandon the reading which both Authorized Version and Revised Version translate "Remember thy Creator" (Professor Briggs, "thy great Creator"). Besides Prov. v. 15–18, I might have adduced a passage from the Mu'allaqa of Zuhair, rendered thus by Mr. Lyall,—

> Who holds not his foe away from his cistern with sword and spear,
> It is broken and spoiled, etc.

Mr. Lyall adds, "The *cistern* is a man's home and family and whatever he holds dear." Some readers might perhaps have been conciliated had I adopted Mr. Lyall's wider interpretation of the "cistern." The purity and beauty of Jewish family life is well known, and the figure in an oriental poem most appropriate.

[1] *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 156. Cf. Haupt, in Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, p. 66, n. 3.

[2] Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*, p. 59.

Digitized by Google

SOME CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXTS OF CYLINDERS A AND B OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS AS PUBLISHED IN I R., 45-47, AND III R., 15, 16.

By Robert F. Harper, Ph. D.,

New Haven, Conn.

The inscriptions of Esarhaddon were first published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, 1851. Cylinder A is given on pages 20–29 under the title "On an Hexagonal Cylinder," and B on pages 54–58 under the title "On lower half of an Hexagonal Object of Baked Clay." The text of this edition is of no value for critical study. It is, however, as good as could have been expected at that time. The text of A appeared later in I R., 45–47. This edition is vastly superior to that of Layard, and can, in general, be depended on. Cylinder B appeared again in III R., 15, 16, edited by George Smith. This edition is not as trustworthy as that of A in I R., on account of the extremely bad condition of the original of B. The texts of A and portions of B, with transliteration and translation, were published for the last time by Ernest A. Budge, in his *History of Esarhaddon*, London, 1880. Budge's edition of these texts is untrustworthy. As it appeared as late as 1880, and "after a careful (?) collation of all the principal texts," it has been received by many as an authority. One need only compare it with the originals to see that this is not the case. Cf. Delitzsch's review in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 21, 1881. Paul Haupt, on the other hand (*vid.* Hebraica, I., p. 229), says: "Since Mr. Budge's laborious work has been censured beyond measure, I take pleasure in being able to state that I consider *The History of Esarhaddon* fully as good as George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal* and the *History of Sennacherib* by the same scholar." Even if this were true, one must take into consideration that Smith's *Assurbanipal* was published in 1871, and Budge's *Esarhaddon* in 1880. Haupt's comparison, however, is unjust to Smith and does little credit to Budge's book.

In the summer of 1885, while studying in the British Museum, I collated A and B, and copied C.[1] This collation forms the basis of the corrections which I have to offer to the texts as published by Rawlinson, Smith, and Budge.

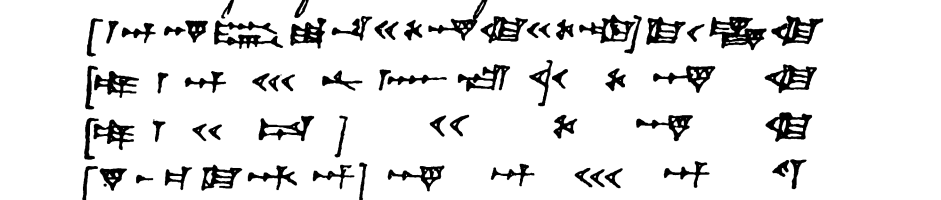
In conclusion, I wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, both for his kindness in helping me while at work in the Museum, and especially for the collations of several difficult passages contained in a letter of Jan. 24, '87. I am also under very many obligations to my highly honored teacher, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, for the assistance which he has rendered me.

[1] The text of Cylinder C (heretofore unpublished), as copied by me from the original in the British Museum, will be printed from photo-engraved plates in the July number of Hebraica.

Digitized by Google

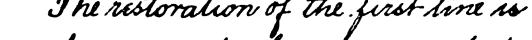
CORRECTIONS TO CYLINDERS A AND B OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS.

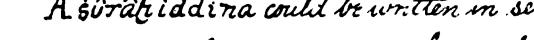
A. I., 1-4. From the context and from bricks (I. R. 48, etc.) I have restored the first four lines as follows:—

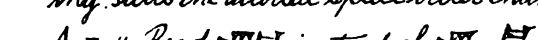
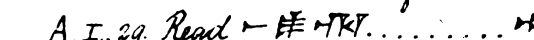


The restoration of the first line is doubtful. There may have been one or two lines more at the top of this column. The name Aššûrâḫiddina could be written in several other ways, but this writing suits the allotted space better than any other. Cf. also A. I., 30.

A. I., 11. Read instead of (against Budge, H. E.)

A. I., 29. Read  Cf. now Lyon's Assyr. Man. p. 19, 2; also Layard, p. 20, 29. Budge's reading (H. E.) is not worthy of notice.

A. I., 30. I restore as follows: , etc. Budge (H. E.) and Strassmaier (A. V. A. A. W., no. 6165) read  . Lyon (Assyr. Man., p. 19, 2) reads:

A. I., 52. The end of this line is badly broken. I. R., Norris (Dict. 308) and Budge (H. E.) read  Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) says: "I read ." Lyon (Assyr. Man., p. 19, 16) reads: itti  Cf. Sanh. Taylor, III., 39, 40, etc.

A. I., 54. Read So Budge (H. E.) also.

A. I., 55. This line is almost entirely broken away on the original. I read . Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: "Your reading seems to be quite correct, but I cannot see

Digitized by Google

the two characters uṣ-ṭi at the end I see [illegible], perhaps traces of [illegible] (ana naḫal)." Compare with this. Cyl. C. II., 7 where I read [illegible]. Cf. also K. 3086, K. 3082, S. 2027. As a result of these comparisons, I am inclined to read: [ša ina iṭê] naḫal [illegible] Muṣri, or, perhaps [illegible]. "Pinches!!!

A. II. 1. This line is entirely broken away on the orig. I could not distinguish any signs whatever. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: Here I can only see [illegible] with a few dents where 2 or 3 characters have been. Ištarkêšu has probably been taken from a duplicate frag't. Cf. for Ištarkêšu Cyl. C. II., 8, [illegible].

A. II. 3. The text in I. R. 45, II, 3, viz. [illegible], etc. (cf. also, Norris, Dict. 229, 308) is correct. Budge's reading (HE) [illegible] is entirely wrong. Vid Haupt's Wâteh-ben-Nazael, Hebraica, I., 229.

A. II. 4. Insert after [illegible] the sign <, which can be seen very plainly on the orig. After the < some other sign was written and afterwards erased by the scribe. It looks as if the scribe had first written [illegible] and, afterwards, scratched off all but the <. Budge naturally passes the line without comment.

A. II., 10. (<) (so Rawlinson, Layard and Budge) is not on any of the three cylinders.

A. II., 10. Read ki-[illegible]-di instead of ki-[illegible]-di.

A. II., 17. Read [illegible] instead [illegible]. The latter really stands on the orig, but must be regarded as a mistake of the scribe himself. Cyl. B. III., 9 and Cyl. C. II., 20 both have [illegible]. Budge (HE) reads [illegible] without comment, as if it were on the original.

A. II., 23. The text in I. R. is correct. Budge attempts to correct the published text by reading aṣibu-[illegible].

A. II., 44. Read ka-mu-<.

Digitized by Google

A. II., 56. Read [𒀭] 𒀀𒈾 Sin-âḫê- 𒀀𒄿, etc.

A. II., 57. Read [𒀀𒄿] ba-nu-u-a, etc.

A. II., 58. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: "Before 𒀀𒄿 I am inclined to read [illegible]. The last 2 characters seem to be almost certain." Budge (HE) reads [illegible] 𒀀𒄿 𒀭 𒀀

A. III., 1. Read [𒀀𒄿 𒁀𒀀𒄿] 𒀀𒄿 𒀀 𒀭 𒁀.

A. III., 2. Read [illegible] 𒀀𒄿. I think that this word forms the whole line. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: "[U]a probably quite correct, and, as you say, the only word on the line. The u, however, is broken off and the ra is doubtful. Budge (HE) reads [illegible] 𒀀𒄿.

A. III., 3. Read 𒀀 𒀭 𒀀𒄿 𒁀𒀀𒄿 𒀀 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀.

A. III., 41. Insert [𒀭]

A. III., 46. Read 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 [𒀀𒄿 or 𒀀𒄿] (22)

A. III., 60. This line is entirely broken away on the original, but it undoubtedly contains a further enumeration of the articles mentioned in lines 58 & 59.

A. IV., 1. Read 𒀀𒄿 𒀀 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿 𒀀𒄿.

A. IV., 2. Read u-šar-ḫi-is- [illegible]. Cf. Asurb. Smith, 123, 47. See Friedrich Delitzsch in the Lit. Centralblatt, May 21, '81.

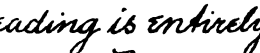
A. IV., 8. Read ša itê 𒀀𒄿 𒀀 (so Pinches also). Cf. B IV. 3 (the text in III. R. is incorrect) and [illegible] 19, I., 5.

A. IV., 58. Read [𒀀] (Cyl. B. V., 6 has 𒀀𒄿). "Hardly room enough for 𒀀𒄿 at the beginning, but I would fit." Rawlinson.

A. IV., 59. The first part of this line is entirely broken away on the orig. It is to be restored according Cyl. C. col. IV. last line, where it is well preserved.

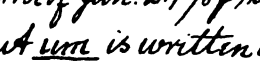
Digitized by Google

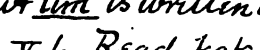
A. V., 1. Read . Budge's (HE) reading is entirely wrong. A. V, 2. Read al-lu.

A. V, 2. Read  -šik-ku instead of -šik-ku. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: "Your reading is quite correct, but um is written as dup with 4 upright wedges."

A. V, 6. Read ḫaḫ- -ru; read also -ḫaz-tim-ma (so Pinches and Strassmaier AVAAW., no. 4404).

A. V, 12. Read ka-li- -ru.

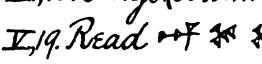
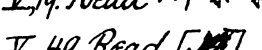
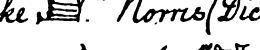
A. V, 15. Strassmaier (AVAAW. no. 2359) reads:  , etc. iṣ a-tap-pi."

A. V, 19. Read  . Cf. Delitzsch, Lit. Centralblatt, May 21'81.

A. V, 49. Read [ ]. Pinches (letter) says: "The 1st ch. looks like ." Norris (Dict. 744, 801, 898) reads -ṭê. Strassmaier (AVAAW. no. 5477) reads (ma kate²). Budge (HE) has (2) , etc.

A. V, 51. Read nak- . A. V., 52. Read maḫ-ša-a-[].

A. V, 53. Read ar-[ ].

A. V., 54. Read i-na-aṭ-ṭa-[] ki-la-ta-an ki-rib-ša  . Budge (HE) omits this line entirely. Strassmaier (AVAAW. no. 4310) reads: maḫ-ša-a- ša a-ḫi-êṭ-na-a pa-ra u ar-[ ]  ki-la-ta-an ki-rib-ša . This reading is quite impossible. On Cyl. A. nothing whatever of this line can be seen. It is, however, very well preserved on Cyl. C. V, 23, from which I have restored it. Jensen (ZK) reads u-[KIT] instead of ul-[ZIK] This reading is also wrong, as is plainly visible on the original of Cyl. C.

A. VI, 1 Read instead of . So Pinches also. Cf. Cyl. C V, 24. Budge incorrectly reads .

A. VI, 5. Read ki-li- . So Cyl. C. V, 28. Cf. Delitzsch (Lit. Centralblatt, May 21, '81). This word is completely broken off on Cyl. A.

Digitized by Google

A. VI., 4. Cyl. C. has ni-bi-ḫu [illegible]-aš-ḳu.

A. VI., 6. The latter part of this line is restored from Cyl. C. Budge (HE., p. 86. 2) had evidently not read all of the Esarhaddon tablets — not even the cyls.

A. VI., 7 Read [illegible]. A. is broken but there is not room for [illegible] Cyl. C has only [illegible].

A. VI., 13. Read [illegible]. So Pinches also. Cf. Delitzsch (Lit. Centralblatt, May 21, '81.)

A. VI., 32. The text is I R. is correct. Budge (HE) changes the text into [illegible].

A. VI., 39. Read [illegible]-ki-ra instead of [illegible]-ki-ra. Cf. Sank. Kuj. IV. 42. For this reading I am indebted to Prof. Delitzsch.

A. VI., 40 Read u-ša-[illegible]-ḳi. So Pinches also.

A. VI., 54. Read [illegible]-sur. A. VI., 56. Read [illegible]-tab-ru-u.

A. VI., 56. Cyl. A ends with this line. VI., 57—VI., 73 (in I. R.) is restored from Cyls. B. and C.

Cylinder B ["C"] See Hebraica IV (1888) pp 148

III. R. 15, 16. No. 11-$\frac{48}{315}$/4 in the British Museum.

B. I., 1 Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) reads: "U-šar-šid-ma u-ša-aṣ-[illegible] bat(?)."

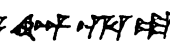
B. I., 3. I read ni-pi-[illegible] (so Pinches also). Delitzsch (AL.S.^{3} 117, 7) reads ni-pi-[illegible]

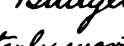
B. I., 9. According to my reading (so Pinches) gir-[illegible]-ri-i-ka stands on the orig. Delitzsch (AL.S.^{3} 117. 7. 9) reads [illegible] sic!

B. I., 15. Read [illegible]-in-ni; Read also mu-up-[illegible]-ar-ši.

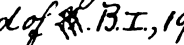
B. I., 16. I read [illegible] (so Pinches and Craigal) I prefer, however, to regard [illegible] and [illegible] as mistakes of the

Digitized by Google

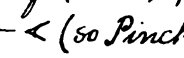
scribe, and read with Delitzsch (*ALS*^{3} 117, 7, 16)  , etc. Budge's reading *a-na* *Gab-kha-akh i-ri-tsi* is utterly worthless.

B. I. 18. Read instead of . B. I., 19. Read  (so Delitzsch also).

B. I., 25. Read (so Pinches and Delitzsch also).

B. I. 26. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) reads: "  ". Cf also. Delitzsch (*Lit. Centralblatt*, May 21, '87). Budge's reading is worthless. III. R. is also wrong

B. I. 27. I could not distinguish any characters in this line. Delitzsch writes: "*i-tak-ka-lu* konnte ich noch ziemlich clar sehen."

B. II., 1. Pinches reads: 

B. II., 2. "W. A. I. III correct"—Pinches

B. II., 4. Read -*i-tu*; B. II., 4. Read *mu-* *-a-šu*.

B. II., 11. Read *iš-* ; B. II., 12. Read *-mê-ê-ma*.

B. II., 15. Read instead of .

B. II., 15. Read *Nabû-zêr-napišti-* . Budge reads

B. II., 16. Read *-mê-ma*; B. II., 16. Read *in-* *-bit*

B. II., 18. Read *-tu* instead of *-tu*.

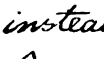
B. II., 29. Read instead of .

B. II., 30. Read (so Pinches also). Delitzsch (*PD* 283) reads *šit-ku-[ruš]*.

B. III., 4. Read *a-ši-bu-* instead of *a-ši-bu-u-*[ ]

B. III., 6. Read *šu-ru* instead of *-šu-ru*.

B. III., 12. Read *-* instead of .

B. III., 16. Read  .

B. III., 18. Read *mu-* *-zi-bi-šu*.

B. III., 14. Read ; B. III., 20. Read *ḫab-bi-* .

Digitized by Google

B.III.,23. Read ra-[illegible]-nu-uš; B.III.,24. Read i-du-[illegible].

B.IV.,1. Read [illegible]

B.IV.,2. Read [illegible]

B.IV.,3. Omit the ra in Smith's restoration of ^{mâtu}Pa-tu-uš-ar-ra

B.IV.,3. Read [illegible] (so Pinches also).

B.IV.,11. Read ṣu-[illegible]-mê instead of ṣu-[illegible]-mê.

B.IV.,12. Read [illegible] (so Hilprecht also in Z.K. II.193.2) Cf. also $7 \frac{50}{15} 19$.

B.IV.,18. Read šal-ta-niš-[illegible].

B.IV.,19. Lines 19-22 are very badly broken and hence most difficult to decipher. In line 19 I read [illegible]-pi-a-tê, while Delitzsch (P.D. 306) and Schrader (K.G.F. 104) read Na^{ḫi} pi-a-tê. Pinches also reads [illegible] on both B and $7 \frac{50}{15} 19$

B.IV.,20. Read [illegible]. Cf. $7 \frac{50}{15} 19$ Delitzsch writes: "so hatte ich auch auf Cyl. B. gelesen."

B.IV.,21 Read [illegible] (so Pinches also). Budge's edition (H.E.) of this part of the text is practically a reprint of III.R. and hence quite worthless from a critical standpoint.

B.IV.,24 Pinches (letter of Jan. 24/87) writes: "I read the first half of this line [illegible] (or [illegible]) [illegible]. For the 3rd character see Z.K.F. vol. I., p 349. ("I scattered about the corpses of their warriors like corn". To determine the kind of corn is the difficulty)." III.R. has kima [illegible]. Budge (H.E.) reads: ki-ma (IV) [illegible]. This reading — as, indeed, the great majority of Budge's readings of difficult passages — is altogether worthless.

B.V.,1-5. The latter half of these lines is to be restored from Cyls. A and C.

Digitized by Google

B.V.,7. The first part of this line is broken. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24th/87) reads: " niši mâtâti ḫubut kašti-ia."

B.V.,8. Read al-lu instead of al-lu (so Pinches also).

B.V.,8. Read šik-ku instead of šik-ku

B.V.,10. Read tim-ma (so Pinches also).

B.V.,11. This line as published in III R. is full of mistakes. Read (so Pinches also).

B.V.,12. Read mal-li instead of mal-li (so Pinches also).

B.V.,13-24. The list of the kings, as given in III R., is very faulty. I will not attempt to correct this list (on account of lack of space) and will refer only to Schrader's Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-pilesers II, des Asarhaddon und des Asurbanipal. Berlin. '80

B.V.,26. Read (against III R. and Budge (HE)).

B.VI.,1. Completely broken off; B.VI.,2. Read u-ša- (so Pinches also)

B.VI.,5 Read . B.VI.,7. Read instead of

B.VI.,8. Read u-nu- tab-ḫâzi

B.VI.,12. Read ka-bit-ti-

B.VI.,16 Read -na-ḫu instead of na-ḫu.

B.VI.,17. Read instead of

B.VI.13. Read tab-ru-u.

B.VI.,22 Read i-šim-mu-

B.VI.,24. Read instead of (so Pinches)

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

Neubauer's Etymologies.—It is a cause for regret that men of large scholarship and profound thought will, at times, lend themselves to the promulgation of ideas, built upon airy bases, the utter weakness of which their own knowledge should be the means of discovering. What applies to this class of men may also hold good when referring to those who employ Procrustean methods in the interpretation of the Bible, whether in a religious, historical, or geographical sense, to suit certain original views of their own—so original that, if advanced by the untutored, or the novice, they would excite derision.

I was recently perusing a short article by Dr. Adolph Neubauer, of Oxford, published in the London *Notes and Queries*, of January 29, 1887. Therein I found statements which (though I bow with respect to the man whose literary attainments have earned for him a deservedly wide reputation) forced a smile, that soon changed to a feeling not at all akin to humor. That so eminent a Hebraist should assert that "Jeremiah, as it is known, came over to Ireland, married an Irish princess, and brought over a copy of the Law, which is now buried in the Mount *Tara* (from *Thorah*, 'the Law')," must surely cause one's eyes to open in amazement. Who is the Irish historian that has made so important a discovery? And as for *Tara* having any meaning in common with *Thorah*, I would like to learn upon what authority Dr. Neubauer maintains it. Perhaps even stranger are other arguments aiming to prove an ancient settlement of Jews in the United Kingdom, as, for example, "Edinburgh" being derived from "Eden" (what about the termination?), "Eboracum" (or "York"), from "Eber" or "Ebrac" (can this be related to "Abrech"?), and "London" from "Lan-Dan," which Dr. Neubauer renders "the dwelling of Dan," but for which term, as a compound, he will find no support in the sacred text. The translation of "Lan," as "the dwelling," I am at a loss to understand, since "Lun" or "Lin" *to lodge* (or rather, to remain temporarily) does not convey the idea of permanence, as he attempts to show. Nor does the word "lan," occurring in Gen. XXXII. 22, have any other signification than that of "lodged."

But Dr. Neubauer ventures still further when he claims that "old London was, therefore, inhabited by the Danites (perhaps, a part of them went over to Denmark, although not yet claimed by the Danes)." What do students think of such an argument? Again, the Oxford Librarian writes, "the Guildhall may have been the lepers' house, connected with the Hebrew word גלד (Job XVI. 15);" and "in the name of Dublin is most likely to be found a reversed form, that name seeming to be *Dublan*, the dwelling of *Dub* or *Dob*. This word, which means, usually, in Hebrew, a bear, could dialectically mean a wolf (hardened from *Zeeb*). The wolf represents the tribe of Benjamin (Gen. XLIX. 27), consequently a part of the Benjaminites settled in Dublin," etc. Apart from the point regarding the affinity of *Dob* and *Zeeb* (which may be possible, though it seems remote), what weight attaches to the main statements? In a more recent article, "The Anglo-Israel Mania," of Feb. 12th, he writes: "Not only from names of

Digitized by Google

towns can I prove the settlement of Israelitish tribes in the United Kingdom, but also from family names. So, for instance, would I suppose that the name of Labouchere is nothing else but Hebrew לוּשׁר = Lavusar (in softened form) = the Prince of Levi. Will not this bring over to my 'craze' *Truth*, which has done me the honor of noticing my recent communication to 'N and I?'"

HENRY S. MORAIS,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Syriac and Assyrian.—At the last meeting of the Oriental Society (see *Proceedings*, 1886, p. xxv) my friend, Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, opened up a new field of research for us in showing the affinities between Samaritan and Assyrian. If I put in a plea here for the Syriac, both as regards the Assyrian and the Samaritan, it is because, in these studies, this language has been unnecessarily neglected. Of all the Aramean dialects, the Syriac of Edessa ('Urhâi) and Nisibis (N'ṣîbhîn, Sôbhâ) is the one which has played the greatest part in history. Its vocabulary is therefore the most extended; and in studying Samaritan, our first recourse must of necessity be to the Syriac, to see whether a a word is not of general Aramaic use. For instance, the stem ŠLM, as Professor Jastrow (p. xxvi) correctly shows, has the meaning "die" in Assyrian and Samaritan. The Syriac, however, has this meaning as well. Good old Castell (ed. Michaelis, p. 916) had already cited Mark xv. 37 [39]; 2 Macc. vii. 7, 13 (ed. Lagarde, p. 230). Trost adds Luke xxiii. 46. See also Wright, *Contrib. to Apoc. Lit. of N. T.*, 56:4, Šelmath naphšê. The Syriac shows the same development, "complete, end," as the Assyrian. So also the Jewish Aramaic. Levy, TW., II., 487.[1] The Samaritan translation for Š'bhu'âthî, Gen. xxiv. 8, אמי, is merely the Syriac îmi, îmâ, Payne Smith, col. 1602; Jewish Aramaic, ימא, Levy, TW., II., 335. For the similarity of the verbs פ"א and פ"י see Nöldeke, *Mandaische Gram.*, § 179 (and note), ZDMG., XXII., 500. ŠLK *cut open, tear open* has the same meaning in B'khôrôth, 45a (Levy, TW., II., 490). For the Arabic see Lane, I., p. 1410 seq. As regards the MS. reading of Gen. xix. 29, see Kohn in ZDMG., XXXIX., 220. In the same manner the meaning "fight" does not attach to the stem KRB in Assyrian and Samaritan only. For the 'Aph'el in Syriac "bellavit" see the passages in Cast.-Mich., p. 825. "Contendere," with 'am, 'Aprêm, II., 32 E (cf. Ethiopic takarba *bellavit*). Likewise k'râbhâ (not kârbâ, as in Cast.) *bellum;* makr'bhânê *bellatores*, 'Aprêm, III., xxix; k'rabhthânâ *bellicos*, Land, III., 211:12; Josephus, 15:5, etc. Jewish Aram. k'râbhâ, Levy, II., 385. Samaritan מרנע comes from a form akin to the Syr. madhn'ḥâ: אדלה is the Syriac 'adh lâ.

For the derivation of ארש from ראש, Professor Jastrow has the support of Castell in his *Heptaglott Lexicon*, p. 237, where he compares Samar. ארש with Heb. ראשית "per metath." For the Samar. telîm and the Assyr. talimu, see Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*, trans. by Delitzsch, p. 272, n. 1. On תלימו = אדו, Gen. xli. 2, see Löw, *Aramaische Pflanzennamen*, p. 42, who cites Geiger, ZDMG., XVI., 732.

RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL,
Columbia College.

---

[1] According to Wahrmund, *Handbuch der Arab. u. Deut. Sprache*, I., 920, the Arabic تسلم arrives at a similar meaning in a different way: "du bist glücklich davon gekommen, d. h. der nach welchem du fragst ist *gestorben*."

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

VATKE'S OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.*

In 1835, Wilhelm Vatke published his *Religion des Alten Testamentes*, one of the first works in which was broached the theory now known by the name of Graf, Kuenen or Wellhausen. This maiden effort was so saturated with Hegelian philosophy as to be almost incomprehensible to the uninitiated, and Prof. Reuss himself holding the same theory of the Pentateuch, confesses that he was unable to read the book. On account, possibly, of the cold reception met by this work, Vatke gave up authorship almost altogether, and although he continued to lecture in Berlin until his death (1882), he published very little. We now receive from one of his pupils his lectures on "Old Testament Introduction."

A comparison with the earlier work shows some remarkable changes. The Hegelian terminology which makes the earlier work almost unreadable has disappeared. The style is now clear and simple. A transcendental philosophy nowhere shows itself. We have the common sense almost commonplace view of things which we expect to find in a work of this kind. The author begins with a definition and a brief history of the science. He then takes up general introduction, treating first of the people of Israel and the Semites in general. A second chapter treats the Hebrew language; a third, the Hebrew alphabet. The canon and text are then taken up including the history of the printed text. A history of Old Testament exposition concludes this first part. The special introduction takes up the books in their usual order. About forty pages at the end are given to the Apocrypha.

I have said the transcendental philosophy of the earlier work nowhere shows itself. This statement must be modified so far as to admit the following statement which is purely speculative. "The Hebrew principle first stepped into life by prophets as organs of revelation. The earlier theological order of standpoints in the Old Testament which put the law first, the prophetic order next, is to be exactly reversed. The first stand-point of revelation *can be only* the prophetic, while all legal definitions, and the objective view involved in them, embody an application of the already existing principle to the actual world." This is, to be sure, a serious matter, and lays the author open to the charge freely made against his earlier book, that it is constructed *a priori*. But this is the only instance in which the principle is distinctly avowed in the present work.

The point at which the most interest will be manifested, is probably the treatment of the Pentateuch. As has been said, Vatke was one of the first to put the document known as A or Q—the first Elohist—*not earlier* than the captivity. We find, with some surprise, not only that he places his document earlier

* WILHELM VATKE'S HISTORISCH-KRITISCHE EINLEITUNG IN DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Nach Vorlesungen herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann G. S. Preiss, mit einem Vorwort von Dr. A. Hilgenfeld. Bonn, 1886. 8vo, pp. xviii, 754.

Digitized by Google

in point of time than Deuteronomy, but that he holds to a new order of the documents. Dillmann, who uses the signs A B C D, supposes this order to represent the relative age of the documents. Wellhausen makes the chronology B C D A, while Vatke now comes in and asserts that it is C A B D. He adds, however, that the time of composition of the three earliest probably falls within the same half century (which he makes to be from 720 to 670 B. C.). One of the supposed surest data for determining the age of Deuteronomy, has been the Book of the Law in the Temple in the time of Josiah. This Book of the Law has been almost uniformly identified with Deuteronomy. Vatke now declares this to be an error, and asserts that *that* book was a composite of the three older documents, while Deuteronomy was not composed till the last decade of the kingdom of Judah (p. 387).

Beyond this, there is little which calls for special remark in the book. The author shows some acquaintance with American literature (p. 266). We are accustomed in such works to more or less ingenious and baseless hypotheses; as that the name יהוה was originally יחוה, or that Ps. LXXII. and Isa. XIX. 16–25 refer to the time of Ptolemy II. These, however, are sparingly used. The author leaves us Moses, believes him, indeed, to be the author of the Decalogue, therefore a monotheist who made religion bear upon the moral life of the people. He supposes the Decalogue to have been given in a briefer form than the present text.

We have found occasional inaccuracies or infelicities of expression. Is it true that all the Semitic dialects have the same method of constructing sentences —that their syntax is similar, in other words? (p. 178). Bleek-Wellhausen does not put Joel under Jeroboam II. (*Welthausen* the name is spelled here, and we have noticed several similar errors, due of course to the proof-reader). The literature is generally brought down to a quite recent date. As Abulwalid's lexicon is mentioned as having been made known by Gesenius and others, it would be well to add that it was published by Neubauer. DeBiberstein Kazimirski appears as Kazimirski de Biberstein. Ugolino's Thesaurus is in thirty-four (not fifty-four) volumes. It is said that Zebulon (instead of Simeon) is not mentioned in Deut. XXXIII.

But it is a thankless task to be making minor criticisms. Accuracy is doubtless more difficult to obtain in a posthumous work than in one which the author himself is permitted to see through the press.

H. P. SMITH,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

S. A. SMITH'S KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ASURBANIPALS.*

This volume contains a transliteration of the Asurbanipal text (V R., 1–10), a translation of the same into German, some notes by the author, a few notes by Mr. Pinches, and a vocabulary. For students of Assyrian there is great need of carefully edited texts, with grammatical and philological notes. Such transliter-

* DIE KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ASURBANIPALS, KÖNIGS VON ASSYRIEN (668–626 v. Chr.) nach dem selbst in London copirten Grundtext mit Transcription, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigem Glossar von Samuel Alden Smith. Heft I. Die Annalen nach dem Cylinder R^m 1. (Vgl. V R. 1–10). Leipzig: *Verlag von Eduard Pfeifer*, 1887.

Digitized by Google

ations, wherever possible, should be accompanied by the cuneiform text. The work of Lotz (*Tiglathpileser*), Pognon (*Bavian*), Lyon (*Sargontexte*), in this line, is known even to those who have but begun the study. It is greatly to be regretted that the work of Mr. Smith is not in all respects so reliable as that of his predecessors. One must infer that the work has been done too rapidly. There may have been circumstances, beyond the control of Mr. Smith, which have compelled this haste. For the sake of those who need such help as is here offered, it is certainly unfortunate.

In the transliteration there is a sad lack of uniformity. Not to speak of the typographical errors, which are very numerous, and the omissions, which occur too frequently, there are so many cases of inconsistency (at least a hundred or so) as to bewilder a beginner. Among many others, the following forms are used indiscriminately: kibit and kibit, kirib and kirib, šâdu and šadû, êlî and êli, âḫu and aḫu, âbu and abu. If one reads ê-mêd, why not also ê-pêš, ê-rêb, ê-kêm, etc. Wrong transliterations are not infrequent, as ḫaršânu for ḫuršânu, Bêl-ba-ša for Bêl-ikîša, etc. Why should he read palaḫ for the Participle of palâḫu, instead of paliḫ.

The translation in some places does not accord with the transliteration, there being occasionally what seem to be mistakes as to the precise grammatical form of the Assyrian word. In the vocabulary, words are not in all cases classified under the roots to which they properly belong; still there is ample room here for difference of opinion. The notes are not what either the student or the scholar would have liked. They are too few and too fragmentary for the former; too elementary for the latter. The notes of Mr. Pinches are most excellent. One can only regret their small number.

The zeal of Mr. Smith in his Assyrian labors is most commendable. It is gratifying to know that Americans are not neglecting this important branch of Semitic study. In such work, however, there is needed great care. With the careful work of Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt, Pinches, Lyon, and others, before us, work even slightly imperfect suffers by comparison. In the succeeding volumes, it is to be hoped that Mr. Smith will not feel himself so hurried.

WILLIAM R. HARPER,
New Haven, Conn.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

AMIAUD, A. Cyrus, roi de Perse: Mélanges Renier. Paris: *Vieweg*, '86. Pp. 241–260.

—— et MECHINEAU, L. Tableau comparé des écritures babylonienne et assyrienne archaïques et modernes avec classement des signes d'après leur forme archaïque. Paris: *E. Leroux*, '87. 8vo, xvi, 148.

BERTIN, GEORGE. The Babylonian Zodiac. *Academy*, Jan. 22, '87.

BEZOLD, C. Mittheilungen aus Wien. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

BOSCAWEN, W. ST. CHAD. Babylonian Teraphim. *Bab. and Orient. Rec.*, Jan., '87.

—— A Babylonian Land Grant. *Ibid.*, March, '87.

BROWN, ROBERT. Babylonian Astronomy in the West.—The Aries of Aratos. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

—— The Babylonian Zodiac. *Academy*, Jan. 29, '87.

BUDGE, E. A. W. The Book of the Bee. Anecdota Oxoniensa. (Semitic Series, vol. I., pt. II.) *Athenæum*, Jan. 8, '87.

CLERCQ, L. DE, and J. MENANT. Collection de Clercq; Antiquités Assyriennes. *Amer. Journal of Archæology* (A. L. Frothingham, Jr.), Dec., '86.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Kleinere assyriologische Notizen. I. Assyr. kultaru, "Zelt;" babyl. kuštaru? *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

—— Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament. *Ibid.* (Schrader).

HABERLANDT, M. Assyrisch-babylonische Alterthümer. *Annalen des k. k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums.* Band I., '86.

HALEVY, J. L'étoile nommée kakkab mesri en assyrien. *Journ. asiatique*, VIII., '86.

HOFFMANN, GEORG. Namen und Sachen. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Jan., '87.

HOWARD, N. Alttestamentliche Geschichtserzählung und Assyrische Keilinschriften.....M.5.

JENSEN, P. Bemerkungen zu einigen sumerisch u. assyrischen Verwandtschaftswörtern. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

—— Hymnen auf das Wiedererscheinen der drei grossen Lichtgötter. I. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

—— Napâḫu, u. s. w. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

LACOUPERIE, TERRIEN DE. The Sinim of Isaiah not the Chinese. *Bab. and Orient. Rec.*, Jan., '87.

—— Did Cyrus introduce Writing into India? *Ibid.*, Feb., '87.

LAGARDE, PAUL DE. On a Syriac MS. belonging to the collection of Archbishop Ussher. *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, No. 1.

LEHMAN, C. F. Zwei Erlasse König Asurbanabal's. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Jan., '87.

LYNN, W. T. Note on Babylonian Astronomy. *Bab. and Orient. Rec.*, March, '87.

MAHLER, ED. Zur Chronologie der Babylonier. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

Digitized by Google

MASSAROLI, G. Essai d'interpretation assyro-chaldéenne. *Le Museon*, '86, pp. 610-620.

MENANT, J. L'expédition Wolfe en Mésopotamie. *Revue archeol.*, VIII., '86.

MEYER, ED. Ausgrabungen in Babylonien. *Deutsche Rundschau*, XIII., 4, '87.

MUELLER, E. Grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Annalen Asurnasirpal's. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

MUELLER, D. H. Die Keil-Inschrift von Aschrut-Darga, entdeckt und beschrieben von Prof. Joseph Wünsch, publicirt und erklärt. *Ibid.* (Oppert), Jan., '87.

NOELDEKE, TH. Mene tekel upharsin. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

OPPERT, J. Quelques explications complémentairs aux formules juridiques. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

—— Mul kaksidi, l'étoile de direction et non Antarès. *Ibid.*

—— L'olive de Gudéa. *Ibid.*

PEISER, F. E. Ein Satz in den Beschwörungsformeln. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

PINCHES, THEO. G. The Babylonians and Assyrians as Maritime Nations. 1. An Assyrian Letter anent the transport by ship of stone for a winged bull and colossus. *Bab. and Orient. Rec.*, Jan., '87.

—— A Fragment of a Babylonian Tithe-List. *Ibid.*, March, '87.

—— Babylonian Notes:—I. Gaddaš, an early Babylonian King. II. Tarzîa, "King of Babylon and Countries." III. The Deities Ilan and Hur. *Ibid.*, Feb., '87.

—— Additional Note on King Gaddaš. *Ibid.*

REBER, FRZ. Ueber altchaldäische Kunst. III. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Jan., '87.

SAYCE, A. H. The Hittite Boss of Tarkondêmos. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

—— WAI., II., 28. Col. I., 13-15. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

SMITH, S. A. Two unedited Texts, K 6 and K 7. *Ibid.*, Nov., '86.

STRASSMAIER, J. N. Zwei babylonische Verträge aus der Zeit von Nabonid. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

TELONI, B. Varia. V. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

—— Aiuti offerti dai monumenti di Ninive e di Babilonia per lo studio dell'Antico Testamento. Firenze, '86. 8vo, pp. 22.

TIELE, C. P. De Hooftempel van Babel en die van Borsippa (naar de opschriften van Nebukadrezar). *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Köninklijke Akademie van Wetenschapper*, Afdeeling "Letterkunde." 3de Reeks, Deel. III. Amsterdam, '86.

TYLER, THOMAS. The Babylonian Idea of a Disembodied Soul. *Bab. and Orient. Rec.*, Feb., '87.

WINCKLER, H. Ueber einem Nebukadnezarcylinder des Berliner Museums. *Ztschr. f. Assyr.*, Nov., '86.

—— Ein text Nabopolassars. *Ibid.*, Jan., '87.

Digitized by Google

HEBRAICA.

VOL. III. JULY, 1887. NO. 4.

THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH.

BY PROF. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D. D.,
Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

It has long been known that the Septuagint version of Jeremiah differs remarkably from the Massoretic text. Probably the case is not quite so desperate as that of Ezekiel; for the current Hebrew is generally readable. But the fact of the variation is still remarkable and one that deserves investigation. Recent commentators have been content to pronounce in favor of the MT., and to use the LXX. occasionally "as at the most a secondary or tertiary source for the restoration of the text" (*von Orelli*, p. 217). A systematic study of the text critical questions, however, is still needed, such as Professor Cornill has given us in his edition of Ezekiel. The same author promises to edit Isaiah and Jeremiah; and for a decisive answer to the questions raised we may have to wait for these monographs. Meanwhile, however, it is well that the attention of others be directed to the problem. The following notes are intended to state some of the facts that must be taken into consideration.

In the notoriously confused condition of the LXX. text itself, the first point is, What shall we use as the best representative of this text? A provisional answer to this question may be given by means of Origen's Hexapla. Although this work as a whole has perished, fragments enough have come down to us to be of very great use. Especially with regard to the diacritical points we are in a favorable condition. In the Book of Jeremiah several MSS. are extant in Greek (besides the Syriac Hexapla) which testify to these diacritical points. These points distinguish the plus and minus of the LXX. That is to say: it was Origen's intention to mark with an asterisk everything not found in his LXX. which he inserted from the Hebrew (or from Theodotion's version), and to mark with an obelos everything in his LXX. which is not in the Hebrew. Evidently, if we find a MS. which *omits* whatever the hexaplar MSS. give with an asterisk, and at the same time *contains* what these mark by an obelos, we may safely claim that

Digitized by Google

we have Origen's text before us. The MS. which most nearly approximates this may be taken as the best one for our purpose until we get the really critical edition for which we have been waiting so long. Very little study will show us that the Vatican MS. (and the Roman edition based upon it) more nearly than any other now accessible fulfills these conditions. The following figures are fairly correct, I think; absolute accuracy is difficult to attain. In making them up I have counted every instance of the omission or insertion of a particle which would affect by a single letter the Hebrew text (as καί = ו).

Asterisks are expressly testified in 739 instances in the Book of Jeremiah. The words so marked are omitted from Tischendorf's text in all but fifty cases. On the other hand, Tischendorf omits one or more words in 357 cases in which the asterisk seems not to be certified. As these last are in large proportion particles or small words, we might easily suppose the scribes not to have thought them worth designating in copying. More difficult is the case of the *plus* of the LXX. The obelos occurs in seventy-four instances, of which all but twelve correspond with our Greek text. But, in addition, our Greek text inserts a word or more in no less than 245 cases. Whatever else we may conclude from these figures, we can hardly suppose (for Jeremiah at any rate), as Cornill does, that the Vaticanus is a copy made from the Hexapla with the intention of restoring the genuine LXX. under the guidance of the diacritical marks (cf. Cornill, p. 84). The value of our edition for the comparison in hand, however, will be quite as great, because, by its greater variation from the MT. it shows itself even nearer the original LXX. than any text we can now command. For a brief consideration of the variants in Holmes and Parsons' edition shows that they have almost always arisen from hexaplar intermixture.

Taking Tischendorf's text, then, as on the whole a satisfactory representative of the Greek version, how does it differ from the received Hebrew? The answer is well known—it is considerably shorter. How now shall we account for this difference? The accepted answer is "by the careless and arbitrary manner in which the translators dealt with their text, leaving out words which they did not understand or which seemed to them superfluous." But while this is the current answer, another is, to say the least, conceivable—we may suppose that the *plus* of the MT. is in large part the insertion of scribes.

As between the two answers, it will readily be confessed that the probabilities, as judged by the ordinary observation of the laws of transmission, are on the side of the latter. A text is more likely to grow in the process of transmission than to shrink. The rhetorical expansion of an obscure phrase is more likely than its omission. The insertion of synonyms is more likely than their omission. The influence of parallel passages tends to swell the shorter form. The *a priori* probability then is in favor of the shorter text—in this case in favor of the LXX. The argument from age is in the same direction. The LXX. represents a He-

Digitized by Google

brew text considerably earlier than the time to which we can trace the type perpetuated in the MT. But, after all, these arguments only create a presumption. The presumption is strengthened by the ordinary conduct of the Greek translators, and, indeed, as the figures given above will show, even in the Book of Jeremiah they have often inserted words *as well as omitted* them, if the variations are to be referred to them at all, and this would be inexplicable. That is to say, while we might explain the omissions on the ground of a desire to be as concise as possible, we could not, in consistency with this, account for the insertions at all.

It may be said, indeed, that the argument will apply equally well to the MT. If its *plus* is the result of insertions, then we are at a loss to account for its *minus*. But this is only an apparent difficulty. The general rule is that the shorter text is original. Both LXX. and MT. have suffered from the tendency of scribes (continued through a long series of hands it must be remembered), a tendency to expand their text. Only they have not been affected uniformly, and the MT. has suffered more than the other. If this natural explanation be the correct one, an examination of the variations ought to show it. It is scarcely possible that the omission of some thousands of words from a book the size of Jeremiah should leave no traces in the resulting text.

The phrase נאם יהוה occurs in the Hebrew of Jeremiah 168 times, if we may trust the concordance. In 46 of these it is lacking in the LXX. It needs no reflection to see that the phrase, from the very fact of its occurring so often, would easily be inserted in new passages. If the phrase were original in all cases, we should expect it to be omitted where the omission would least disturb the sense. In such cases as the following: "Therefore behold the days come, *saith Yahweh*, that it shall no more be said" (VII. 32), "At that time, *saith Yahweh*, they shall bring forth" (VIII. 1), "For these should I not visit, *saith Yahweh*, or upon such a nation" (IX. 8), "And it shall be if ye hearken to me, *saith Yahweh*, not to carry a burden" (XVII. 24),—in these cases the LXX. testifies to the reading, while the cases of apparent omission are many of them where the phrase occurs at the end of a verse.[1]

The cases of the divine name may be grouped together. The combination אדוני יהוה (or אדוני יהוה צבאות) is found ten times in the Hebrew text. In only three of these it is witnessed by the LXX. In two of these, which are cases of direct personal address (I. 6; IV. 10) we find δέσποτα κύριε, in the other we have κυρίῳ Θεῷ (L. 25). It is probable that the first two are the only original instances. If the אדוני was omitted or Θεός substituted for it eight times, why not in the other two? That a Jewish editor, however, should *insert* אדוני cannot be considered

1 It is probable that the discrepancy was originally larger than is indicated above. The great majority of cases in which the phrase remains in the Greek render it λέγει κύριος. Those MSS. which have inserted it later generally render φησὶ κύριος. But φησὶ κύριος occurs in a few instances in the Roman text. It is natural to suspect that they also are not original.

Digitized by Google

surprising. The phrase כה אמר יהוה occurs over a hundred times in the MT., while in thirty-two instances we find כה אמר יהוה צבאות; once we have כה אמר יהוה אלהי צבאות; thirteen times כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל; three times כה אמר יהוה אלהי צבאות אלהי ישראל; thirteen times כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל. In contrast with this confused condition of things we find that the LXX. reads *κύριος* except in the following: XV. 16; XXII. 27; XXXII. 14, and XLIV. 7, in which we find *κύριος παντοκράτωρ* (which is elsewhere the translation of יהוה צבאות) and six other cases where we have *κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Ισραὴλ*. According to this, Jeremiah used *Yahweh of Hosts* or *Yahweh God of Israel* only rarely, and, as we may suppose, when he wished to be emphatic, and he never strung together *Yahweh God of Hosts God of Israel*, or like long drawn out titles. This usage is consistent and tells in favor of the LXX., while it is only too easy for a copyist to multiply titles under the impression that he is adding to the solemnity of the address.[1] Outside the phrase כה אמר יהוה the MT. has in one instance יהוה אלהי צבאות, in one it has יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל and in fourteen יהוה צבאות. In all these cases[2] but six, the LXX. has simply *κύριος*, and in these six (three of them are in chapters L. and LI.) it reads *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*. The LXX. is thus consistent with itself.

We may next group together explicative words and phrases. In thirty-five cases כל of the Hebrew has no equivalent in the Greek,—one of the easiest words to insert; לאמר is omitted eight times; הנביא after a proper name (usually that of Jeremiah) is omitted twenty-four times, מלך בבל twice, מלך יהודה four times; נבוכדראצא before מלך בבל seven times. The omission of בבלה (three times), כה אמר יהוה (three) and השכם ודבר are precisely similar. In all of them the insertion by a scribe is almost to be expected, and the shorter form is original. Notice the following like examples, where the brackets indicate the omission by the LXX.: XIII. 7, "And I took the girdle from the place where I had hidden it, and behold [the girdle] was spoiled." The omission of the subject is characteristic of the Hebrew. XIX. 9, "In the siege and in the straitness with which their enemies [and those seeking their life] shall straiten them." XX. 5, "And I will give all the treasure of this city and all its property [and all its precious things], and all the treasures of the kings of Judah [will I give] into the hand of their enemies [and they shall plunder them and take them], and they shall bring them to Babylon." XXV. 9, "Behold, I will send and take [all] the

1 One passage (XXXIII. 12) reads *κύριος δυναμέων* in our present Greek text. The second word, however, is omitted by a considerable number of MSS., and is on the face of it suspicious, because we find elsewhere *παντοκράτωρ*. For the sake of completeness it may be added that נאם אדוני יהוה צב׳ is found twice, and נאם יהוה צב׳ twice; in three of these the LXX. has simply *κύριος*, once it reads *κύριος ὁ θεός σου*, apparently borrowing from the first half of the same verse (II. 19).

2 It is possible that I have overlooked some, as the concordances are not very reliable on such frequently recurring phrases.

Digitized by Google

families of the north [saith Yahweh and unto Nebuchadressar, king of Babylon, my servant], and will bring them upon this land." In all these instances the shorter reading makes perfectly good sense.

To enforce this point I will now give a few examples in the Hebrew form witnessed by the LXX., and then give separately the additional matter of the MT. If this additional matter really belongs to the text, the fact will easily be discovered.

I. 18.—והנה נתתיך היום לעיר מבצר ולחומות נחשת למלכי יהודה לשריה ולעם הארץ:

MT. inserts אני, ולעמוד ברזל, על-כל הארץ and לכהניה.

VII. 17.—האינך ראה מה המה עשים בחוצות ירושלם: MT. inserts בערי יהודה ו.

VII. 26.—ויקשו את-ערפם מאבותם, inserted הרעו.

XI. 4.—שמעו בקולי ועשיתם כל אשר אצוה, inserted אותם כ.

XII. 3.—ואתה יהוה ידעתני ובחנת לבי אתך, inserted תראני.

XIII. 4.—קח את האזור אשר על מתניך, inserted אשר קנית.

XIII. 17.—תבכה נפשי מפני גוה ותרד עיני דמעה—added ודמע תרמע.

XVIII. 4.—ונשחת הכלי אשר הוא עשה בידו. MT. inserts כחמר and changes בידו into ביד היוצר.

XIX. 5.—לשרף את בניהם באש אשר לא צויתי ולא עלתה על לבי. MT. inserts עלות לבעל and ולא דברתי.

XXI. 4.—כה אמר יהוה הנני מסב את כלי המלחמה אשר אתם נלחמים בם את-הכשדים הצרים עליכם מחוץ לחומה אל תוך העיר הזאת:

The insertions are את-מלך בבל ו, אשר בידכם, אלהי ישראל and ואספתי אותם.

XXII. 25.—ונתתיך ביד מבקשי נפשך אשר אתה יגור מפניהם; insertions הכשדים, ביד and וביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל וביד.

Cf. further the following:

VI. 16, 17, "Thus saith Yahweh:
Call to the mourning women that they may come,
And to the cunning women send that they may hasten,
And let them take up for us a lamentation."

The structure, which is here quite regular, is disturbed by the Massoretic insertions. XXV. 3, 4, "From the thirteenth year of Josiah, son of Amon, king of Judah, and to this day, three and twenty years I have spoken to you, rising early and speaking, and I have sent to you my servants the prophets, rising early and sending, and you have not heard and have not inclined your ear." Eight words

Digitized by Google

are inserted by the MT. XXV. 33, "And the slain of Yahweh in that day [LXX., in the day of Yahweh] shall be from the end of the earth to the end of the earth, and shall not be buried; for dung on the face of the ground they shall be." MT. inserts "they shall not be mourned and shall not be gathered." XLI. 1–3, "And in the seventh month came Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, son of Elishama, of the seed royal, and ten men with him, unto Gedaliah to Mizpah, and they ate bread there together. And Ishmael and the ten men with him arose and smote Gedaliah whom the king of Babylon had appointed in the land, and all the Jews which were with him in Mizpah, and the Chaldees which were found there." For the more than twenty words inserted by the MT. I will refer to the original. The sense is entirely clear without them.

While the insertions in the above passages are in general easily accounted for, there are some plain instances of duplication, as IX. 4, הנני מאכילם [את־העם הזה] לענה, where the clause in brackets really duplicates the suffix immediately preceding. In this way arose apparently the reading ואכלהו ויכלהו in X. 25. In XI. 13, we read "And as the number of the streets of Jerusalem ye have placed *altars to Bosheth, altars to sacrifice to Baal;*" LXX. has simply *βωμοὺς θυμιᾶν τῇ Βάαλ.* The substitution of Bosheth for Baal is known from other parts of the Old Testament. Here the two readings are combined in the Hebrew, but not yet in the Greek. Another example is in the passage already quoted (XLI. 3), where MT. reads, "And all the Jews which were with him *with Gedaliah.*" Cf. also LI. 56, כי בא עליה על בבל שודד.

Heretofore we have considered the *plus* of the MT. Let us look at some of the *alternate readings.* After Jeremiah is shown a סיר נפוח he adds (I. 14) "And Yahweh said to me: From the North evil is *opened* (תפתח) upon all the inhabitants of the land." The LXX. reads apparently תנפח, preserving the paronomasia. In III. 22 the Hebrew has ארפה משובותיכם; for the second word we find *τὰ συντρίμματα ὑμῶν* which of course represents משברותיכם. XV. 14 now reads, "And I will make thine enemies to pass over into a land thou knowest not." For והעברתי LXX. reads והעברתיך—"And I will make thee to serve thine enemies in a land thou knowest not," evidently more in accord with the context, confirmed also by the Targum which has ותשתעבדון. "And ye shall serve there other gods which shall not show you mercy" (so LXX. in XVI. 3); MT. has the difficult phrase אשר לא אתן לכם חנינה. A well known case is XXIII. 33, "And when this people or prophet or priest shall ask thee saying, What is the burden of Yahweh? then thou shalt say to them *Ye are the burden*"—אתם המשא for which in the MT. we find the incomprehensible את־מה־משא. XLI. 9, "And the pit into which Ishmael cast all whom he had smitten was the great pit"—so LXX. reading בור גדול for which MT. gives again an incomprehensible reading ביד גדליהו. In one or two of these in-

Digitized by Google

stances we might be in doubt whether the LXX. deserves the preference; but they show at least that the translators did not simply guess, but if they made mistakes, the mistakes arose from the confusion of similar forms for which their Hebrew copy is to be held responsible. So when they in an unvocalized text confused רעים and רעים, נם and נם, שמה and שמה, we can hardly lay it to carelessness. Further examples of confusion of similar letters in their Hebrew copy are תנור for תנוך (IV. 1), ילדו for ילכו (XII. 2), והושבתים for והשיבותים (XII. 15), ישובו for ישמעו (XII. 17), אמן for אמר (XV. 11), רעיך for רעתך (XXII. 22), חרב for חרון (XXV. 38), שם for בם (XLI. 8, this and the preceding are probably right in the LXX.), בה for כה (IX. 15).

There is plenty of evidence therefore that the MS. from which the version was made has suffered in transmission. The influences which affected it are the same in kind as those we have discovered affecting the MT. Although the LXX. is so much shorter, it has in places suffered the same kind of inflation, as in XXI. 3, where it adds after Zedekiah *βασιλέα Ιουδα*, or XXI. 5, where it inserts *πάντας*, or XXIV. 1, where it adds a fourth class to the three carried captive according to the Hebrew, or XXXII. 28, where it inserts after Yahweh *ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ*. In fact the same tendencies affected the LXX. after its translation; for a considerable group of MSS. (the same which Cornill supposes to represent Hesychius' recension) has in several instances + *ὁ Θεός* from which the other groups are free.

The principle that the more difficult reading is to be preferred, is often abused. There is a sense in which an ungrammatical expression is more difficult than a correct one. To take one more example from Jeremiah (XXV. 26); the reading of the MT. is ואת־כל־הממלכות הארץ אשר־על פני האדמה. Any tyro knows that הממלכות הארץ is ungrammatical. The LXX. omits הארץ and is therefore in a sense less difficult. But if we state the rule as it is stated by Westcott and Hort—*that* reading is original which will account for the existence of the other—we shall have a better guide. If the shorter reading is the original we can easily account for the longer as the work of an absent-minded scribe to whom the phrase כל ממלכות הארץ was familiar. But we cannot account for the longer reading as the work of Jeremiah at all. Such glaring instances are, of course, rare, but some of those quoted above are scarcely less convincing.

Adequate treatment of the text of Jeremiah would require a volume. The cases treated in this paper are, however, I think fair examples of the state of the text, and, if so, they justify the conclusion that the LXX. was made from a better text than the one preserved for us by the synagogue. The LXX. is therefore a source for the text of the very first importance. Both LXX. and MT., however, have suffered from the same tendencies, and by judicious criticism it is possible to construct from both a better text than that now shown by either one. This critical work is our need.

Digitized by Google

Two questions have not been referred to here. One concerns the original arrangement of the prophecies, the other concerns the longer sections not found in the LXX. The answer to these questions is not necessarily influenced by pronouncing in favor of the LXX. in general. It is entirely possible that a better MS. should suffer dislocation and mutilation from which another has escaped.

Digitized by Google

THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SALMANESER II.

By James A. Craig, Ph. D.,

Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In the following paper is found for the first time a translation, with accompanying transcription, in syllables, of the valuable Monolith Inscription of Salmaneser II., whose reign forms one of the most interesting chapters in Assyrian history. Before commencing this work, a collation of the text was an indispensable prerequisite, as may be seen from the number of corrections which, for purpose of comparison, I have here inserted. The collation of this text, which was the main object of a visit to the British Museum, where, during the summer of '85, I spent six weeks in the copying of texts, was done with the utmost care, the doubtful portions being frequently revised under the best attainable lights. The text, as edited in WAI., vol. III., seems to have been hurriedly executed, as even the most common signs are not exactly reproduced, as may be seen by referring to corrections No. 189. Where those minor variations occur, I have not always attempted to reproduce them, as this would make the work too cumbrous, and could satisfactorily be done only by a complete re-editing of the texts; and as they are of importance only as showing the exact form of writing.

The essential improvements which I have been able to make in the text, such, e. g., as the reading of the god "Nanir," etc., as well as my rendering of the text on this basis, will, I trust, be of some value to the science. Partial translations have hitherto been given, as in Prof. Schrader's KÂT. and KGF., by Menant, in *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, and a translation in *Records of the Past*, by Prof. Sayce. A comparison of these with that here contained will show the necessity of the present undertaking. Compare, e. g., Prof. Sayce's translation of Col. II. l. 10 with the correct translation: "To the land of Atalur, an uninhabited place of deserts and low-lying, I went. Its tribute I appointed." This is a mere guess. It is a good example of "giving a sort of rough guess at the signification of a sentence," which Prof. Sayce, in his *Lectures on the Assyrian Language*, p. 7, so justly condemns. The passage reads: "To the mountains of the land of Atalur, where an image of Ašur-irbê was erected, I went. An image with his image I erected." Still there is not even an interrogation mark affixed! Menant begins to translate at line 13.

Note.—In the transcription I have adhered to the value of the signs as represented in Prof. Delitzsch's *Lesestuecke*, indicating the length of the vowels otherwise only where ideographs occur.

Digitized by Google

I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to my friend, Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, who spared no pains to render me every aid for the facilitation of my work, and, above all, to my esteemed Professor, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, whose advice and instruction and friendly feeling bind me to him as a thankful pupil in lasting obligation.

INTRODUCTION.

The Name of Salmaneser plays an important role in Assyrian history, there being no less than four kings of this name, viz., Salm. I., B. C. 1300–1271, the father of Tukultiadar I.; Salm. II., 860–824; Salm. III., 783–773, and Salm. IV., 727–722. The various methods of writing the name cannot be produced here. For the pronunciation, Šulmânašarêd = "Šulmân is prince," see Schrader, ZKF., Bd. II., 197, f.

Life. Salmaneser II., the son of Asurnazirpal and grandson of Tukultiadar II., whose long reign of thirty-five years was full of military activity and achievement, occupied the throne of Assyria from 860–824 B. C. He followed hard in the footsteps of his father, Asurnazirpal, extending his rule in all directions and carrying terror and bloodshed wherever he went. After he had seated himself, with all the accompanying ceremonial pomp, as he expressly tells us, upon the throne, he lost no time until he began his work of conquest. Having defeated Ninni of Simesi, and taken tribute from the adjacent tribes, he extended his march to Hupuskia on the upper Zab, overwhelmed and defeated his opposers and, having imposed on them taxes and tribute, pushed his way up through the Nairi-land with like results to the land of Urarṭu along the Araxes. After other expeditions on the Tigris he began operations on the Euphrates, receiving tribute from Katazilu of Kummuḫ, and afterwards from the confederate forces on the west of the Euphrates. The Phœnician coast was next the scene of his triumphal march. In 858 he overcame Ahuni of Til-barsip on the Euphrates, descended upon the other side and destroyed the neighboring towns. In the following year he repeated the attack on Til-barsip, took the city, committing the usual atrocities, built a palace within it, and changed its name to Kar-Salmaneser. In 856 Ahuni, after a terrible battle in Mount Šetamrat, was captured and, with his forces, etc., was carried off to Assyria. In 854 he left Nineveh again, crossed the Euphrates, took tribute from Carchemish and Kummuḫ, and later, having attacked Archulina of Hamath, engaged in a battle at Karkar against the confederate forces of twelve kings, among whom were *Benhadad II., of Damaskus*, and *Ahab, of Israel.* The losses on both sides were heavy and the victory a doubtful one. After having turned his strength against the Babylonian usurper Merodachbalusate (see appendix) whom he put to death, he repeated his attacks on Syria. In 851, 850, 846 we find him in the west. The latter year, with 120,000 men, he marched against

Digitized by Google

Benhadad, put to flight the Syrians, pillaged their cities and took their spoil; but in 842 Syria was still unsubdued. According to III R., V., No. 6, he had again to contend for the mastery with Hazael of Damaskus, and three years later there was only tribute as before. Further expeditions, particularly to the northward of the Armenian mountains to the land of Namri, and westward to Media, were made. When he became too infirm to take the field, he gave the command to Dânašur, commander-in-chief, and, while he himself was obliged to remain in Chalah, his forces were executing his commands in the north country of Urarṭu and Patúi. The end of his reign, which was followed by the subjugation of Babylon to Assyria, largely through the extension of power due to him, according to Samsibin(?) was disturbed by an insurrection, set on foot by a faithless son, which was afterwards quelled by his faithful son and successor Samsi*bin*(?).

Inscriptions.

1) The Monolith Inscription found at Kurkh on the Tigris, about twenty miles distant from Diarbekhr, and now in the British Museum. The monolith measures 2 m. 16 cm. in length, 85 cm. in width, and 21 cm. in thickness. The writing extends on the back 1 m. 89 cm., and on the front, 1 m. 20 cm. On the front side is a life-size sculptured figure of the king in the usual royal attire. Owing to the fringe of the garment and the partial decomposition of the stone, the writing is sometimes difficult to decipher.

2) The Black Obelisk. Compound of basalt. It narrates the events according to the years of his reign, and exhibits in five beautiful bas reliefs, which extend completely around the four sides, tributary peoples bringing various animals and objects, cloths and ivory to their acknowledged conqueror.

3) The Bull Inscriptions. Both these and the obelisk were found in the palace of Salmaneser at Chalah. The texts are to be found in Layard's *Inscriptions*.

4) Bronze Gates—a wonderful work of art—bear representations of battles, tortures, etc., etc., and an inscription. They were discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat. Another set of doors crumbled to pieces in being removed.

5) The Throne Inscription. Given in Appendix, which see.

6) A small inscription containing an account of Salmaneser's expedition against Syria during his eighteenth year. Contained I R. 5, No. 6, Delitzsch's ALS., p. 98.

7) Several bricks. One which I copied in the British Museum, a duplicate of which Rev. Mr. Parry, D. D., was kind enough to send me a copy, is in his possession. They read as follows:

"Salmaneser, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria, the son of Asurnazirpal, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the son of Tiglath-adar, the king of multitudes, king of Assyria, who rebuilt? (ri-ṣip-tu) the tower of the city of Chalah." Cf. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 78.

Digitized by Google

TRANSLITERATION.

(III R., pp. 7, 8.)*

COL. I.

1. ^{ilu}A-šur bêlu rabu-ú šar gim-rat[1] ilâ-ni rabûtê ^{ilu}A-nu šar ^{ilu}Igigê u ^{ilu}A-nun-na-ki bêl mâtâtê ^{ilu}Bêl a-bu ilâni mu-šim šîmâti
2. mu-ṣir ê-ṣu-rat [šamê-ê irṣi]tim ^{ilu}Ê-a ir-šú šar apsê [rabu][2a]-ú nik-la[2]-ti ^{ilu}Na[3]-nir šamê-ê irṣitim ^{ilu}ê-têl-lu ^{ilu}Ša-maš
3. dân kibrâtê muš-tê-šir[4] tê-ni[5]-šê-ê-tê ^{ilu}Ištar bê-lit kabli u taḫâzi ša mê-lul-ta-ša tukuntu ilâni rabûtê râ'im-ut šarrû-ti-ia
4. bêlû-ti kiš-šú-ti u ša[6]-pi-ru-ti ú[7]-šar-bu šú-mê kab-tu zik-ri ṣi[8]-i-ra muḫ?†-ḫur bêl-ê ma-'a-diš iš-ku-nu i-ni-ni.
5. Šulmânu-ašarêdu šar kiš-šat nišê rubû-ú šangû Ašûr šarru dan-nu šar ^{mâtu}Aššûr šar kul-lat kib-rat arba'-i ^{ilu}Šam-šú kiš-šat nišê
6. mur-tê-du-ú ka-liš mâtâtê šarru ba-'a-it [ilâ]ni ni-šit ê-[ni] $^{8a[ilu]}$Bêl šakkânâk Ašûr pit-ku-du rubû-ú na-a-du a-mê-ru
7. [du]-ur-gê ŭ šap-ša-kê mu-kab-bi-is ri-šê-ti-ê ša šadê-ê ka-liš ḫur-ša-a-ni ma-ḫir bilti [9] ŭ i-gi-si-ê
8. [kâli-š]i-na kibrâtê mu-pat-tu-ú ṭu-da-ti ša ê-lis ŭ šap-liš ša a-na ti-ib taḫâzi-šu dan-ni kibrâtê ul-ta-nap-ša-ka
9. i-ḫi-lu mâtâtê ina mê-dil id-du-ti-šu iš-da-ši-na; zikaru dan-nu ša ina tukul-ti Ašûr ^{ilu}Ša-maš ilâni ri-ṣê-šú ittala-ku-ma
10. ina mal-kê ša kib-rat arba'-i ša-nin-šu lâ išu-ú šar[10] mâtâtê šar-ḫu ša ar-ḫê pa-aš-ku-tê ittala-ku iš-tam-da-ḫu šadê-ê u tâmâtê
11. apal $^{m.}$Ašûr-nâṣir-pal šakan ^{ilu}Bêl šangû Ašûr ša šangû-su êlî ilâni i-ṭê-bu-ma mâtâtê nap-ḫar-ši-na a-na šêpê-šú u-šak-ni-šu nab-ni-tu êllu-tu ša $^{m.}$Tukultî-Adar
12. šá kul-lat za-i-rê-šú[11] i-ni-ru-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš. Ê-nu-ma Ašûr bêlu rabû-ú ina ku-un [libbi[12]-]šú ina[13] înâti-šu[14] êllâti ud-da-ni-ma
13. rê-'u-ut ^{mâtu}Aššûr ib-ba-an-ni kakku dan-nu [mu‡]-šam-kit lâ ma-gi-ri u-šat-mê-ḫa-ni-ma a-ga-a [ṣi-ra] u-pir-ra[15] bêlu-ti nap-ḫar mâtâtê
14. tu . . . . [na-ki]-ru-ut Ašûr a-na pê-li u šuk-nu-šê ag-giš u-ma-'i-ra-an-ni ina ûmê?-šú-ma ina šur-rat šarru[17]-ti-ia ina maḫ-ri-ê palî-ia
15. ina kussê šarru-ti rabi-iš u-šê-bu narkâbâte ummânâtê-'a[16] ad-ki ina ni-ri-bi ša ^{mâtu}Si-mê-si êru-ub[18] a[19-20]-na ^{âlu}A-ri-di âl dan-nu-ti-šu
16. ša $^{m.}$Ni-in[21]-ni ak[189]-tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak[189]-ta-šad dîkta-šu ma'attu a-duk šal-la-su[22] aš-lu-la a-si-tu ša kakkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-ṣip
17. [23]batûlê-šu-nu $^{šal[24]}$ ba-tu-la-tê-šu-nu a-na ma-ak-lu-tê ašrup. Ki-i ina ^{âlu}A-ri-di-ma us[25]-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu ša ^{mâtu}Ḫar-ga-a-a[26-27] ^{mâtu}Ḫar-ma-sa-a-a

---

* The numbers above the signs refer to "Corrections."
† The remaining traces of the sign (in R. "u" "nap") seems to be in favor of muḫ.
‡ R.

Digitized by Google

TRANSLATION.

COL. I.

1. Ašur, the great lord, the king of all* the great gods, Anu, king of the
Igigi and Anunnaki, the lord of lands, Bêl, the father of the gods the deter-
2. miner of destinies, [2]who fixes the bounds (bands) of (heaven and) earth, Ea,
the decider, the king of the abyss, great in wise devices, Nanir, of heaven and
3. earth, the majestic, Šamaš, [3]the judge of the (four) quarters of the globe,
the ruler of mankind, Ištar, the queen of war and battle, whose command is
4. war; the great gods, the favorers of my sovereignty, [4]lordship, might and rule
have they increased, my renowned name, my majestic title, *is*† come before
5. rulers, abundantly have they (the gods) established my i-ni-ni (or *me*?). [5]Sal-
maneser, the king of the multitude of men, the prince, the priest of Ašur, the
mighty king, the king of the land of Assyria, the king of the whole of the
6. four regions, the sun of all mankind, [6]the ruler (who rules fully) of all lands,
the king chosen of the gods, the beloved of Bêl, the governor of Ašur, the cir-
7. cumspect, the great, the majestic, who looks upon [7]paths and declivities, who
treads the peaks of mountains (and) forests everywhere, who receives the
8. tribute and presents of [8]all regions, who opens up the roads both above and
below, who, by the approach of his mighty battle, distresses the regions and
9. [9]shakes‡ countries to their foundations in the power of his might,—the manly,
the mighty, who by the aid of Ašur (and) Šamaš, the gods his helpers, marches,
10. and [10]among the princes of the four regions has no rival; king of countries,
the powerful (one) who marches over declivitous routes, traverses mountains
11. and seas, [11]the son of Ašurnazirpal, the governor§ of Bêl, the priest (servant)
of Ašur, whose priestship being well-pleasing unto the gods,‖ they subjected
12. all lands to his feet, the brilliant descendant of Tiglath-adar [12]who subjugated
all his enemies and hurled them down as a deluge.——At the time when Ašur,
the great lord, in the fidelity (or fixedness) of his heart, with his clear eyes
13. recognized (knew) me and to the [13]sovereignty of the land of Assyria called
me, a powerful weapon, the overthrower of the insubordinate, he bestowed¶
upon me, and with a majestic crown adorned (decked?) my sovereignty, all
14. lands [14]. . . . . the enemies of Ašur to subjugate and subdue sternly
did he command me.
15. In those days, at the beginning of my rule, in my first year of rule, [15](as)
upon the throne of sovereignty ceremoniously I seated myself, the chariots,
my forces, I assembled; into the pass of the land of Simesi I entered. To
16. the city of Aridi, the stronghold [16]of Ninni, I approached. The city I be-
sieged, I took. Many of his warriors I slew. His spoil I carried off. A
column (row) of heads at the entrance of the city-gate, I fixed together.
17. [17]Their young men, their young women, I burned up. While I was quartered

---

* = totality.

† See notes.

‡ Professor Sayce leaves out the word "ihîlu" and supplies "hope" instead (which robs the passage both of its poetry and meaning), or perhaps had in mind יחל, תוֹחֶלֶת.

§ The sign ša might mean šiknu; but in view of Sargon-Inscr. 3, šaknu is certainly correct here.

‖ Lit., whose priestship was well-pleasing unto the gods *and* they, etc.

¶ Lit., caused me to hold.

Digitized by Google

18. mâtu Si-mê-sa-a-a mâtu Si-mê-ra-a-a mâtu Si-riš-a-a mâtu Ul-ma-ni-a-a sîsê ṣimd-at nîri alpê ṣêni karânê amḫur ištu[189] ālu A-ri-di

19. at-tu-muš arḫi pa-aš-ku-tê šadê mar-ṣu-ti ša kîma šê-lu-ut paṭri parzilli a-na šamê-ê zi-kip-ta šak-nu ina aggulat êrê siparri aḳ-ḳur narkabâtê[28*]

20. ummânâtê ú-šê-tiḳ a-na ālu Ḫu-pu-uš-ki-a aḳ-tê-rib ālu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a a-di C âlâni[29] ša li-mê-tu-šú ina išâti aš-ru-up m. Ka-ki-a

21. šar mâtu Na-i-ri ŭ si-tê-it ummânâtê-šu ištu pa-an na-mur-rat kakkê-'a ip-laḫ-ma šadê-ê dan-nu-ti iṣ-ba-tu arki-šu-nu ana šadê-ê ê-li

22. taḫâzu dan-nu ina ki-rib šadê-ê aš-ku-un abikta-šu-nu am-ḫa-aṣ narkabâtê ummânâtê[30] sîsê ṣimd-at nîri ištu[189a] ki-rib šadê-ê ú-tê-ra pul-ḫê mê-lam-mê

23. ša Aššûr bêli-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti ur[31]-du-ni šêpê-ia iṣ-ba-tu biltu u ma-da-tu êlî-šu-nu ú-kin ištu[189a] ālu Ḫu-pu-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš

24. a-na ālu Su-gu-ni-a âl dan-nu-ti-šu ša m. A-ra[189]-mê mâtu U-ra[189]-ar-ṭa-a[32] aḳ-tê-rib âla a-si-bi aḳ[189]-ta-šad dîkta-šu-nu ma-'a-tu a-dûk

25. šal[33]-la-su aš-lu-la a-si-tu ša ḳakkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-ṣip XIV âlâ-ni šá[189] li-mê-tu-šu ina išâti aš-ru-up ištu ālu Su-gu-ni-a

26. at-tu-muš a-na tâm-di ša mâtu Na-i-ri at-ta-rad kakkê-ia ina tâm-di ú-lil immêru nikê ana ilâni-ia aḳ-ki ina û-mê-šú-ma ṣa-lam bu-na-ni-ia

27. êpu-uš ta-nit-ti Aššûr bêli rubi-ê bêli-ia u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina êlî tâm-di u-šê-ziz ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia

28. ša tâm[34]-di ma-da[35]-tu ša m. A-su[36]-ú mâtu Gu-za-na-a[36a] mat(?) sîsê alpê ṣêni karânê II ud[37]-ra-a-tê šá šinâ gu-un-gu-li-pi am-ḫur

29. a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub-la. Ina araḫ Airi ûm XIII ištu[189] ālu Ninua at-tu-muš nâru Idiḳlat ê-tê-bir šadû Ḫa-sa-mu šadû Di-iḫ-nu-nu [at]-ta-bal-kat

30. ana ālu La-'a-la-'a-tê ša m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni aḳ-tê-rib pu-ul-ḫê mê-lam-mê ša Aššûr bêli-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu[39]-nu[40] a-[na] . . . . .

31. ê-lu-ú âla ab-bu-ul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up iš-tu ālu La-'a-la-'a-ti at-tu-muš a[41]-[na] . . . . . .

32. ša m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni aḳ-tê-rib m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni a-na gi-biš umm[42][â-nâtê-šu it-ta-kil]† -ma ḳabla u taḫâza [ana ê-piš] . . a-ni. I-na tukul-ti Aššûr

33. u ilâni rabûtê bêlê-ia it[43]-ti-šu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-[šú] [44]aš-kun i-na âli-šu ê-sir[45]-šu ištu ālu Ki-[ra]?-ḳa at-tu-muš

34. a-na ālu Bur-mar-'a-na ša A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni [a-lik‡ âla] a[46]-si-bi aḳ-ta-šad V šú-ši mun-daḫ-ṣê-šu-nu ina ḳakkê u-šam-[ḳit[47]] a-si-tu ša ḳakkadê

35. [i-na[48] pu-ut âli-šu ar-ṣip] . [16 cm. broken.] . ma-da-tu ša m. Ha-pi-ni ālu Til-ab-na-a ša m. Ga-'a-u-ni ālu Sa-ru ? . . . a ? [49] m. Gi-ri-Rimmân

36. . . . . kaspa ḫurâṣa alpê ṣêni karânê am-ḫur ištu ālu Bur-mar-'a-na at-tu-muš ina êlippê mašak taḫ[50]-ši-ê nâru Purâtu

37. ê-tê-bir ma-da-tu šá[50a] m. Ka-ta-zi-li[50b] mâtu Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a kaspa ḫurâṣa alpê ṣêni karânê am-ḫur a-na mâtu[51] [Pa-ḳar-ru]-uḫ-bu-ni

---

* No pl. sign on Monolith, hence prop. narkabta.

† Restored by comparison with Obv. II., 15, III R., 5, No. 6, 42 and 43.

‡ or [aḳ-ṭê-rib].

Digitized by Google

18. in the city of Aridi, the tribute of the Hargæans, the Harmasæans, [18]the
Simesæns, the Simeræans, the Sirišians, the Ulmanians, horses trained* to
19. the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine I received. From the city of Aridi [19]I departed.
Steep roads and difficult mountains, which like the point of an iron dagger
raised their peaks to the skies, with hatchets of bronze (and) copper I broke
20. down. Chariots (and) [20]forces I brought through. To the city of Hupuskia I
advanced. The city of Hupuskia together with one hundred bordering towns
21. I burned with fire. Kakia, [21]the king of the land of Na'iri, and the remainder
of his troops before the brilliancy of my weapons became afraid and betook
themselves† to the mighty mountains. After them to the mountains I
22. ascended. [22]A great battle in the midst of the mountain I fought. Their
overthrow I accomplished. Chariots, forces, horses trained to the yoke out of
23 the mountain I brought back. The fear of the splendor [23]of Ašur, my lord,
overwhelmed them; they descended and laid hold of my feet.‡ Taxes and
24. tribute I laid upon them. From the city of Hupuskia I departed. [24]To the
city of Sugunia, the stronghold of Aramu of the land of Urarṭu, I advanced;
25. the city I besieged, I took. Many of their warriors I slew. [25]His spoil I
carried off. A column of heads at the entrance of his city I fixed together.
Fourteen of its neighboring towns I burnt with fire. From the city of Sugu-
26. nia I departed. [26]To the sea of the land of Na'iri I descended. My weapons
27. in the sea I washed. Offerings to my gods I sacrificed. In those days [27]I
made a life-size image of myself; the glory of Ašur, the great lord, my lord,
and the might of my power, I wrote upon it and placed it above the sea. On
28. my return [28]from the sea, tribute from Asû of the land of Gozan, horses,
29. oxen, sheep, wine, two dromedaries, I received; [29]to my city Aššur, I brought
(them). In the month of Iyyar, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh, I
crossed the Tigris, the mountain of Hasamu, the mountain Dihnunu, I
30. passed over. To the city of [30]Lâ'lâ'tû which belonged to Ahuni, the son of
Adini, I approached. The fear of the splendor of Ašur my lord overwhelmed
31. them. To (the mountains etc.?) they went. [31]The city I destroyed (and)
devastated. With fire I burnt it. From the city of Lâ'lâ'tû I departed. To
32. (the city of Kiraka, the city) of [32]Ahuni, the son of Adini, I advanced. Ahuni,
. . . . . ?. . . .
the son of Adini, trusted to the multitude of his forces, and to offer engage-
33. ment and battle (he advanced against me). With the help of Ašur [33]and the
great gods, my lords, I fought with him. His overthrow I accomplished. In
34. his city I shut him in. From the city Kiraka? I departed. [34]To the city of
Burmar'ana, belonging to Ahuni, the son of Adini, (I went. The city) I be-
sieged, I took. Three hundred of their fighting men I brought down with my
35. weapons. A column of heads [35](at the entrance of his city I fixed together).
. . . Tribute of Hapini of the city of Tilabnâ, of Gâ'uni of the city of
36. Sa-ru? . . . . a? Giri-Ramman . . . . . [36]silver, gold,
oxen, sheep, wine I received. From the city of Burmar'ana I departed. In
37. ships of lamb-skins [37]I crossed the Euphrates. Tribute from Katazilu of the
land of Kumuḫu, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine I received. To the land of

* Span of the yoke.
† Lit., took the mighty mountains.
‡ = did me obeisance.

Digitized by Google

38. âlâni ša m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni ša šêpâ am-ma-tê ša nâru Purâtu ak-tê-rib a-bi-ik-ti mâti aš-kun âlâni-šu na-mu-ta

39. ú-ša-lik abikta ku-ra-dê-šu ṣêru rap-šú ú-mal-li I M. III C ṣâbê ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakki u-šam-kit[52] (nothing wanting)

40. ištu[189] âlu Pa-kar-ru-uḫ-bu-ni at-tu-muš a-na âlâ-ni ša m. Mu-tal-li âlu Gam-gu-ma-a-a ak-tê-rib ma-da-tu

41. ša m. Mu-tal-li âlu Gam-gu-ma-a-a kaspa ḫurâṣa alpê ṣêni karânê mârat-su[53] iš-tu nu-du-ni[54] ša ma-'a-di [am]-ḫur ištu âlu Gam-gu-mê

42. at-tu-muš ana âlu Lu-ti-bu âl dan-nu-ti-šu ša m. Ha-a-ni mâtu Sa-am-'a-la-a-a ak-tê-rib m. Ha-a-nu mâtu Sa-am[54a] 'a-[la-a]-a m. Sa-pa-lu-uḫ-mê

43. mâtu Pa-ti-na-a-a m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni m. Sa-an-ga-ra mâtu Gar-ga-miš-a-a a-na ri-ṣu-ut[55] [56]a-ḫa-mêš [it-]tak-lu-ma ik-ṣu-ru

44. taḫâza a-na ê-piš êtêku[56a]-ma[56b] a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni ina idâti ṣi-ra-a[57]-ti ša âlu Urugallu a-lik pâni-ia ina kakkê êz-zu[58]-tê.

45. ša Ašûr bêlu iš-ru-ka it-tê-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu aš-kun mun-daḫ-ḫi-ṣi-šu-[nu[59]]

46. ina kakkê u-šam-kit kîma âlu Rammân êlî-šu-nu ri-ḫi-il-ta u-ša-az-nin[60] ina ḫi-ri-ṣê at-bu-uk-šu-nu šal-mat

47. ḳu-ra-di-šu-nu ṣêru rap-šú ú-mal-li dâmê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si šada-a aṣ-ru-up narkabâtê [60a] [ma]-'a-tu sîsê

48. ṣimd-at nîri-šu ê-kim-šu a-si-tu ša kakkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-ṣip âlâni-šu ab-bul ak-kur ina isâti [aš-ru[61]]-up

49. ina û-mê-šú-ma ad-lu-ul nar-bu-ut ilâni rabûtê ša Ašûr u âlu Ša-maš kur-di-šu-nu ú-ša-pa ana ṣa-a-tê ṣa-lam šarru-ti-ia

50. šur-ba-a êpu-uš il-ka-kat kur-di-ia êp-šit ur-nin[62]-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina rêš ê-ni nâru Sa-lu-a-ra

51. ša šêpu šadê-ê mâtu Ḫa-ma-ni ú-šê-ziz iš-tu mâtu Ḫa-ma-ni at-tu-muš nâru A-ra-an-tu ê-tê-bir a-na âlu A-li-ṣir(muš)

52. âl dan-nu-ti-šú ša m. Sa-pa-lu-ul-mê mâtu Pa-ti-na-a-a ak-tê-rib m. Sa-pa-lu-ul-mê âlu Pa-ti-na-a-a a-na šu-zu-ub[63]

53. napšâtê-šu m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni m. Sa-ga-ra âlu Gar-ga-miš-a-a m. Ha-a-a-nu mâtu Sa-ma-'a-la-a-a m. Ka-tê-šu[65] ? . . . . .[66]

54. mâtû Ku-ú-a-a m. Pi-ḫi-ri(?)* mâtû Ḫi-lu-ka-a-a m. Bur-a-na-tê mâtu Ja-as-bu-ka-a-a m. A-da(?) . . . . [67] . (the last three signs very doubtful)

COL. II.

1. . . . . ka-a . . . . . .
2. . . . . u-pár-ri-ir âla a-si-bi ak-ta-[šad]
3. . narkabâtê[68]-šu ma'adu sîsê ṣimd[69]-at nîri-šu . . [aš]-lu-la [dîkta-šu ma'adu]
4. [ina] kakkê u-šam-kit ina ki-rib tam-ḫa-ri šú-a-ti m. Bur-a-ná-tê [mâtu Ja-as-bu-ka-a-a]

* Not legible.

Digitized by Google

38. (Pakaru)ḫbuni, [38]the cities of Aḫuni, the son of Adini, on the farther side of
the Euphrates, I approached. The overthrow of the land I accomplished.
39. The cities [39]I turned to destruction, (with) the overthrow of his soldiers (brave
ones) I filled the wide district. One thousand and three hundred of his war-
40. riors with the weapons I brought low. [40]From the city of Pakaruhbuni I
41. departed, to the cities of Mutalli the Gamgumian I advanced. Tribute [41]from
Mutallu the Gamgumian, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, his daughter with her
42. large dowry, I received. From the city of Gamgumê [42]I departed. To the
city of Lutibu, the stronghold of Hânu, the Samalæan I advanced. Hânu
43. the Samâ'læan, Sapalulme, [43]the Patinær, Aḫuni, the son of Adini, Sangara
the Carchemisian, trusted to their reciprocal aid, and collected together.
44. [44]Battle to make they advanced, and came up before me (lit., to my breast).
In the exalted power of Nergal, who goes before me, with the strong weapons
45. which [45]Ašur, the lord, presented, I fought with them; their overthrow I
46. accomplished; their fighting men [46]with the weapons I brought low. Like
the god Ramman, over them I caused to pour an inundation. Into
47. the ditches (of the city) I cast them. [47]The corpses of their warriors
I caused to fill the wide field. With their blood like wool I colored the
48. mountain. Many of their chariots, horses [48]trained to the yoke I took from
him. A column of heads at the entrance of his city I fixed together. His
49. cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burnt with fire. [49]In those days I was
obedient to the will (lit. greatness) of the great gods in causing the braveryt
of Ašur and Šamas to shine for future (days). A sovereign image of great
50. size I made. The course of my bravery, the deeds of my power, I wrote upon
51. it. At the head source of the river Saluara, [51]which is at the foot of the
mountain of the land of Hamani, I erected (it). From the land of Hamani I
departed. The river Orontes I crossed. To the city of Alisir (muš), the
stronghold of Sapalulmu, the Patinian, I advanced. Sapalulmu, the Patinian
53. to save [58]his life,‡ Ahuni the son of Adini, Sagara the Carchemisian, Hânu the
Samâ'læan Katâšu? the Kûean Piḫiri, the Cilician Burânatâ, the Jasbukean
Ada? . . . . . .

COL. II.

1. . . . . ka . . . . . .
2. . . . . I broke, the city I besieged, I took
3. his chariots many, horses trained to the yoke . . . . . I carried off.
4. (His many warriors) [4]with the weapons I brought low. In the same battle

* *Power.*
† Lit. *lives.*
‡ *Sagara.* Probably the same as Saugara, I. 43; II. 19, 27, 82.

Digitized by Google

5. ka-a-ti lu ik-šú-du $^{\text{âlu}}$ ma-ḫa-zê rabûtê ša $^{\text{âlu}}$ Pa-ti-na-a-a ?[70] . . .
6. ê-li-ni-tê ša $^{\text{mâtu}}$ A-ḫar-ri u ? tâm-di DUP* $^{\text{ilu}}$ Šam-ši kîma ti-lu a-bu-bê lu aš-ḫu[71]-[up-šu-nu-ti]
7. ma-da-tu ša šarrâ-ni ša a-ḫat tâm-di am-ḫur ina a-ḫat tâm-di ra-pa-aš-tê mê[72]-šê-riš šal-ṭê-iš
8. lu at-ta[189]-lak ṣa-lam bêlu-ti-ia mu-kin šumi-ia a-na da-ra-a-ti êpu-uš ina êlî tâm-di u[73]-[šê-ziz]
9. a-na šadê-ê $^{\text{mâtu}}$ Ḫa-ma-ni ê-li $^{\text{iṣu}}$ ga-šu-rê $^{\text{iṣu}}$ ê-ri-ni $^{\text{iṣu}}$ bu-ra-šê[74] a[75]-kis a-na šadê-ê
10. $^{\text{mâtu}}$ A-ta-lu-ur a-šar ṣalmu ša Ašûr-ir-bi zak-pu a-lik ṣalma itti[76] ṣalmi-šu u-šê-ziz ištu tâm-di at-tar[7-7][rad]
11. $^{\text{âlu}}$ Ta-ia-a[78] $^{\text{âlu}}$ Ḫa-za-zu $^{\text{âlu}}$ Nu-li-a $^{\text{âlu}}$ Bu-ta-a-mu ša $^{\text{m.}}$ Pa-ti-na-a-a akšu-ud MM.DCCC. dîkta-šu-nu
12. a-dûk XIV M.VI C šal-[79]-la-su-nu aš-lu-la ma-da-tu ša $^{\text{m.}}$ A-ra-mê apal Gu-si kaspa ḫurâṣa alpê
13. ṣêni karânê $^{\text{iṣu}}$ iršu ḫurâṣu ka-sap amḫur. Ina li-mê šatti šumi-ia ina[81] araḫ Airi ûm XIII ištu $^{\text{âlu}}$ [Ni-nu-a]
14. at-tu-muš $^{\text{nâru}}$ Idiḳlat ê-tê-bir $^{\text{šadû}}$ Ḫa-sa-mu $^{\text{šadû}}$ Di-iḫ-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kat a-na $^{\text{âlu}}$ Til-bur[si-ip] âl dan-nu-[ti-šu† ša] $^{\text{m.}}$ A-ḫu-[ni]
15. apal A-di-ni ak-tê-rib $^{\text{m.}}$ A-ḫ[u-ni ap]al A-di-ni a-na gi-biš ummânâtê-šu it-ta-kil-ma a-na irti-ia it-[ba a-bi]-ik-ta-šú aš-kun ina [âli-šu]
16. ê-sir-šu ištu $^{\text{âlu}}$ Til-bur-si-ip at-tu-muš ina êlippê ša mašak taḫ-ši-ê $^{\text{nâru}}$ Purâtu ina me-li[189]-ša ê-tê-bir $^{\text{âlu}}$ . . . a ?-ga-a $^{\text{âlu}}$ Ta-gi . . .
17. $^{\text{âlu}}$ Su-ú-ru-nu $^{\text{âlu}}$ Pa-ri-pa $^{\text{âlu}}$ Til[82]-ḫa-šê-ri-ê $^{\text{âlu}}$ Da-bi-gu VI âlâni-šu dan-nu-ti ša $^{\text{m.}}$ A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni [lu] ak-ta-šad dîkta-šu
18. ma'adu a-dûk šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la II C âlâni ša li-mê-tu-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up ana $^{\text{âlu}}$ Da-bi-gi-i
19. ana $^{\text{âlu}}$ Sa-za-bi-ê âl dan-nu-ti-šu šá[189] $^{\text{m.}}$ Sa-an-ga-ra[189] $^{\text{âlu}}$ Gar-ga-miš-a-a aḳ-tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak[ta-šad] dîkta-šu-nu ma'adu a-dûk
20. šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la âlâ-ni ša li-mê-tu-šu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up šarrâ-ni šá $^{\text{mâtu}}$ . . . . ana si-ḫir-ti-šu-nu
21. ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia dan-nu-ti u taḫâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḫ-ú-ma šêpê-ia iṣ-ba-tu[83] $^{\text{m.}}$ . . . . un šá[84] $^{\text{mâtu}}$ Pa-ti-na-a-a
22. III Gun ḫurâṣi I C Gun kaspi III C Gun siparri III C Gun parzilli I M diḳârê siparri I M. $^{\text{ku}}$ lu-búl-[ti bir-mê $^{\text{ku}}$[$^{\text{ss}}$]]kitû mârat-su
23. it-ti nu-du-ni-ša ma'adi XX Gun $^{\text{šig}}$ argamâni D alpê V M. ṣêni am-ḫur-šú I Gun kaspi II Gun argamâni ?C $^{\text{iṣu}}$ gašurê $^{\text{iṣu}}$ ê-šu[86]‡-ni
24. ma-da-tu ina êlî-šu aš-kun šatti-šam-ma ina âli-ia Aššûr am-da-ḫar $^{\text{m.}}$ Ha-ia-a-na apal Gab-ba-ri ša šêpu $^{\text{šadû}}$ Ḫa-ma-ni X Gun kaspi XC (or XXX)? Gun

---

* Perhaps êrib. † II. 19. ‡Šu instead of ri is probably a mistake of the scribe.

Digitized by Google

5. Burânatê [the Jasbukean] my hand took (captive). [5]The great cities of the
6. Patinians . . . upper (cities) of Phœnicia and ? the sea of the setting ?
sun, like the ruins of a deluge, I destroyed them (lit., I cast them down). The
7. tribute of the kings on the coast I received. On the coast of the broad sea
8. (Mediterranean) upright and triumphant [8]I marched. A royal* image, the
preserver of my name forever, I made. Above the sea I (erected it). To the
9. mountains of Hamani I went up. Beams of cedar wood, cypress wood, I cut
10. down. To the mountains [10]of the land of Atalur, where an image of Ašur-irbi
was erected, I went. An image with his image I erected. From the sea I
11. descended. [11]The city of Tajâ, the city of Hazazu, the city of Nulia, the city
of Butamu of the Patinians, I took. Two thousand, eight hundred of their
12. warriors [12]I killed. Fourteen thousand, six hundred of their prisoners I
13. carried off. Tribute from Aramu, the son of Gusi, silver, gold, oxen, [13]sheep,
wine, a bed of gold and silver I received. During the archonship of the year
14. of my name, in the month of Iyyar, on the 13th day, [14]I departed from Nine-
veh ; I crossed the Tigris (and) passed through the land of Diḫnunu. To the
15. city of Tilbarsip, the stronghold of Ahuni, [15]the son of Adini, I advanced.
Ahuni, the son of Adini, trusted to the number of his forces and advanced
16. against me. I accomplished his overthrow. In (his city) [16]I shut him. From
Tilbarsip I departed. In ships of lamb-skins I crossed the Euphrates during
17. high water. The city of . . agâ ?, the city of Ta-gi . . . [17]the city of
Sûrumu, the city of Paripa, the city of Til-bašêrê, the city of Dabigu, six
18. strongholds of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I took. Many [18]of his warriors I
killed ; their booty I carried off. Two hundred neighboring towns I destroyed,
19. devastated (and) burnt with fire. To the city of Dabigu, [19]to the city of
Sa-za-bû, the stronghold of Sangara, the Carchemisian, I advanced. The city
20. I besieged (and) took. Their many warriors I killed. [20]Their booty I carried
off. The neighboring cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.
21. The kings of the land of . . . . . all about,‡ before the brilliancy of my
powerful weapons and my raging battle became terrified, and embraced‡ my
22. feet. . . . . un from the land of Patina, [22]three talents of gold,§ three
talents of silver, three talents of copper, three hundred talents of iron, one
thousand vessels of copper, one thousand (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen,
23. his daughter [23]with her large dowry, twenty talents of purple cloth, five
hundred oxen, five hundred sheep I received from him. One talent of silver,
24. two talents of purple cloth, x hundred beams of cedar, [24]as tribute I laid upon
him. Every year in my city Asur I received (it). Hajânu, the son of Gabaru,
at the foot of mount Hamanu, x talents of silver, (90 ? 3 ?) talents of gold,

---

* Lit., "image of my rule." † Lit. "according to their circumference." ‡ *took.*

§ According to present value of gold, a talent would be equal to about $32,400.00.

Digitized by Google

25. siparri XXX[87] Gun parzilli III C. [ku] lu-bul-ti bir-mê kitû III C al-pê III M. ṣêni II C [iṣu] ga-šu-rê [iṣu] ê-ri-ni[88] II X* Bê[pl.iṣu] ê-ri-ni

26. mârat-su it-ti nu-du-ni-ša am-ḫur-šú X ma-na kaspi I C[89] [iṣu] gašurê [iṣu] ê-ri-ni C[90] X*—Bê-[pl.iṣu] ê-ri-ni ma-da-tu ina êlî-šú[91] aš-kun šatti-šam-ma

27. am-da-ḫar [m.] A-ra-mu apal A-gu-si X ma-na ḫurâṣi VI Gun kaspi D alpê v M. ṣêni am-ḫur-šú [m.] Sa-an-ga-ra [âlu] Gar-ga-miš III[92] Gun

28. ḫurâṣi LXX Gun kaspi XXX Gun siparri C Gun parzilli XX Gun [šiq] argamânu D[93] [iṣu] Kakkê mârat-su it-ti nu-du-ni ŭ C mârâtê rabûtê-šu

29. D alpê[94] v M. ṣêni am-ḫur-šú LX ma-na ḫurâṣi I Gun kaspi II Gun [šig] argamâni ina êlî-šu aš-kun šatti-šam-ma am-da-ḫar-šú [m.] Ka-ta-zi-lu

30. [mâtu] Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a XX ma-na kaspi III. C [iṣu] gašurê ê-ri-ni šatti-šam-ma am-da-ḫar. Ina li-mê [m.] Ašûr-bêl-ka-in ina[95] araḫ Dû[96]zi? ûm XIII ištu [âlu] Ninua at-tu-muš

31. [nâru] Idiḳlat ê-tê-bir [šadû] Ḫa-sa-mu [šadû] Di-iḫ-nu-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kat ana [âlu] Til-bar-si-ip âl dan-nu-ti-šu ša [m.] A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni ak-ta-šad [m.] A-ḫu-ni

32. apal A-di-ni ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia iz-zu-tê u taḫâzi-ia šit-mu-ri a-na šu-zu-ub napšâte-šu [ina mê-li]-ša [nâru] Purâtu ê-bir

33. a-na mâtâtê ša-ni-a-ti ib-bal-kit ina ḳi-bit Ašûr bêli rabî bê[97]li-ia [âlu] Til-bar-si-ip [âlu] A-li-[189] gu . . [10] cm. . . ša-gu-ḳa a-na [âlu] šarrûti-ia

34. aṣ-bat amêlê [amêlu] Aš-šú-ra-a-a ina lib-bi u-šê-šib êkallâtê a-na šú-bat šarrûti ia ina ki-rib-šu ad-di [âlu] Til-bar-si-[ip] [âlu] Kar-Šulmân-ašarêd

35. šum [âlu] Nap-pi-gi [âlu] Li-ta-Ašûr šum [âlu] Al-li-gi [âlu] Aṣ-bat?la-ku-na šum [âlu] Ru-gu-li-[189]-ti [âlu] Ku(Dur)-bi-it(d) [99šumê]-šu-nu ab-bi ina ûmi-šu-ma

36. a-na [âlu] Ašûr-u-tir-aṣ-bat šá[189] amêlê [mâtu] Ḫat-ta-a-a [âlu] Pi[100]-it-ru i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni šá[189] êlî [nâru] Sa-gu-[ra] šá šêpa-am-ma ša [nâru] Purâti

37. ŭ [âlu] Mu-ut-ki-i-nu šá[189] šêpa? an-na-tê šá [nâru] Purâtu šá [m.] Tukulti-pal-êšarra âbû rubu-ú âlik pâni-ia u-ša-[aṣ[101]-bi?-tu] ina tar[102]-ṣi[103] [m.] Ašûr-kirbi[103]?

38. šar [mâtu] Aššûr šar [mâtu] A-ra-mu ina da-na-ni ê-ki-mu-ni âlâ-ni šú-nu-ti a-na aš-ri-šu-nu ú-tê-ra mârê [amêlu] Aš-šu-ra-a-a ina lib-bi ú-šê-šib.

39. Ki-i ina [âlu] Kar-Šulman-ašarêd us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tú ša šarrâ-ni ša a-[ḫat] tâm-di ŭ šarrâ-ni ša a-ḫat [nâru] Purâti kaspi ḫurâṣa anâku[pl.] siparra

40. diḳârê siparri parzillu[pl.105] alpê ṣêni [ku.] lu-bul-ti bir-mê u [ku.] kitû[pl.] am-ḫur ištu [âlu] Kar-Šulmanu-ašarêd at-tu-muš [šadû] Su-mu[106] at-ta-bal-kat

41. a-na [mâtu] Bît-za-ma-ni at-ta-rad ištu[189] [mâtu[107]] Bît-za-ma-a-ni at-tu-muš [šadû] Na-am-da-nu [šadû] Mê-ir-?-[108]su a-ta-bal-kat ar-ḫê pa-aš-ḳu-tê šadê-ê

42. mar-šu-ti ša kîma šê-lu-ut paṭri a-na šamê-ê zi-ḳip-ta išku-nu ina ag-gul-lat êrê aḳ-ḳur[109] narkabâtê ummânâtê ú-šê-tiḳ a-na [mâtu] En-zi-tê šá[189] [mâtu] Iḫú-a

---

* See correction 90 for the representation of this sign, the syllabic value of which is not known. See also note.

[100] Nor. Lex. 154, correct.

Digitized by Google

25. [25]thirty talents of copper, thirty talents of iron, three hundred (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen, three hundred oxen, three thousand sheep, two hun-
26. dred beams of cedar, two X-Bê of cedar, [26]his daughter with her large dowry I received from him. Ten mana of silver, one hundred beams of cedar, one hundred? X-Be of cedar as tribute I laid upon him. Every year in my city
27. Ašur [27]I received it. Aramu, the son of Agusu, ten mana of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep, I received of him. Sangara
28. of the city of Carchemish, three talents of [28]gold, seventy talents of silver, thirty talents of copper, one hundred talents of iron, twenty talents of variegated cloth, five hundred weapons, his daughter with dowry, and one hundred
29. daughters of his nobles,[29]five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep I received from him. Sixty mana of gold, one talent of silver, two talents of variegated
30. cloth, I laid upon him. Every year I received (it) from him. Katazilu, [30]the Kumuḫian, twenty mana of silver, three hundred beams of cedar, every year I received (of him)——In the archonship of Asurbêlkain, in the month of Tam-
31. muz, on the 13th day, I departed from the city of Nineveh. [31]The river Tigris I crossed, the mountain of Hasamu, the mountain of Diḫnunu, I traversed. To the city of Tilbarsip, the stronghold of Aḫuni, the son of Adini, I came.
32. Ahuni, [32]the son of Adini, before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons and my raging battle, to save his life, during high water, crossed the river
33. Euphrates. [33]To other lands he crossed through. By command of Ašur the great lord, the city of Tilbarsip, the city of Aligu '. . . (city of) Sagukka
34. to my royal city I brought. [34]The men of* Assyria within (it), I settled. Palaces, for my royal residence in its midst I built. The city of Tilbarsip,
35. Kar-Salmaneser, the name of the city Nappigi, Lita-Ašur, [35]the name of the city of Aligu, Azbat(?)lâkuna, the name of the city Ruguliti, Ku(dur)bit(?) their
36. names I called.—In those days also, [36]to the city of Ašur-utir-aṣbat which the men of the land of Chatti call the city of Pêthor, which is above the river
37. Sâgûr, beyond the river Euphrates, [37]and the city of Mutkînu which is on this side of the Euphrates which Tiglathpileser, the father who was (went)
38. before me, had violently taken, (which) in the time of Asurkirbi(?) [38]the king of the land of Assyria(?) the king of Aram (Mesopotamia)† had by force taken away; these same cities I restored to their place. The sons of Assyria
39. (i. e. Assyrians) I settled within (them). [39]While I was quartered in the city of Kar-Salmaneser, the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, and the kings
40. along the shores of the Euphrates, silver, gold, lead, copper, [40]vessels of copper and iron, oxen, sheep, variegated cloth and linen I received. From the city of Kar-Salmaneser I departed, the mountain of Sumu I crossed over.
41. [41]To the land of Bit-Zamâni I descended. From the land of Bit-Zamâni I departed. The mountain of Namdanu, the mountain Mêirsu I crossed. De-
42. clivitous roads and [42]difficult mountains, which like the point of a dagger raised (made) their peaks to the skies, with hatchets of bronze I broke down. Chariots (and) forces I caused to go through (forward). To the land of

* Lit. "men, Assyrians."

† I. e., evidently an agreement had been made by which the king of Aram received it back again.

Digitized by Google

43. at-ta-rad ^{mâtu} En-zi-tê a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša ḳâtî ik-šu-du âlâ-ni-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up šal-la[110]-su-nu bu-ša-šu-nu ŠA-GA-šu-nu a-na lá mê-ni

44. aš-lu-la ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti Ašûr bêli rabê bêli-ia u lê-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ^{âlu} Sa-lu-ri-a šaplu[111]* [šadû?][112] Ki-ri-ê-ḳi ú-šê-ziz

45. Ištu ^{mâtu} Ên-zi-tê at-tu-muš ^{nâru} Ar-za-ni-a ê-tê-bir a-na ^{mâtu} Su-uḫ-mê a-na aḳ-tê-rib ^{âlu} Ú-aš-ta-al âl dan-nu-ti-šu ak-ta-šad [^{mâtu}]† Su-uḫ-me a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša

46. ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up $^{m.}$ Su-ú-a bêl âli-šu-nu ina ḳâ-ti aṣ-bat ištu ^{mâtu} Su-uḫ-mê at-tu-muš a[113]-na ^{mâtu} Da-ia-ê-ni a-ta-rad ^{âlu} Da-ia-e-ni

47. a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša ak-šud âlâ-ni-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up šal-la-šu-nu bušâ-šu-na ŠA-GA ma-'a-du al-ḳa-a ištu ^{mâtu} Da-ia-e-ni at-tu-muš

48. a-na ^{âlu} Ar-za(ṣa)-aš-ku âl šarrû-ti-šu ša $^{m.}$ Ar-ra-mu ^{âlu} Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a ištu pa-an na-mur-rat kakkê-ia‡ dannû-tê

49. u[114] taḫâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḫ-ma âla-šu ú-maš-šir[115] a-na šadê-ê ^{mâtu} Ad-du-ri ê-lî arka-šu a-na šadê-ê êlî taḫâzu dan-nu ina ki-rib šadê-ê aš-kun III M. IV C

50. mun-daḫ-ḫi-ṣi-šu ina kakkê u-šam-ḳit kîma ^{ilu} Rammân ina êlî-šu-nu ri-[ḫi-il][116]-tu ú-ša-az-nin[116]§ dâmê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si [šadâ lú] aṣ-ru-up‖[118] uš-ma-nu[119]-šu ê-ki-im-šú

51. narkabâtê-šu bit-ḫal[129]-lu-šú sîsê[189]-šu ^{imêru} pa-rê-šu a-ga-li ŠA-GA-šu šal-la-su bu-ša-šu ma-'a-du ištu ki-rib šadê-ê ú-tê-ra[189] $^{m.}$ Ar-ra[189]-mu a-na šú-zu-ub

52. napsâtê-šu a-na šadê-ê mar-ši ê-li ina ki-ṣir zikrûti-ia mât-su kîma ^{alpu} rîmi[121] a-di-iš âlâni-šu na-mu[122]-ta ú-ša-lik ^{âlu} Ar-za(ṣ)-aš-ku adî âlâ-ni

53. šá li[189]-mê-tu-šú ab-bul [aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up] a-si-ti-a-tê šá[124] ḳaḳḳadê[125] ina pu-ut abulli-šu ar-ṣip . . . . . ma?-(pl.)-tê ina lib-bi

54. . . . . ‖ [a]n-nu-tê ina ba-tu [bat-tê-ša] a-si-ta-a-tê ina zi-ḳi-pê ú-za-ḳip ištu ^{âlu} Ar-za-aš-[ḳu] at-tu-muš a-na šadê-ê

55. [^{mâtu} Ê-ri-ti-a a-lik ṣa-lam šarrû]¶-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti [ša] Ašûr bêlu rabû[126] bêli-ia u lê-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ša ina ^{mâtu} U-ra-[ar]ṭe ê-tap-pa-šú ina ki-rib-šu

56. [a][127]-tur ina ^{mâtu} Ê-ri]**-ti-a ú-ša-zi-iz ištu ^{mâtu} E-ri-ti-a at-tu-[muš†† . . . ^{âlu}] A-ra-ma-li-ê aḳ-ṭê-rib âlâni-šu ab-bul aḳ-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up

57. ištu ^{âlu} A-ra-ma-li[189]-ê at-tu-muš a-na ^{âlu} Za-an-zi-ú-[aḳ[128]-tê-rib . .]‡‡ ú . . . . §§a-na taḫâ[129]za ê-du-ur[130] šêpê-'a iṣ-bat

---

* "Ki-ta," not "ku-ta," as in R.
† "Mâtu" probably omitted, occasioned by the preceding "šad."
‡ "ti" instead of plur. sign is probably an oversight.
§ Schrader's supposition (KGF. 132) correct.
‖ Line 54 restored by reference to Asurnaz. I. 91.
¶ 18 cm. broken out.
** By Sayce and Schrader correctly restored.
†† Lacuna 14 cm.
‡‡ 16 cm. broken out.
§§ Cir. 12 cm. broken out, illegible, not as in R.

Digitized by Google

43. Enzite of the land of Isua [43]I descended. The land of Enzite in its whole extent my hands took. Their cities I destroyed (and) devastated (and) burnt
44. with fire. Their spoil, their possessions and goods without number [44]I carried off. My royal image, of great size, I made. The excellence of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power I wrote upon it. (In) the city of
45. Saluria at the foot of mount(?) Kirieḳi I erected it? [45]From the land of Enzite I departed. The river Arzania I crossed. To the land of Suḫmê I advanced. The city of Uaštal, his stronghold, I took. (The land) of Suḫmê in its whole
46. extent [46]I destroyed, devastated and burned with fire. Sûa, the governor of their cities, I took with my hand. From the land of Suḫme I departed. To
47. the land of Dajaêni I descended. The city Dajaêni, [47]in its whole extent I conquered. Their cities I destroyed, devastated and burnt with fire. Their spoil and large possessions I took forth. From the land of Dajaêni I departed.
48. To [48]the city of Arzašku, the royal city of Aramu, from the land of Urarṭai, I advanced. Arramu of the city of Urarṭai, before the brilliancy of my
49. mighty weapons [49]and my raging battle became afraid. His city he abandoned (and) to the mountains of the land of Adduri he ascended. After him I ascended the mountains (and) a hard battle in the midst of the mountains I
50. made. Three thousand four hundred [50]of his fighting men I brought low with the weapons. Like Ramman, over them an inundation I poured. With
51. their blood, as with wool, I colored the mountain. His baggage I took from him. [51]His chariots, his riding horses, his horses trained to the yoke, steers, calves, his goods, his spoil, his large possessions out of the midst of the moun-
52. tains I brought back. Aramu, [52]to save his life betook himself to the difficult mountains. In the might of my manhood, his land, like a wild ox, I trod down, his cities I turned to destruction. The city of Arzašku together with
53. [53]the neighboring cities I destroyed (devastated and burned with fire.) Columns of heads at the entrance of the city gate I fixed together . . . . .
54. some in the midst [54] . . . . . others round about the . . columns on stakes I gibbeted. From the city of Arazašku I departed. To the mountains
55. [55](of the land of Eritia I went, my royal image) of great size I made. The excellence of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power, which
56. in the land of Urartu I exercised, I wrote upon it. [56]In the land of Eritia I erected (it). From the land of Eritia I departed [. . . . Against . . . . . of the city] of Aramalu I approached. His cities I destroyed, devas-
57. tated and burnt with fire. [57]From the city of Aramalu I departed. To the city of Zanzin I (advanced. . . . . Battle he avoided,

* Here evidently the name of the governor is omitted. See "Sûa" next line.

Digitized by Google

58. sîsê ṣimd-at nîre alpê ṣêni am-ḫur-šú rê-mu-tu aš-ku-na-aš[šu] . . . . . -ia a-na tâm-di

59. šá mâtu Na-i-ri at-ta-rad kakkê Ašûr iz-zu-tê ina lib-bi tâm-di ú-lil* immêru nikê [aḳ-ḳi ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a]† êpu-uš ta-na-ti

60. Ašûr bêli rabî bêli-ia al-ka-kat ḳur-di-ia u êp-ši-ti ur-nin-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur [ištu tâm-di] at-tu-muš a-na mâtu Gil-za-a-ni

61. aḳ-tê-rib m. A-sa-a-ú šar mâtu Gil-za-a-ni a-di aḫê[132]-šu aplê-šu ina[133] irti-ia u-ṣa-ú[134] . . . . . šarru?-ti? sîsê

62. ṣimd-at nîri alpê ṣêni karânê VII ud-ra-tê ša II gu-un-gu-li[189]-pi-ši-na am-ḫur-šú ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti Ašûr bêli rabi-ê bêli-ia

63. u lê-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia šá ina mâtu Na-'i-ri ê-tap-pa-aš ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina ḳabal âli-šu ina ê-kur-ri-šu ú-šê-ziz ištu mâtu Gil-za-a-ni at-tu-muš

64. a-na âlu Ši-la-ia âl dannu-ti-šu ša m. Ka-a-ki šar âlu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a aḳ-tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak-ta-šad dîkta-šu-nu ma'adu a-dûk III M. šal-la-su-nu alpê-šu-nu

65. ṣê-ni-šu-nu sîṣê imêru pa-ri-ê a-ga-li a-na la mê-ni aš-lu-la a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub‡ la ina ni-ri-bê ša mâtu En-zi-tê êru-ub ina ni-ri-bê ša mâtu Kir-ru-ri[135]

66. ina rêš âlu Arba'il ú-ṣi-a m. A-ḫu-ni apal A-di-ni šá[189] ištu[189] šarrâ-ni âbê-ia ši[136]-ip-ṣu [u][138] dan-na-ni[138] il-ta-kan-nu ina šur-rat šarrû-ti-ia ina li[189]-mê

67. šanat šumi-ia-ma[139] ištu âlu Ninua at-tu-muš âlu Til-bur-si-ip âl dan-nu-ti-šu a-si-bi ḳu-ra-dê-ia§ al-mê-šu mit-ḫu[140]-ṣu[141] ina‖ lib-bi-šu aš-kun

68. kirê-šu ak-ki-is nab-li mul-mu-li[189] êlî-šu ú-ša-za-nin ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia mê[68]-lam-mê[142] [ša]‖ bêlu-ti-ia ip-laḫ-ma âli-šu ú-maš-šir

69. a-na šú-zu-ub napiš-ti pl.-šu nâru Purâtu ê-bir ina šani-tê šat-tê ina li[189]-mê m. Ašúr-bân-a-a-uṣur arki-šu ar-tê-di šadû Ši-i-ta-am-rat ubân šadê-ê ša a-ḫat nâru Purâtu

70. ša kîma irpitti ištu šamê-ê šu-ḳal-lu-la-at a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun ina ḳi-bit Ašûr bêli rabê bêli-ia u ilu Urugallu a-lik pâni-ia a-na šadû Ši-ta-am-rat aḳ-tê-rib

71. šá ina šarrâ-ni âbê-ia mu-um-ma ina ki-rib-šu[145] la iṭ-ḫu-ú ina III û-mê ḳar-ra-du šadu-ú i-ḫi-ṭa[146] ga-ab-šú libbi-šú tu-ḳu[147]-um[148]-ta ub-la ê-lî ina šêpê-šu šâdu-ú

72. u-saḫ-ḫi-ip m. A-ḫu-ni a-na rupuš?¶ ummânâtê-šu it-ta-kil-ma ina irti-ia ú-ṣa-a si-dir[149]-tu lu-iš-kun kakkê Ašûr bêli-ia ina libbi-šu-nu ú-tar-ri-ṣi abikta-šu-nu

73. aš-kun ḳaḳkadê muḳ[150]-tab-lê-šú ú-na-kis dâmê mun-daḫ-ṣê-šu šadu-ú aṣ-ru-up ma-'a-du-ti-šu a-na ka-a-pi šá šadê-e i-ta-na-ḳu-tu-ni taḫâzu dan[157]-nu ina libbi âli-šu

74. aš-kun pu-ul-ḫi mê-lam-mê ša Ašûr bêli-ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu ú-ri-du-ni šêpê-ia iṣ-bu-ú-tu m. A-ḫu-ni it-ti ummânâtê-šu narkabâtê bit-ḫal-lu-šú ŠA-GA êkal[152]** li-ši-na ma-'a-du

---

* Schrader corrected to "u-lil-lu ku." † So to be restored! Cf. I. 50; II. 44, 55, 62.
‡ On the monolith 3 cm. broken out, probably before written upon.
§ Nothing wanting, as in R. ‖ Instead of "šur," R. ¶ Haupt, ASKT., pp. 24, 493. ** Cf. II. 89.

Digitized by Google

58. my feet he embraced. [58]Horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep I received
from him. Favor I granted him . . . . . (On my return), to the
59. sea of [59]the land of Na'iri I descended. The powerful weapons of Ašur I
washed in the sea. Sacrifices (I offered. My royal image of great size) I
60. made. The excellence of Ašur, [60]the great lord, my lord, the course of my
bravery and the deeds of my power, I wrote upon it. From the sea I departed.
61. To the land of Gozan [61]I advanced. Asâu, the king of the land of Gozan
together with his brothers, his sons, came forth against me (Battle I made) . .
62. horses [62]trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine, seven dromedaries, I received
from him. My royal image, of great size I made. The excellence of Ašur the
63. great lord, my lord, [63]and the power of my might which I exercised in the
land of Na'iri I wrote upon it. In the midst of his city within his temple I
64. erected. From the land of Gozan I departed. [64]To the city of Si-la-ja, the
stronghold of Kâki, the king of Hupuškia, I advanced. The city I besieged,
I took. Many of their warriors I killed. Three thousand prisoners, their
65. oxen, [65]their sheep, horses, steers, calves without number I carried off; to my
city Aššur I brought (them). In the passes of the land of Enzitê I entered.
66. In the passes of the land of Kirruru [66]above the city of Arbêla I came out.
Ahuni, the son of Adini, who since the kings, my fathers, supreme power and
67. might hath exercised, in the beginning of my rule, in the archonship of [67]the
year of my name I departed from the city of Nineveh, the city of Tilbarsip,
his stronghold, I besieged. In my strength I attacked it, and made battle
68. within it. [68]Its parks I cut down. The destruction of the javelins I poured
out upon it. From before the brilliancy of my weapons, the splendor of my
69. lordship he became afraid; his city he abandoned. [69]To save his life he
crossed the river Euphrates. In a second year, in the archonship of Ašur-
banâuṣur I pursued after him. The mount of Šîtamrat, the top of the mount-
70. ain, (or = high m.) on the shore of the Euphrates, [70]which like a cloud from
the skies hung down, he had made his stronghold. By command of Ašur, the
great lord, my lord, and Nergal, who goes before me, to the mount of Šî-
71. tamrat I advanced, into whose midst, among the kings my fathers no one had
approached, in three days the mighty mountains he saw; his strong heart
72. carried the war within, by foot he ascended, the mountain he destroyed.
Ahuni trusted to his numerous forces and came forth before me. Battle
array he made. The weapons of Ašur, my lord, I directed into their midst.
73. Their overthrow I [73]accomplished. The heads of his warriors I cut off, with
the blood of his fighting men I colored the mountain. Many of his (lit. his
74. many) fled hurriedly to the rocks of the mountain. A hard battle [74]I made
in the midst of his city. Fear before the splendor of Ašur, my lord, over-
came them, they descended and embraced my feet. Ahuni, with his forces,

Digitized by Google

75. ša KI-LAL. šú la ṣab-ta-at a-na pâni-ia ú-tê-ra[189] nâru Idiḳlat ú-šê-bir a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub-la a-na nišê mâti-ia am-nu-šú-nu. Ina šatti-ma šî-a-ti a-na mâtu Ma-za-ma-a al-lik ina ni-ri-bi

76. ša mâtu Bu-na-is-lu êru-ub a-na[153] âlâ-ni ša m. Nik-di-mê m. Nik-di-ê-ra[189] aḳ-tê-rib ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia dannûtê u taḫâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-la-ḫu-ma

77. ina êlippê išu ur-ba-tê a-na tâm-di it-tab-ku ina êlippê mašak taḫ-ši-ê arkatê šu-nu lu-aṣ-bat taḫâzu dan-nu ina ḳabal tâm-di lu êpu-uš abikta-šu-nu lu aš-kun

78. tâm-di ina[155] dâ-mê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si lu aṣ-ru-up. Ina li-mê m. ilu Dân-Aššûr ina[156] araḫ Airi ûm XIV ištu alu Ninua at-tu-muš nâru Idiḳlat ê-tê-bir a-na âlâ-ni

79. šá m. Gi-am-mu nâru Kaš-šat-a aḳ-tê-rib pul[157]-ḫa-at bêlu-ti-ia na-mur-rat kakkê-ia iz-zu-tê ip-la-ḫu-ma ina kakki ra[189]-ma-ni-šu-nu m. Gi-am-mu bêl-šu-nu

80. i-du-ku a-na alu Kit-la-la u alu Til-šá-tur-a-ḫi lu êru-ub ilâni-ia ana êkallâtê-šu lu ú-šê-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina êkallâtê-šu lu aš-kun

81. na-kan-tê-šu[158] lu ap-ti ni-ṣir-tú-šú lu a-mur[159] ŠA-GA-šu bušâ-šu aš-lu-la a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub-la ištu alu Kil-la-la at-tu-muš a-na alu Kar-Šulmânu-ašarêd

82. aḳ-tê-rib ina êlippê mašak taḫ-ši-ê ša šanî-tê šanîti nâru Purâta ina mê-li[189]-ša ê-bir ma-da[189]-tu šá[189] šarrâni ša šêpa am-ma-tê šá[189] nâru Purâti ša[160] m. Sa-an-gar

83. alu Gar-ga-miš-a-a ša m. Ku-un-da[189]-aš-pi alu Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a ša m. A-ra[189]-mê apal Gu-si ša[189] m. Lal-li alu Mê[161]-li-da-a-a ša m. Ḫa-ia-ni apal Ga-ba-ri

84. ša[162] m. Ḳal-pa-ru-da mâtu Pa-ti-na-a-a šá m. Ḳal-pa-ru-da mâtu Gam-gu-ma[163]-a-a kaspa ḫurâṣa anâku pl. siparra diḳârê siparri

85. alu (ina)[164] Aššûr-ut-tir-aṣ-bat ša šêpu am[165]-tê[166] ša nâru Purâtu ša êlî nâru Sa-gu-ri[189] ša amêlê[167] mâtu Ḫat-ta-a-a alu Pi-it-ru

86. i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni ina lib-bi am-ḫur ištu êlî nâru Purâtu at-tu-muš a-na alu Ḫal-man aḳ-tê-rib ta-ḫa-za ê-du-ru šêpê-ia[168] iṣ-bu-tú

87. kaspa ḫurâṣa ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur immêru nîkê ana pân ilu Rammâni ša[189] alu Ḫal-man êpu-uš ištu alu Ḫal-man at-tu-muš a-na[169] âlâ-ni

88. šá m. Ir-ḫu-li-ê-ni mâtu A-mat-a-a aḳ-tê-rib alu A-di-ên-nu alu Bar-ga-a alu Ar-ga-na-a âl šarrû-ti-šu akšu-ud šal-la-su bušâ-šu

89. ŠA-GA êḳallâtê-šu ú-šê-ṣa-a a-na êkallâtê-šu išâti ad-di[170] ištu alu Ar-ga-na-a at-tu-muš a-na alu Ḳar-ḳa[189]-ra aḳ-tê-rib

90. alu Kar-ḳa-ra âl šarrû-ti-šu[171] ab-bul aḳ[189]-ḳur ina išâti aš-ru-up I M. II C nar-kabâte I M. II C bit-ḫal-lu XX M. ṣâbê[172] šá Hadad-'idri

91. [ša* mâtu] Imêri-šu VII C narkabâtê VII C bit-hal-lu X M. ṣâbê ša m. Ir-ḫu-li[189]-ê-ni mâtu A-mat-a-a II M. narkabâtê X M. ṣâbê ša m. A-ḫa-ab-bu

[164] See corrections.

[165] "am" doubtless omitted.

* Cf. Lay. Inscrip., p. 16, l. 44, "Hadadidri ša mât," etc.

Digitized by Google

75. chariots, riding horses, goods of their palace, [75]whose weight was not taken, before me I brought back, caused to cross over the Euphrates (and) to my city Aššur I brought (them). To the inhabitants of my land I reckoned them.
76. In the same year to the land of Mazamua I went. In the pass [76]of the land of Bunaislu I entered; to the cities of Nikdimê, Nikdiêra I advanced. Before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons and my raging battle they became afraid
77. and [77]in ships of wickerwork (withes) they betook (turned) themselves to the sea. In ships of lamb-skins I followed them, (lit. took their rewards). A hard battle in the middle of the sea I made. Their overthrow I accomplished.
78. [78]The sea with their blood I colored as wool. In the archonship of Dânašur, in the month Ijjar, on the 14th day, I departed from the city of Nineveh.
79. The Tigris I crossed (and) to the cities of Giammu on the river Kaššata I advanced. The fear of my dominion, the brilliancy of my mighty weapons filled them with fear (or terrified them). With their own weapon(s) they put
80. to death Giammu, their governor. To the city of Kitlala and Tilšaturâḫi I entered. My gods I brought into his palace; a festival in the palace I made.
81. [81]His store-house I opened, his treasures I saw, his possessions I carried off, to my city Aššur I brought (them). From the city of Kitlala I departed. To
82. the city Kar-Salmaneser [82]I advanced. In ships of lamb-skins the second time, the Euphrates, in high water, I crossed. The tribute of the kings
83. beyond the Euphrates, (viz.,) Sangar, the Charchemisian, Kundaspi, the Kumuhean, Arame, the son of Gusu, Lalli of Mytilene, Hajani, the son of
84. Gabaru, [84]Kalparuda, the Patinian, Kalparuda, the Gamgumean, silver, gold,
85. lead, copper, copper vessels, in* [85]the city of Ašurûtiraṣbat which is beyond the river Euphrates, which is above the river Saguri, which the Hittites† call
86. the city of Pêthor, within it, I received.‡ From above the river Euphrates I departed. To the city of Halman§ I advanced, they avoided battle, they
87. embraced my feet. [87]Silver, gold, their tribute I received. Sacrifices to the god Ramman of the city of Halman I made. From the city of Halman I
88. departed. [88]To the cities of Irḫuliêna of the land of Hamath, I advanced. The city of Adiênu, the city of Barga, the city of Arganâ, his royal city, I took.
89. His spoil, his possessions, [89]his goods I brought forth out of his palace (and) I set the palace on fire. From the city of Argana I departed. To the city of
90. Karkar I advanced. [90]The city of Karkar, his royal city, I destroyed, devastated (and) burnt with fire. One thousand two hundred chariots, one thou-

---

* See transcription and corrections. The writer changed the order evidently of "ina âli" to "âlu ina" by mistake.

† Lit. "men of the land of Chatti."

‡ Sentence complicated by the explanatory phrases: briefly = "I received the tribute of the kings beyond the Euphrates within the city Ašurûtiraṣbat."

§ i. e., Aleppo. Del. PD. 275.

‖ Nom. gentil.

Digitized by Google

92. mâtu Sir-'a-la-a-a V C ṣâbê šá[189] mâtu[178a] Gu-a-a I M. ṣâbê ša mâtu Mu-uṣ-ra[189]-a-a X narkabâtê X M. ṣâbê ša mâtu Ir-ḳa-na-ta-a-a

93. II C ṣâbê ša m. Ma[173]-ti-nu-ba-'a-li[189] âlu Ar-ma-da-a-a II C ṣâbê ša mâtu Ú-sa-na-ta-a-a XXX narkabâtê ?[174] M. ṣâbê

94. ša m. A-du-nu-ba-'a-li[189] mâtu Ši-a-[175]na-a-a I M. imêru gam-ma-lu ša m. Gi-in-di-bu-'a mâtu Ar-ba-a-a . .[8 cm.] .? M. ṣâbê

95. ša m. Ba-a'-sa apal Ru-ḫu-bi mâtu A-ma-na-a-a XII šarrâni an-nu-ti a-na nirârû-ti-šu il-ḳa-a a-na[176,177] [ê-piš]

96. kabla u taḫâza ana irti-ia it-bu-ni ina idâti ṣîrâti šá[189] Aššûr bêlu iddi[177]-na ina kakkê dannûti ša ilu[178] Urugallu a-lik pâni-ia

97. iš-ru-ḳa it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ ištu âlu Kar-ḳa-ra a-di âlu Gil-za-ú abik-ta-šu-nu lu aš-kun XIV M. ṣâbê

98. ti[179]-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šam-ḳit kîma ilu Rammân êlî-šu-nu ri-ḫi-il-ta ú-ša-az-nin[180] ú-ma[181]-ṣi[182] šal[183]-mat-šu-nu

99. pa-an na-mê-ê ú-šam-li[189] rapšâtê ummânâtê-šu-nu ina kakkê ú-šar-di dâmê-šu-nu ḫar-pa-lu ša-na-gu?

100. i-mê-iṣ ṣêri ana še[184]-tar[185] napšâtê-šu nap[186]-ra-ru ú-rap[187]-šu a-na du-pu-ri-šu-nu aḫ(iḫ?)-li-iḳ ina *pagrâni-šu-nu[188]

101. nâru A-ra[189]-an-tu kîma[188] ti-i-ri ak-šud ina ki-rib tam-ḫa-ri šú-a-ti narkabâtê-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-śu-nu

102. sîsê-šu-nu ṣimd-at iṣu ni-ri-šu-nu ê-kim-šu-nu

---

* The sign "be" (mit) doubtless to be supplied after "amêlu." Three cm. are broken out.

Digitized by Google

91. sand two hundred riding horses, twenty thousand soldiers of Benhadad [91]of
Damascus, seven hundred chariots, seven hundred riding horses, ten thousand
soldiers of Irhuliena of Hamath, two thousand chariots, ten thousand soldiers
92. of Ahab [92]of Israel, five thousand soldiers of the Guians, one thousand sol-
diers of the Egyptians, ten chariots, ten thousand soldiers of the Irḳanateans;
93. [93]two thousand soldiers of Matninbâ'al of the Arvadites, two hundred sol-
94. diers of the Usanatians, thirty chariots, ten* thousand soldiers of [94]Aduni-bâ'al
of the Sianians, one thousand camels of Gindibû' of the Arbeans . . . .
95. ten thousand soldiers [95]of Bâ'sa, the son of Ruḫribi, of the Amaneans (Am-
96. monites ?): these *twelve*† kings came to his aid. To make war[69] and battle
they came forth before me. In the high power which Ašur the lord bestowed,
97. with the powerful weapons which Nergal who goeth before me [97]presented, I
fought with them. From the city of Karḳar to the city of Gilzan I accom-
98. plished their overthrow. Fourteen thousand [98]of their warriors with the
weapons I brought low. Like the god Ramman upon them an inundation I
99. poured out, (I) scattered their corpses. The [99]face of the plain I filled with
their numerous troops. With the weapons I made their blood to flow over
100. the extent of the field. To preserve their (his, its) lives they increased con-
101. fusion (viz. by flight)? After them I rushed. Upon their dead bodies [101]the
river Orontes, like a bridge, I crossed.‡ In the same battle their chariots,
their riding horses, their horses trained to the yoke, I took from them.

---

* Mon. 10 ? ? See cor.
† Only *eleven!*
‡ Might mean "arrive at." Kašâdu has both meanings of attain and overcome.

Digitized by Google

NOTES.

1. ilu Anû šar, etc.—Just as Anu is here mentioned as the king of the Igige and Anunnaki do we find, II R. 66, No. 1, 5, Bêltis as the uršânât Igigê, i. e., the powerful (goddess) of the Igigê. Similarly, II R. 66, 3, Bêltis is the "li'at Igigê," and I R. 9, 3, the god Bêl is the šar gimir ilu Anunnaki, i. e., "king of all the Anunnaki;" V R. 51, 27, Merodach is the "pâkidu rabû ša Igigê," i. e., "Merodach, the great overseer (ruler) of the Igigê." The rule over these spirits of the lower and upper regions seems thus not to have been the special prerogative of any one of the higher deities, but was exercised by all the higher determining deities, which, according to K. 4629, Str. 95, were *seven* in number: "ilâni šûnâti sibittišunu." The same fragment mentions the "ilâni rabûti" (great gods) as five in number, "ḫamšatšunu." The Igigê seem to be confined to the upper regions, whereas the Anunnaki, as appears from the above quoted fragment, are mentioned both of heaven, "ša šamê" (five in number) and of earth, "ša irṣiti."

mušîm.—II., שִׂים I. *to place, appoint;* II. *determine.* šîmâti pl. of šîmtu *lot, destiny.* The same appellative is given to Merodach, I R. 67, 1. 7.

2. mûṣir.—II., from אָצַר ? *enclose, surround.* Cf., for the form, u-di-lu from (אָרַל) êdêlu *bolt, fasten,* from which we have mêdilum, II R. 23, 34d; mêdil, IV R, 17, 8a, and mêdilutum (II R. 23, 22c; d) *hinge.*

êṣûrât.—From the same stem and with the same meaning as uṣûrtu, Sarg. St. In., where we read, "ša êpšit ḳâtî'a unakkaruma . . . . . uṣûrât êṣêru ušamsakûma" *whoever the work of my hands changes, the boundaries I fixed removes,* etc. The same evil invocation occurs in the Bronze Ins., but with êṣurât instead. The root-meaning of the word is "enclosure," "bound" in general, and then more specifically, perhaps, "wall," Lyon, "Mauer." Cf. the phrase, V R. 65, 1, 7, where Nabonidus calls himself the "muṣṣir (u)ṣṣurâti bîtât ilâni" *the one who built (enclosed) the walls of the temples.*

niklâtê.—Pl. from nikiltu *cunning, craft,* נכל; cf. Heb. נֵכֶל. Cf. with this line, and particularly for the restoration of rabû niklâtê, Sarg. Cyl. 47, "ša ina ḳibît šar apsê bêl nimêḳi tašimta zunnunûma malû niklâtê" *which by order of the king of the abyss, the lord of wisdom, was made full of decision* (v. "Proleg." v. 73). Here we have malû corresponding to the supplied "rabû," and, at the same time confirmation of the correctness of the reading nik-la-ti.

ilu Na-nir.—With this reading one great difficulty of this inscription is removed. We have now the number of gods, seven, as is to be expected, and the unknown god (see No. a) of Rawl. disappears. It is another reading for the more commonly occurring appellative of the god Sin, viz., Nannaru, e. g., V R. 64, 1, 17; in the bilingual hymn in IV R. 9, etc., where it stands as an attribute of the god Sin. Here it stands alone for Sin. Sm. As. 126, 8: "ilu Sin na-an-nir šamê u irṣiti." Lenorm. "Lettres Assyr.," Tom. II., p. 123, we read the same word as in No. 6.

Digitized by Google

3. muštêšir.—III$_2$., from root ישר *to be straight*, III$_2$. *rule.*

mêlulta.—Fem. from root מלל; mêlultu *decision, command;* cf. Heb. מלל *to speak.* See also the same word I R. 7, IX. D., where Schrader reads mênarti; Sayce, mêlulti, but derives from אלל.

râ'imût.—For this writing of the sign râ'mu see Asurn., I., 37, where both forms, given in No. c, are found.

4. šâpirûti.—See corrections and cf. Asurn., I., 42, " . . . . ana pêli šuknušê u šapâri aggiš umâ'irûni," also l. 14 of Mon. below. Root שפר *to send, dispatch,* III. *rule.* Šâpirûtu here means "rule"* and the whole phrase seems to be best translated as I have given it. This translation rests upon a different reading from that in the text, viz., upon the reading muḫ-ḫur (instead of u nap-ḫar) which seemed to me, when I copied it, the more natural decipherment of the remaining traces of the broken sign. The whole passage is exceedingly difficult; and as the reading of the above sign is doubtful, I avoid further comment. Sayce's translation, "who extend lordship over multitudes and union, the glory of my fame, empire, and all princes mightily have they made for me," seems to miss the sense entirely, and to overlook the derivation of the words as well as the grammatical construction.

5. Šulmânu-ašarêdu.—This reading rests on the writing of the name found in the Babylonian chronicle given by Mr. Pinches, PSBA. '84, 198, where the successor of Tiglath-pileser is given as Šul-man-a-ša-rid. See for detailed discussion Prof. Schrader's article in ZKF., II. Bd., 197 sqq., also ZA., Bd. I., p. 126 seq. The writing here is defective, probably owing to the scribe. The sign "di" = Šulmu, Sb. 186 (Del. ALs$_3$.), is here omitted; the full reading is found in Lay., 12:1, etc.

6. murtêdû.—Part. I$_2$. from root רדה, I. *tread, march;* I$_2$. *go* (for one's self); *rule, govern.* A frequent phrase. Cf. Sh. Phul, I R. 32, 28, "murtêdû kâliš mâtâtê."

ba'îț.—Root בעה.

amêru.—Part. I. אמר *see, look.* Sayce translates "'ruler' of roads and lord of streets" here. It is simply a poetic use of the word "to see" in the sense of surmounting, overcoming. Cf. Khors. 15, where, speaking of the mountains, he (Sargon) says, "nêribšunu . . . upattîma âmura durugšun" *their entrances* (or *interior*) *I opened up and their paths I looked upon* (*saw*). Oppert translates âmur falsely by "amovi."

7. i-gi-si-ê.—The meaning "tribute," "present," etc., seems clear from the parallel passages, in which mandattu occurs with biltu, or madattu =

---

* For the meaning of šapâru, apart from the argument from contexts, see ASKT. p. 15, No. 196. See d, = ša-pa-ru 195, = ta-a-ru, p. 23, 247. See e, = ta-a-ru, 473. See f, = ta-a-ru 474 = a-pa-lu = "subdue" (from which âpilu *master of the house*), and lastly V R. 39; 30 d, where the sign (*which* above = ta-a-ru = a-pa-lu) = 'ûrû *lead, guide.*

Digitized by Google

mandantu, from nadânu *to give*, e. g., l. 23, and repeatedly in Tig. I. The present phrase "bilti ŭ igisê" occurs also in Salm. Ob. 106, where Salmaneser reports having received from twenty-four kings of the land of Tabali igîšunu. In the inscription of Sh. Phul, I R. 32, 37, we have, "Salmaneser . . . mâr Ašûrnâṣirpal mâḫir bilti u igisî ša kâliš kibrâtî." So also Nebuchad., I R. 60, 35 sqq., after narrating his capture of prisoners, his reception of gold, silver, pearls, palm and cedar wood, the product of mountain and sea, he adds, "ipti kabitti igisâ šummuḫu ana . . Bâbili ušêrib" *a rich gift, a magnificent* (lit. *prosperous*, שמח *thrive, prosper*) *present* . . ." In the parallel passage, Lay., 12, 3, below, we have, *word for word*, the same as here in lines 7 and 8; but there we have perhaps "ši + di" (see g.) instead of "igiše." Dr. H. Zimmern, in his excellent work "Babylonische Busspsalmen," etc., p. 105, 60, in arguing for the value "pik" for the sign (see i) refers to this passage and also to Mon. 1, 7, viz., the passage before us, where, he says, ši[pik] "wohl zu lesen ist." It will be seen by referring to "correction" number 9, that "ši" before ŭ is erased, and, as I remember, quite deeply. That "ši" is erased is proof sufficient that no emendation is here admissible.*

8. mupattû.—Part. II. from פתא *open*. Cf. I R. 10, 86, "mupitti durug šadâni" *opener of the road* (through) *mountains*. Cf. II R. 22, for derivatives.

tûdâtê.—Pl. from ṭûdu *way*. Syn. of ḫarrânu and girru, according to K. 4195 (Prof. Del. Lect., W. S. '85). This word forms its pl. also ṭûdê, e. g., cf. Sanh. IV., 4, etc.

ultanapšaḳa = uštanapšaḳa (according to the rule of Assyrian pronunciation, the sibilant passes over into the liquid *l* before the dentals; cf. also riḫiltu = riḫištu *heavy rain, deluge;* altu for aštu = aššatu = anšatu, etc., etc.). Root פשק from which we have the adjectives pašḳu and šupšuḳu *steep, difficult*, etc. ultanapšaḳa is a Shafel (III.) reflexive form with "tan," Pres. pl. 3 f. To denote it as an "Iftaneal of the Shafel" is inexact (cf. Pognon, "L'inscription de Bav.," 204).

9. iḫîlû.—I. from חיל *shake, tremble*. From this root also comes the well-known ḫâlti *Sintfluth*, 124, ALs., "imtaḫṣu kîma ḫâltu." Cf. חוּלָה, Jer. IV. 21.† See, now, Del. Proleg.

10. istamdaḫu.—ištamdaḫu = ištandaḫu = ištanádaḫu, from root שרח *to go about*, I. Impf. 3 s. Note also the Inf. const. of the same form in I R. 46; IV, 59, "ana šitmur sîsê šitamduḫ narkabâtê" *for the keeping of the horses, for the movement of the wagons*. From this stem also comes mašdaḫu, syn. of sûḳu. V R. 8, 98.‡

---

* To be noted, however, in this question is IV R. 9, 36a, where, according to Hommel, ZKF. Bd. I. 168, "igi" was originally "igiš" (?).

† See Halevy, ZKF., Bd. I. 262 seq.

‡ Cf. also Budge, Esarh. 116, 11, "šadê marṣûtê rêmâniš aštamdih" *difficult mountains like a wild bull I traversed.*

Digitized by Google

12. kûn [libbi]-šu.—kûn: st. c. from kûnu *fixedness, fidelity.* In the sense of fixedness, durability, in frequent use, e. g., Neb. Borsip., I R. 51; II, 21, "kûn kussê labâri palê" *a stable (stability of) throne, long reign.* So also I R. 52, 4, 18, in a similar passage, "kûn kussi ŭ labâr palê." kûnu in sense of fidelity is of frequent occurrence with libbu *heart,* (see I R. 8, No. 6, 5); and consequently I have supplied libbi here, for which the break in the inscription offers about sufficient space. Cf. Asarh., I R. 47, VI, 32, "ilâni šâtunu ina kûn libbišunu iktárabû šarrûti'a" *the same gods in the fidelity of their heart favor my rule* (sovereignty); Tig. I, VII, 46, "ša Ašûr . . . ina utût kûn libbišú iḫšuḫma ana rê'ût . . . ibbûšu." Cf. also I R. 8, VI. 4 and 5, with this last, "^{ilu}zar-pa-ni-tum bi-bil ? ku-un libbi ^{ilu}Nabû u Marduk."

12. uddâ.—Probably II. form from ידע (idû) *know, recognize.* uddâ would then equal the obsolete original *yujaddi'a, just as we have in the Shafel III. ušêṣâ = jušêṣi'a from âṣû (יצא), išmâ I. (שמע) = *jašmi'a *he heard,* etc., etc.

upirra.—See corrections. Assuming the correctness of my reading, this would seem to be an irregular II. form from apâru *to cover.* The regular form would be uppir, like ušših, from ašâbu. The form upirra would more naturally refer to a root pâru (פור). Such a root exists with the meaning "to be strong," etc., from which we have pûru *wild ox,* and the fem. pûrtu; but this meaning does not suit in our passage, though the form could well be compared with upîra, like ukîn from kânu (כון). In Tig. I., col. I., 21, we read in a similar passage the pl. form of the II. form from apâru, "agâ ṣîra tupirrâšú ana šarrût mât Bêl rabêš tukînâšú." The form, however, does not favor my reading. Notice, however, here the form êtabru for êtêbiru, Asurn. III., 27.

14. Cf. here Asurn. I., 42, " . . . . ḫuršâni dannûtê ana pêli šuknušê u šapâri aggiš umâ'irani" *mighty mountains to overcome, to subject and to subdue, he sternly commanded me.*

aggiš.—Adverb, from a root אנג *be fierce, angry.*

umâ'iranni.—II. from מ,אר 3 s. m.

16. asibî.—From (שבה) šabû *oppress, attack, overcome.*

asibî = astibî = aštibî.—I. Prt. 1 s. The regular form would be aštabî, the vowel of the second syl. due to the final long "î" and the loss of the reflexive "t." This, however, uncommon.

asîtu.—This word occurs in the singular in Col. I., ll. 25, 34, 48. The plural occurs twice, in lines 53 and 54 of Col. II., and in both as asîtâtê. Another form is found in Asurnaz., the sing., as isîtu (var. *a*), Col. I., 90 (isîtê, i. e., Genitive), and the pl., as isîtâti, l. 109. The reading a-sa-ia-tê, I R. 14, 27, points to a long vowel in the second syllable. That the meaning "pillar," "column" is approximately correct is not only clear from the context, but also from the passage in Tig. I. above, where the a-sa-ia-te of the great wall was built

Digitized by Google

of brick. Is the representation on the bronze gates of Balawat, wherein appear to be four upright posts, apparently quite a good deal larger, or at least as high, as a middle-sized man, upon which is represented ten heads, four to be seen on the two outside ones and one on each of the two in the middle (according to my own drawing), not instructive here?* These posts could easily be covered with the skins, as in the inscriptions it is narrated, and by the insertion of spikes the heads could be fastened on. Close to this representation on the bronze gates is another gibbeted with outstretched legs upon a slender pole (probably the "zaḳpu"); the hands and feet lie at the bottom. Asurnazirpal, I., 89, tells us that, having built an "asîtu," he flayed the insurrectionists and covered it with their skins; some he walled within it, some upon it he gibbeted, and with others (ina ziḳîpê) on gibbets (spikes) he surrounded the asîtu. These large posts, together with the heads, seem to me to be the asîtâtê, the single spike-like stake on which the accompanying figure is gibbeted to the zaḳpu, and the board-like stick upon which victims were impaled with the head bent forward and the hands hanging down, the body being perforated from the abdomen, representations of which are to be seen in the British Museum, appears to me to be the gašîšu upon which the corpses were hung. Cf. V R. 9, 123, "pagrâni ina gašîši alul;" also V R. II. 3. In view of this representation, as well as the passages referred to, and others similar, where it is specifically said, "I hung their corpses upon gašîšê, Dr. Haupt's rendering of gašîšû as "boat-hook" does not appear to me tenable.

17. batûlu *young man.*—For the ideog. see V R. 42, 55, e, f, where "lú" is to be restored.

batûltu.—The fem. of batûlu. See line 56 of the same page, also line 61. Cf. Heb. בְּתוּלָה.

maḳlûtu.—From a root קלה *to burn*, with prefixed מ.

usbakûni.—Derivation uncertain. Schrader refers to יצב.

18. ṣimdat.—Fem. const. from ṣimittu = ṣimidtu = *span;* from ṣamâdu *to span together.* The sign is = ṣamâdu (ASKT. 745), also = sarâdu. Cf. Sanh. v. 30, ṣindusu, and for the same writing as here, Asurn. III. 21, and also Sanh. Tayl. VI. 50, for the derivative naṣmadu. In II R. 27, 24, a, b, we have "ṣamâdu ša narkabtu." Cf. for the signs IS.IS the parallel II. 102, "ṣimdat nîrišunu," also Asurn. I. 86.

19. attumuš.—Pinches and others read attusir. But see the readings at-tum-ša, I R. 25, 101; 26, 109; 22, 91. In the latter at-tu(var. tum)-ša. Better derived from אמש *to break up.* Cf. Heb. אֶמֶשׁ *evening.*

šêlût *point, top.*—Here st. c. fr. šêlûtu, אֵלָה, with prefixed שׁ.

paṭri.—Gen. fr. paṭru *dagger.* פטר *split, open.*

* On another is a double row of heads eight in number.

Digitized by Google

šaknû.—Perm. I. 1, 3 pl., fr. šakânu.

agullat.—The sign given No. j is probably an ideog. for aggulatu. Cf. II. 42, where aggulat is phonetically written. As (see k.) ša = šiknu and (see l.) gul = Sb 338, abâtu *destroy*, the two together could well mean "instrument of destruction."

20. aḳṭêrib.—Impf. Is. I. s. from ḳarâbu *approach*, with change of the reflexive "t" into "ṭ" (i. e. resp. ת and ט) after the ק.

21. namurrat.—St. c. from namûrratu, from stem נמר *to be bright, brilliant*. Of this, however, I am not certain. We find the writing, Bal. Gates, Col. III., l. 3, na-am(var. nam)ru-rat, which can be most readily traced to the stem מרר *to be bitter*, as the stat. c. from namrurtu. In II R. 35, 5, nam-ri-ir-ru = ša-ra-ru from נמר *to be clear, bright, shine*.

22. pulḫî.—Pl. from pulḫu *fear*, from a root פלח *to be afraid*.

23. urdûni.—Impf. I. from ורד arâdu. Cf. Heb. יָרַד.

25. limîtu.—למה *surround*.

27. tanittu = tanidtu *excellence, loftiness*, from nâdu *to be great, high, majestic*. From a root נאד. The same as tanattu.

39. ušâlik.—III. from אלך *go*; III. *I caused to go*.

44. irti.—Gen. s. fr. irtu *breast*. ארע *to go against*. Cf. maḫru *front*, from maḫâru *to advance, meet*.

46. ḫirîṣê.—Gen. of ḫirîṣu *ditch*, from ḥarâṣu *dig*, etc.

ušaznin.—III. from zanânu *rain*, III. *cause to rain, pour out*.

49. narbut.—From רבה *to be great, greatness* in the sense of majesty. Cf. II R. 65, 1, Rev. 50, a, where we find "ta-na-ti mâtu Aššûr lidlulu." Cf. IV. 61, No. 1, 39, "narbîka li(id-lu-la) kâl dadme" *may all lands be subject to this greatness*. IV R. 66, 61, a, f, "ludlul nirbîka lutta'id ilûtka nišê ali'ia lišêpa ḳurdika *may he be subject to thy greatness, may he exalt thy divinity, may the people of my city cause thy strength (bravery) to shine*, etc. Cf. Zimmern "Buss-Ps." 97, and Haupt, ASKT., p. 121, Rückseite, l. 2, "narbî tanâttika nišu lidlulâ."

50. ilkakât.—Perhaps a Pilel form fr. alâku. Note also the form "alka-kâtu," Neb. Bors. I. 4. Cf. also the forms urnintu, irnintu, from a root ארן, urnatu = kiššu from a root כשש *to be strong*.

51. ušêziz.—III. 1 p. s. of nazâzu (נזז) *put, place*, from which stem manzazu *place*.

êtêbir.—Is. from êbêru *to cross over*. Cf. Heb. עָבַר. Note the writings "ê-tê-ib-bi-ru," Sarg. Cyl. 11; cf. Beh. 35, and also "ê-tab-ru," Asurn. III. 27, and the III. form "u-šê-bi-ra," Sanh. Tayl. IV. 32.

COL. II.

2. uparrir.—II. 1 s., from a root פרר *to break*. Heb. פָּרַר.

7. mêšêriš.—Adverb formed from the noun mêšêru, from the root ישר *to be straight, right*. Cf. Asurn. I. 22, "šarru ša ina tukulti Ašur u Šamaš . . .

Digitized by Google

mêšêriš ittalakuma;" see also III. 128. Note also the form "išartu," Neb. II., IV. 19; I. 45, etc. Bors. I. 14.

šalṭiš.—Likewise adverb from a root שלט *plunder, carry off.*

16. mašak.—St. c. from maškU *skin, hide.*

taḫšê.—Gen. from taḫšu. Cf. the Heb. עוֹר תַּחַשׁ and see Prof. Fried. Delitzsch in Baer-Del. "Ezechiel," p. xvii, and Del. "Proleg." Note also the writing Asurn. III. 64.

21. šitmuri.—Gen. from šitmuru *boisterous, raging.* An Is. form from a root שמר *to be boisterous.*

23. The sign "áš" Sb 66 = êdu IV R. 19, 46/47 (AL.3 54) = êštin. Note also K. 4604, or V R. 12, 31, where it = pi-du(u).

24. šattišamma, i. e., šattišáma.—The adverb šattiš from šattu = šantu *year*, with affixed "ma," which has a generalizing force. Also written "šattišam."

25. x.—Bê.*

31. attabalkat.—IVs. Impf. 1 s. from the quadriliteral stem בלכת *rend in pieces, go forward, pass over*, also *revolt.*

33. ibbalkit.—IV. from same.

34. addî.—Impf. I. 1 s. from נדה (nadû) *throw, to lay*, etc.

37. ina tarṣi.—A compound prepositional phrase = *at the time of*, also *when.* "tarṣu," from "tarâṣu" *to put* or *place straight, direct.* More strictly speaking, it would seem as if "during the reign of" (Haupt, "Nachrichten v. Kön. Gesellschaft," etc., '83, No. 4, p. 95) were more exact. The sign employed (No. n) is the equivalent of "êtillu" *lord*, Sb 130, of "malku" *prince*, II R. 26, 15, e, of "šarru" V R. 16, 7a, and of "tarâṣu," V R. 31, 64, e. (Note the reading in l. 63, "it-ta-in-ra-aṣ.") See ZKF. II. 106.

40. lubulti = lubušti.—Like "riḫiltu" for "riḫištu," etc, From a root לבש *clothe.* "lubulti birmê" = *woven stuff*, better than *variegated stuff* (*cloth*), as I have translated II. "burrumu" = *weave.*

---

* The meaning of these signs I do not know; but to be noted is II R. 62, 66, g, h, from which it follows that this sign = "imêru" (cf. Aram. חֲמוֹרָא *trestle, pedestal of a column*). In this list we have given the different parts of a vessel,—"kakkaru," "išdu," "karnu," "ṣilu," "igâru," "kiškittî" (cf. Aram. קוּשְׁקָא), and then "imêru," followed by "markasu," "dimmu," "arkatu," etc. The sign "bê" could mean *large* or *finished*, according to ASKT. 13, 130 and 127 resp. (Cf. ALs3., p. 86, small frag.,—or II R. No. 6, 47,—where "imêru" accompanies "kussû" *seat, throne.*) The words "imêri êlippi" mean literally *ass of the ship.* So also Del. *Assyr. Stud.* Connected with the fact that the ass is proverbially the beast of burden, and that the sign is also used as a determinative before the words for horse, ox, etc., may it not be possible that this combination X+Bê may mean *finished* (or *wrought*) *prows* for such galleys as are represented on the bas-reliefs in the north-east corner of the Assyrian Department in the Louvre? The prows of these vessels are surmounted by the figure of a horse's head, upon which, together with an upright in the stern of the vessel, part of the ship's burden of logs is transported, while the remainder is towed behind. If this be so, the upright and horizontal wedges of the sign (corrections No. 90) would then be the usual "mê" = 100.

Digitized by Google

kitû *linen*. Cf. Arab. "kutun"? and for the reading of the ideog. see II R. 44, 7, g, h, etc.

50. mundaḫḫiṣê = mumdaḫḫiṣê = muntaḫḫiṣê.—II. Part. pl. fr. מחץ *strike, beat*, etc.

51. Ša-ga.—I have not ventured on a reading. Though in view of V R. 11, 38, 39, a, b, c, it would seem as if "ma-ak-ku-ri" were at least a possible reading. The last sign, however, in V R., as also in AL.[3] 127, 3b, is so uncertain as to leave us in doubt here. The oft-repeated "bušâšunu šallasunu namkuršunu" in Tig. I. would seem to favor the reading "makkuru." In Col. v. 52 and 61, however, we find "maršišunu" instead of "namkuršunu." The passage, Tig. II. 30, f, "ruḳḳê êri, v. nirmak siparri itti ilânišunu ḫurâṣi kaspi" and then the appositional or explanatory phrase with the verb "aššâ,"* "dumuḳ namkurrišunu," would seem to point to a greater value ascribed to the "namkurri" than to the "šallasunu bušasunu," to which is added the verb "ušêṣa." For a discussion of the ideog. "ŠA-GA." see ZKF. II. 303, 4, where the author thinks that, if any transcription be admissible, it is that of "makkuru," reading "makkuru" in V R. 11, without any doubt.

55. kiššûti.—From a root כשש *to be strong*, from which we have the reduplicated adjective "kaškâšu"† *very strong*, like "dandânu."

60. urninti.—From a root ארן *to be powerful*. "urnâtu" is a synonym of "kiššu," fr. the above root.

69. šadê.—Gen. of "šadû" *mountain*, from a root שדה, which V R. 28, 82, g, h, apparently gives as a syn. of "gablu" and "šaḳû" *high*. Halévy, ZKF. Bd. II. 306, would compare with the Aram. שְׁדָא *throw, project*, i. e., lengthwise. See Fried. Del., "Hebrew Language," and "Proleg."

75. KI-LAL.—The reading I do not know; but the meaning "weight" seems certain. In I R. 25, 66, we read "unût êkâllêšu (note the reading as confirming correction) madûtê ša Ki-Lal lâ ṣab-ta-at;" l. 75 the same. In K. 177, 10, we read "5 mana 50 šiklu ḫurâṣu KI-LALšunu" = *five mana and fifty shekels their weight*. "Lal" (see q) alone = "šaḳâlu" *weigh*, S[b] 145; but whether the ideog. "Ki-Lal" (see r) is to be explained by the same root I do not know.

77. urbatê.—V R. 47, I. 50, gives "urbatu" = "urbanu," with which cf. the Chaldee ‡אוּרְבִינָא (and Syr. ܐܘܪܒܢܐ) *willow, rush*, as distinguished from הניא *hart reed*.

ittabkû.—I₂, pl. 3. m. from "abâku" *to turn* (אפך).

81. nakanti.§— = "nakamtu" from a root נכם *to heap up*, pl. "nakamâtê."

* *lifted up, gathered together*, as smaller, more precious articles could.

† I R. 35, No. 2, 2, etc.

‡ Also אִרְבָּנָא and אוּרְבָּנָא

§ This change of *m* to *n* before the dentals and sibilants is frequent. Cf. in our text "mundaḫiṣu" = "muntaḫiṣu;" also the words "ṭênšu" = "ṭêmšu," "ḫanṭu" = "ḫamṭu," "tanšilu" = "tamšilu," "ḫanšâ" = "ḫamṣâ."

Digitized by Google

86. i ḳ a b û š u n i.—"iḳábû" I. pres. pl. fr. קבא *speak, call*, etc.

99. ḫ a r p a l u.—Derivation unknown. The meaning of this word, as well as of "imiṣ," I have conjectured from the context. They appear to me to stand in the same construction, and certainly the meaning attached gives at least sense.

100. i m i ṣ.—Seems to be a st. con. from a noun "imṣu." The reading "imiṣṣir" (Schrader) seems *very* doubtful.

Šê-T a r.—I have thought may equal "šuzubu," and "Napraru" I have referred to "parâru"* *break*, etc., from which could come the idea of confusion, commotion.

u r a p š u.—Might be II. from a root רפש = "urappišu."

d u b u r i.—Seems to me *back*. See Zimmeru "Bab. Buss." for stem "dapâru" which probably means "turn," etc.

These last notes on 99 and 100 I have given only to explain the ideas which govern my translation of these difficult lines.

---

* Cf. "napharu" fr. פחר, "nalbašu," fr. לבש, etc., etc.

Digitized by Google

Corrections to III R. pp. 7-8.

Abbrevs. pl. = plain, w. = wanting; n.w. nothing wanting
The numbers refer to the transliteration.

1 [ ] Supplied from Obelisk, Lay. 87. 1 & 2.

2. = la, 2ª [ ] 1½ centr. broken

3. so separated, ✓ 'na' as in nâdu l. 6.

4. restored from traces.

5. [ ] no trace of 'ri' as in R.

6. i.e. šá. written on the round of the arm - hence the inclination. Not 'A' R. cf. Asurn. I. 42.

7. 8. = ši

8ª w. 9. erased.

10 , 11. .

12. . 13. w.

13ª The two upright wedges being on the raised part of figure

14. 'L' R. w. 15. = ra?

16. . 17. [.

18. . 19. w.

20. = . 21. . 22. .

23. 24. .

25. . 26. . 27. 'V' R. w.

28. 'T' R. w. 29. . The latter wedge on raised surface.

30 'T' R. w. 31. = ur-du.

32. 'T' R. w. 33. . 34.

35. . 36. 36ª 'T' w.

37. 'V' R. erased. 38 . 39. .

40. pl. also . 41 sic!

42. = 43. sic! 44. n.w.

45. pl 46. . .

47. [ ]. 48. 5 centimètres broken thus: 49. .

50. [. 50ª . 50ᵇ [. 51. .

52. 'E' R. w. 53 . 54 54ª

55. pl. 56. n.w. 56ª . 56ᵇ w.

57 . 58. . . 59 'L'. w.

60. . 60ª . 61. [ ].

62. . 63. . 64. n.w.

65. ? 66 'A' R. w. 67.

Col. II.

68. [ ] cf. I. 47.

69. . 70. ? 71. = .

72. 73. pl. 74. . 75. .

76. . 77. . 78. n.w.

79. 80. . 81. .

Digitized by Google

82. 83. 84.
85. pl. 86. 87. 88.
89. 90. 91.
92. 93. 94.
95. 96. 97.
98. 99. [ ] l. Cart. broken.
100. 101. [ ].
102. ? 103. ? 104. ! Scarabs
Prov. Delitzsch (Vorles?.) 105:
106. 107. 108. ?
109. 110. 111.
112. ! 113. 114.
115. 116. [ ]. No traces of the sign in R. v Del. AL³ No. 39. Cf. I. 46, II. 98. 117 [ ]. 118.
119. 120. 121.
122. 123.
124. 125. 'I' R. w. 126. [ ]. cf: l. 60. 127. [ ].
128. ? 129. = cf. l. 86.
130. .. 131 'I' R. w.
132. 133. 134.
135. 136. 137 [ ].
138. 139. 140.
141. nw. 142. [ ]. 143.
144. 145. 146.
147. 148. 149.
150 151. etc. M. Pinches
153 154. 155.
156. 157. , 158. 159.
160. 161. 162.
163. 164.
165 w. 166. pl. v close to .
167. 168. 169. R. w.
170. 171. : 172. . 172ª.
173. 174. 175.
176.]. 177.
178. 179. pl. 180.
181. 182. 183.
184. 185. ? 186.
187. , 188. . 189. The usual form of 'ra' is , of 'ux' , of 'da' , of 'ru' , of 'sá' of 'la' v of 'li' .

Signs discussed in the Notes or cited in discussion.

a. . b. .
c. , . d. var. .
e. . f. .
g. . h. . i. .
j . k. .
l. . m. .
n. .
o = élippi.
p. .
q. . r. .

Digitized by Google

TIKKUN SOPHERIM.

By Rev. Oliver Turnbull Crane,

Princeton, New Jersey.

There are various passages in the present Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible which in the past have frequently been charged as willful alterations made by Jewish scribes in what may be called *the true original text*. These changes, it is contended, were intentionally made, in conformity with the traditional decrees of the ancient scribes, transmitted from generation to generation, for the purpose of removing certain objectionable anthropomorphic characteristics attributed to the person of Yahweh, which were shocking to the reverential spirit of a pious Israelite, and inconsistent with his exalted conception of the dignity, character and attributes of the deity; or, in other words, there were expressions in the *true original text* which the scribes deemed had a tendency to degrade or detract from the holy and supreme attributes of Yahweh. These, under the pious sanction of tradition, they deliberately altered, so as to bring the words of the Book into conformity with their religious ideas. Whether this indictment is sustained by the evidence is a question for students of biblical criticism to decide. It is the intention of this article simply to specify the particular passages thus arraigned, being prompted by the conviction that this specific branch of textual criticism has been hitherto unwarrantably neglected.

The emendations above referred to have, in Rabbinical lore, received the name of "Tikkun Sopherim" (תיקון סופרים *corrections of the scribes*), and are eighteen in number, confined to no individual book or portion of the Old Testament, but occurring promiscuously throughout the whole body of the canon. Their complete enumeration is found carefully preserved among the compilations of the *Massorah Magna* and the *Ochlah W'Ochlah* (אכלה ואכלה), or alphabetic lists of Massoretic comments or notes. Mention is also frequently made of them in the numerous writings of the Rabbins, with, however, an apparent apologetic tone, or with a somewhat labored and almost superstitious attempt at their justification. This defensive position, during the middle ages, was in no small degree demanded by the writings of the celebrated Spanish orientalist, Raymond Martin[1] (1220—1287), who directly and publicly charged these emendations upon the Hebrew scribes as "willful corruptions and perversions introduced by them into the sacred text." As a fair illustration of the character and weight of these apologetics, we may cite the introduction to the Bomberg Rabbinical Bible of 1526, written by the eminent Jewish scholar, Jacob ben Chajim, of whom it may be

[1] Author of a work entitled *Pugio Fidei Christianae*, published in 1278, in which he shows great knowledge and familiarity with the writings and opinions of the Jews, and combats them with keen arguments drawn from the works of their own Rabbins.

Digitized by Google

truthfully said that, as an authority in Hebrew tradition and lore, he had no superior. A brief quotation must suffice. In refutation of the charge he says: "Thus it is that they (i. e., the Sopherim) made no willful changes. But if they (i. e., those making the charge) will persist in it in spite of what the Ga'on (i. e., Rabbi Nathan Ben Jachiel, 1030—1106, author of the celebrated lexicon *Aruch* ערוך), of blessed memory, says, we can repel them with the power of the argument as follows: Can any man believe that, if one intends to make willful alterations and changes, he would say, See what willful changes I have made, especially in the Prophets? Yet we find the Massorah declares, In five passages the Waw (ו) has been removed by the scribes (עטור סופרים), etc. Again, eighteen words are emendations of the scribes (תקון סופרים), etc. Now, if they had intended to make willful changes, they would surely not have proclaimed what they have changed and said, 'eighteen words are *Tikkun Sopherim* as given in the Mechiltha' (מכילתא a Midrashic exposition of Exod. XII.–XXXV. 3, composed in the first century A. D.). Moreover, the Sopherim made no changes or corrections; they only submitted that the text ought originally to have been so and so, but is veiled in other expressions, out of respect to the *Shechina*, as you will find out by examining the subject. The same is the case with the Q'rî and K'thîbh (כתיב וקרי): they (i. e. the Sopherim) point out what they have altered, if peradventure you choose to characterize them as alterations. We, of the class of believers, however, believe that they all are a law of Moses from Sinai (i. e. the original readings) including the emendations of the scribes (תיקון סופרים). But even if you still insist that the Sopherim did make alterations (תקנו הסופרים), the alterations in question neither raise nor lower the points upon which the heretics rest. Consult also the work done for Ptolemy, the king (i. e. The Septuagint) and you will see that in the thirteen instances where they made changes, they state the reason why they have made these alterations, and what these alterations are, in what they did for him. In conclusion, the heretics can have nothing to say in this matter" (Dr Ginsburg's translation, 1867).

For an exposition of the views heretofore commonly entertained by the Christian (as distinguished from the Jewish) critics on these matters, perhaps no abler exponent can be found than Johanne Leusden (1624–99) whose utterances in reference to the subject in question, have been, more than once, cited as of no little authority. We will therefore quote from his *Philologus Hebraeus* (third ed. 1686). In vol. I. under the section headed, *De Ordinatione Scribarum*, page 270, after having given a full list of the *Tikkun Sopherim*, he continues: "Occasione horum locorum *quaeritur*, An ex hac correctione Scribarum in octodecim illis locis non sequatur corruptio Textus Hebraici?

"*Respondeo*. Galatinus[1] lib. I. cap. 8. probaturus Scribas multa in S. Script-

[1] Peter Galatin, a learned Franciscan monk, who lived early in the 16th century and wrote a treatise entitled "De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis." A work of great merit and often since quoted. It is hostile to Rabbinical views on the questions in dispute. Buxtorf succinctly states

Digitized by Google

ura depravasse, utitur argumento desumpto ab octodecim vocibus, quae vocantur תיקון סופרים *correctio Scribarum*. Non quidem vult Judaeos depravasse Textus illo malo animo, sed propter rationes probabiles, et addit has depravationes esse restituendas ex Talmude Judaico: nam credit ea loca aliter olim fuisse lecta quam jam legunter. Sed falsa est haec Galatini assertio: nunquam S. Scriptura a Judaeis datâ operâ corrupta est. Obstat enim specialis Judaeorum reverentia sive potius superstitio erga S. Scripturam, quam Philo Judaeus probat cum ait: *Quemlibet Judaeum potius centies esse moriturum, quam ut pateretur Legem in aliquo mutari.* Sed instabit forte nonnemo. Octodecim voces vocantur *Correctio Scribarum:* ergo Scribae videntur quaedam loca mutasse, quae antea erant depravatae.

"*Respondeo* (1) Si per *Scribas* intelligantur Ezras et Viri Synagogae magnae, tum dicendum est illos S. Scripturam in *octodecim* illis locis non depravasse, sed emendasse, et antiquam lectionem restituisse. Multi non sine ratione per סופרים *Scribas* intelligunt Ezram et Viros Synagogae magnae; et non sine ratione: nam *Numer.* II. 15, Masora pro תיקון סופרים *Ordinatio Scribarum* expresse dicit תקון עזרא *Correctio Ezrae.* (2) Si per *Scribas* intelligantur Masorethae post-talmudici, tum responderi potest illos testari non quid re vera factum sit, sed quid factum esse Hebraeorum Rabbini tradunt. (3) Mihi verosimile videtur per *Scribas* esse intelligendos ipsos Auctores librorum, scil. Mosen et Prophetas, qui sic scripserunt, prout hodie scriptum est: verum Sapientes Hebraeorum viderunt inconvenientiam quandam in illis locis, ideoque judicarunt primos Auctores propter antecedentia et consequentia aliter loqui et scribere debuisse; sed maluisse ita scribere, prout hodie scriptum est. Hanc sententiam approbat S. Jarchi in Comment. ad Geneseos Caput 18, ubi ait:—היה לו לכתוב *scribendum ipsi* (Mosi) *erat, Dominus stabat.* Jarchi non asserit Mosen aliter scripsisse quam jam in Textu invenitur; sed judicat Mosen aliter debuisse vel potius potuisse scribere. Sapientes ergo Hebraeorum observarunt honorem Dei sive cohaerentiam Textus aliter quidem requirere; sed quia Scribae, hoc est, Auctores librorum ita scripserunt, ideo monuerunt talem lectionem esse retinendam; et propterea dixerunt, *Scribarum est ordinatio*, sive ipsi Auctores ita ordinarunt. In hanc sententiam etiam inclinat Buxtorsius apud Glassium pag. 57."

This, it will be noticed, is substantially the plea of the scribes, only perhaps more perspicuously stated. And such practically for the most part remains to this day the argument (i. e. as far as any advance based upon thorough critical investigation is concerned), adduced by the very few critics who have at all given their attention to this question.

As one of the many preliminary researches, necessary to a thorough sifting and proving of the Massoretic text, and as a further incentive to the study of the whole subject of Lower Criticism, as it is related to the Hebrew Scriptures, it

the argumentative position of *De Arcanis* when he says "Galatinus lib. I. cap. 8, ait loca ista [i. e. תיקון סופרים] a Scribis fuisse CORRECTA ET CORRUPTA." Lex. Rad. תקן.

Digitized by Google

cannot but result in good to give a list of these disputed passages, though they be only accompanied with the briefest of critical comments. Meanwhile leaving to others, better fitted to undertake the laborious, though far more important task of exhaustively inquiring into and passing final judgment upon the whole matter, which, though hitherto to a large extent overlooked, is now too important to be superficially treated or longer ignored, we proceed to present these emendations, in the order in which they occur in the Hebrew Bible, designating for convenience, the, what may be called, *true original text*, with the letter כ as an abbreviation of the word כתיב, and the present Massoretic text, with the letter ת as an abbreviation of the phrase תיקון סופרים, and withal with a fixed purpose of confining the accompanying remarks and critical comments to as brief a compass as the requirements of each case will allow.

I. First in regular order then we take up Genesis XVIII. 22.

(כ). "And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Yahweh still *remained* standing before Abraham (ויהוה עודנו עמד לפני אברהם)."

(ת). "And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham still *remained* standing before Yahweh (ואברהם עודנו עמד לפני יהוה)."

It is absolutely necessary that the context should be carefully studied, not only in connection with the above passage, but also with all others that may hereafter be quoted. Indeed in this particular instance, the force of the immediate context has such weight, as to almost irresistibly impel one to the conviction of the probability and reasonableness of the reading in כ, and so violent (if the expression be permitted) is the rupture in the logical continuity of thought in ת that almost any unprejudiced reader is constrained to pause after finishing it, and go over it a second time, impressed with the idea that he could not have read it aright. But mere probability, however reasonable, it must be allowed, unsupported by extraneous evidence of authenticity, will not warrant the adoption of כ, in any case, as the true text. To the question, whether there is sufficient circumstantial and corroborative testimony, we shall have something to say hereafter. For the present let us see what a few of the critics have to say *ad hoc*.

Leusden in *Philologus Hebraeus* (3d ed. Vol. I. page 269) says: "Gen. XVIII. 22. "Ubi *Abraham dicitur stetisse coram* JEHOVAH. Judaei putant magis ad honorem Dei esse, si scriptum fuisset, *et* JEHOVAH *stabat coram Abrahamo*. Masora parva annotat esse י"ח מלין תקון סופרים *octodecim voces*, quae vocantur *Ordinatio Scribarum*. Scribae cogitarunt: fotasse homines quidam hunc Textum posteriori modo legent, eamque depravabunt: ideo ordinarunt, ut omnes versum illum legerent, sicuti scriptus est, etiamsi Textus verba aliquid gloriae divinae videantur detrahere."

Dr. C. C. H. Wright, in his work entitled, "The Book of Genesis in Hebrew" (London, 1859), has the following: "This is one of the eighteen passages marked in the Massora as תקון סופרים. In these passages the Massorites thought

Digitized by Google

that there was something derogatory to the glory of God; e. g., in the passage under consideration they thought it would have been better expressed,—Jehovah stood yet before Abraham; but lest it should be read in that way, they have noted that the reading in the text is the true one" (page 60).

Dr. Wright, it will be seen, has followed Leusden, as to argument, very closely, even to the verge of being illogical; for how is to be reconciled the statement, "In these passages [i. e., as they now read] the Massorites thought that there was something derogatory to the glory of God," and the words of *Jacob ben Chajim* as quoted above, viz., "that the text ought originally to have been so and so, but is veiled in other expressions, out of respect to the Shechina"? One can hardly credit the scribes with employing such contradictory lines of defense, though Leusden does charge them with declaring for the integrity of the present text "etiamsi Textus verba aliquid gloriae divinae videantur detrahere." It would seem as if these critics had not materially strengthened the position of the Rabbins.

Far more frank and consistent, however, is the modern Jewish opinion on this subject, as expressed in the valuable commentary, "The Scriptures, Hebrew and English," by De Sola, Lindenthal and Raphall, published at London, 1844, where in Vol. I., page 96, referring to this passage we read: "Rashi remarks that according to the context it should have been, *the Lord yet stood before Abraham*, but the Massorites have altered it to the present reading. The reason seems to be that the expression to *stand before another* implies, in scriptural language, a state of inferiority and homage." The honest candor and almost anti-Jewish tone so prominent in the above comment, and considering the eminent source from which it springs, adds greatly to its intrinsic value, and contributes no little support to the position taken by Bleek in his "Introduction to the Old Testament" (2d ed., translated by Venables) Vol. II., page 459, where treating of the whole subject of the "Tikkun Sopherim," he, specifically referring to this passage, says, "The words, Abraham stood yet before Jehovah" (Gen. XVIII. 22), are a *correctio scribarum* for, Jehovah stood yet before Abraham. I consider that it is very probable that the latter is the original reading, for this mode of expression is better suited to the context. They were induced to make the alteration, because it was considered unseemly to say, that Jehovah stood before Abraham, this phraseology often being made use of to point out a relation of dependence."

The nature and scope of this article do not admit of further comment on this verse; indeed the limits of our alloted space will hereafter compel us to confine ourselves to little more than the bare enumeration of the remaining passages of the list.

II. Numbers XI. 15.

(כ). "And if thus thou art about to deal with me, then slay me, I pray thee, at once, if I have found favor in thy eyes: that I may not see thy evil, (ברעתך)" i. e. the punishment wherewith thou wilt visit Israel.

Digitized by Google

(ת). "And if thus thou art about to deal with me, then slay me, I pray thee, at once, if I have found favor in thy eyes: that I may not see my evil (ברעתי)."

The reason for this emendation (if it be one) is very readily apparent, for כ was possibly liable to be construed as ascribing "evil" (רעה) to Yahweh; the removing, therefore, of this possibility would be forsooth a most sufficient justification in the eyes of the scribes for the correction.

It is necessary here to add, that besides the reading in כ given above, there is a second form of the last word handed down by the Massorites, viz., ברעתם *malum ipsorum*, and what is remarkable, one of the Targums (Jerusalemi) corroborates this tradition; for, among its preserved fragments, we find the last clause rendered thus: ולא אחמי בבישתהון דעמך "that I may not see the evil of them who are thy people."

If now this latter text (ברעתם) be adopted as the more probable original form of כ, then there would seem to be some justification for the conservative argument adduced by Leusden and quoted above (see page 235 commencing with "(3) Mihi verosimile videtur, etc.," through to the end of the extract); for there would then be no apparent reason which could lead the scribe to substitute another reading for the one already existing, as it would obviously be already the most natural mode of expressing the idea which the tenor of the context logically demands, and that, too, without having any features which could possibly be conceived of as derogatory to the Deity. But if on the other hand, we take the former reading (ברעתך) to be the correct recension, then there arises an inevitable presumption, more or less conclusive, that the emendation did originate as charged, because of the cogency of the evident motive in the case. To which text the final preference ought to be given is a question to be decided solely by a preponderance of evidence, based upon a thorough critical investigation, and such we cannot here enter upon.

III. and IV. Num. XII. 12.

(כ). "Let her not, I pray, be as the dead, through whose proceeding from the womb of our own mother (אמנו), the half of our own flesh (בשרנו) would *thus* be consumed."

(ת). "Let her not, I pray, be as the dead *born child*, which when it comes out of its mother's (אמו) womb, *has* half of its flesh (בשרו) consumed."

Here it will be noticed are two *Tikkun Sopherim*, the causes for which are not very apparent. Possibly the motive might have been, that by כ a reflection seemed somehow to be cast upon the mother of Moses. At any rate it seems difficult to conceive how anything stated in כ could possibly, by the most fertile imagination, yea, even that of a Hebrew scribe, be considered as expressing or implying disrespect to Yahweh.

V. 1 Sam. III. 13.

Digitized by Google

(כ). "And I tell him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knew, for his sons cursed me (לי), and he rebuked them not."

(ת). "And I tell him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knew, for his sons did bring a curse upon themselves (להם), and he rebuked them not."

The Septuagint renders this clause as follows:—ὅτι κακολογοῦντες Θεὸν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ which significantly corroborates כ, if it does not, in fact, lend weight to the view that the original reading was אלהים (Θεὸν) rather than לי. But at all events, the idea is identically the same, as Buxtorf indicates when he says, "לי *mihi*, scil. Deo."[1] The motive underlying the emendation in this case is obvious enough. It was too offensive to believe that the sons of Eli could openly blaspheme God, and Eli be cognizant of it, and yet not reprimand them.

The text, as it now stands, in ת, confessedly presents many difficulties to a lucid interpretation; this fact conjoined with the above evidence strongly leads to the conclusion that it has undergone a corruption.[2]

VI. 2 Sam. xvi. 12.

(כ). "Perhaps Yahweh will behold with his eye (בעינו), and Yahweh will requite me good instead of his cursing this day."

(ת). "Perhaps Yahweh will look on my eye (בעיני), and will requite me good instead of his cursing this day."

There is great doubt and uncertainty as to the correct reading in this verse, the Massorites, for once, being far less explicit than we could wish that they had been. The above recension has been adopted, as, on the whole, the more probable one; though it must be confessed, not without considerable doubt as to its correctness. Perhaps we cannot more clearly show the confusion which rests on this matter, than by quoting from Buxtorf[3], "Hunc locum Massora utroque loco adducit: recensetur quoque in libro Tanchuma, in Parascha Beschallach in Exodo:[4] sed in qua voce תיקון consistat, non explicant. Commentatores hic quoque nullius תיקון meminerunt, cum alias R. Solomon et R. David loca ista adducere et explicare soleant. Pro בעניי, ut Massora ponit, in textu scriptum est בעוני, quod interpretes dicunt esse idem quod בעניי *afflictionem meam*, sed legitur בעיני *oculum meum*, id est, lachrymas oculorum meorum."

The form בעינו found in כ, undoubtedly might be open to the imputation of conveying anthropomorphic ideas of Yahweh, and hence would of course be objectionable to the scribes; but what should induce the alteration of בעוני *my*

[1] Lex. Rad., תקן.

[2] Cf. Lange-Schaff Com., vol. on Samuel, note 13, p. 87.

[3] Lex. Rad., תקן.

[4] "The Commentary Tanchuma (Consolation) on the section Beschallach (chapter xiii. 17 to chapter xviii.) in Exodus." This is a Midrashic work probably written early in the ninth century. It covers the entire Pentateuch.

Digitized by Google

iniquity (i. e. the wrong done me), if this be indeed the original reading, to בעיני *my eye* (i. e. my tears), or even to the more reasonable בעני *my affliction*, is by no means apparent, nor does Dr. Erdmann shed much light upon it, when he remarks, "The Massorites were not able to comprehend how David, guiltless in respect to this reviling, could acknowledge himself guilty,"[1] for the term does not necessarily imply any acknowledgment whatever, of personal guilt, on the part of David.

VII. and VIII. 1 Kgs. XII. 16 and 2 Chron. X. 16.

(כ). And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king saying, "What portion have we in David? nor have we an inheritance in the son of Jesse; [every man] to his God (לאלהיו), O Israel! now see to thine own house, David!" So [all] Irsael departed to their God (לאלהיו).

(ת). And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king saying, "What portion have we in David? nor have we an inheritance in the son of Jesse: [every man] to thy tents (לאהליך), O Israel! now see to thine own house David?" So [all] Israel departed to their tents (לאהליו).

Here the wording of כ graphically brings out the idea that the rebellious separation of Israel from the house of David, was, in the mind of the writer, nothing less than a renunciation of Yahweh, and a direct transition to idolatry; but it is readily conceivable that the terms employed might be considered by devout scribes as altogether too vigorous language, and besides as intimating, not alone disrepect, but even open defiance of Yahweh, and the subsequent delay of merited punishment might by some be perversely construed as a circumstance going to show that Yahweh could be contemptuously treated with impunity. In fact ת does not, in reality change the idea contained in כ, but only clothes it in a less objectionable dress, for Israel did forsake the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the worship of idolatry in tents at Bethel and Dan.

IX. Jeremiah II. 11.

(כ). "Hath a nation changed its gods? and yet they are no gods, but my people have changed my glory (כבודי) for that which doth not profit (i. e. an idol)."

(ת). "Hath a nation changed its gods? and yet they are no gods, but my people have changed their glory (כבודו), for that which doth not profit."

Here the ת, as we have seen in previous instances, does not alter the essential thought in the least, but by a slight modification of one small letter ', an offensive feature in כ is removed. There can be do doubt but that "their glory" refers to the Lord; the context imperatively demands such an interpretation. Neumann, arguing in favor of this point, is constrained to say: "Daher konnte

[1] Lange Schaff Com., p. 509.

Digitized by Google

Petrus Galatinus meinen (*De Arcanis Cath. Verit.* I. c. 8, p. 30), es heisse ursprünglich כבודי."[1] The correction in this case is of the same character as those in XI. and XV. and the motive underlying each is identical.

X. Ezekiel VIII. 17.

(כ). "Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light matter to the house of Judah to commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence and they constantly repeat to provoke me to anger, and, lo, they put the branch to my nose (אפי)."

(ת). The same, except the last clause which reads: "and, lo, they put the branch to their nose (אפם)."

This passage perhaps requires no comment, and yet there is one view of it which we do not wish to overlook. The anthropomorphism in כ is so pronounced, taken in connection with the immediate context, as to almost awaken repugnance in one, even though not a Jew, unfamiliar with this reading. How much greater then, the painful recoil which it would always have produced in the minds of devout Hebrews, had it been the received recension.[2] But on a closer unprejudiced inspection, much of its seemingly objectionable character disappears.

The generally adopted interpretation put upon the word זמורה "branch," is that it is connected with some idolatrous practice of the Persians in their worship of the sun. Now if this be correct, what is more reasonable or appropriate than that the Lord, in enumerating the great abominations committed by the house of Israel, should culminate the recital by saying: *And, lo, they flaunt the very insignia of their idolatry in my face*, and thus we would obtain a most forcible exposition of a passage otherwise very obscure, for certain it is, that the critics and commentators hitherto have not, on the basis of the textus receptus ("put the branch to their nose"), altogether satisfactorily explained this verse.[3]

XI. Hosea IV. 7.

(כ) "The more they increased, the more did they sin against me: my glory they changed into shame (כבודי בקלון המירו)."

(ת). "The more they increased, the more did they sin against me: I will change their glory into shame (כבודם בקלון אמיר)."

A full explication of the verbal changes implied in this *Tikkun* is wanting. In most of the authorities we find simply the most meagre statements. As an illustration of this, take Leusden's remark[4] "כבודם *gloriam ipsorum* pro כבודי *gloriam meam*," which literally carried out would result in the unintelligible phrase: "My glory I will change into shame;" for it is utterly incongruous with the context, and besides, has no relevancy or harmony with the explanations given by

[1] Jeremias, vol. I., p. 200. Leipzig, 1854.
[2] But as to the use of the expression אפי, elsewhere, by Yahweh, consult Isa. lxv. 5.
[3] Cf. Lange-Schaff Commentary ad hoc loco.
[4] Philol. Heb., vol. I., p. 270.

Digitized by Google

the Rabbins, as to the origin of *Tikkun Sopherim;* or yet with the theories of their opponents. It is too irrational a supposition to be entertained for a moment, that the ancient scribes thus intended it to be understood. I have, therefore, adopted in כ, the only consistent interpretation that has presented itself in the course of a somewhat careful investigation: it is, at least, in perfect accord with the analogous changes to be found in IX. and XV. The motive leading to the alteration in this case is self-apparent. It was offensive to think that wicked mortal man had the power to debase, in any degree, the glory of the infinite Yahweh.

XII. Habakkuk I. 12.

(כ). "Art not thou from everlasting, O Yahweh, my God, my Holy One? Thou diest not (לא תמות). O Yahweh, thou hast ordained him for judgment; and thou, O Rock, hast established him for correction."

(ת). "Art not thou from everlasting, O Yahweh, my God, my Holy One? We shall not die (לא נמות)," etc., etc.

It almost seems unnecessary to do more than simply quote Ewald upon this passage; he says, verse 12, "למשפט and להוכיח, according to the sense of the passage, refer as plainly to the Chaldean himself, as תמות must be read instead of נמות, contrary to the Massora and LXX. in *d* צור answers to לא תמות. The phrase which appeared objectionable to a good many ancient readers, really expresses only our idea of *immortality;* but, *we shall not die*, or ולא נמות LXX. [*καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν*] *that we die not*, is a thought which is quite foreign to the passage."[1]

In this opinion Bleek also concurs, for he says: "— from the context it is very probable, as Ewald also thinks, that לא תמות is the genuine reading, which on account of the expression seeming offensive, they [the *Sopherim*] thought they ought to alter."[2] This is, moreover, substantiated by the Targum, which thus paraphrases the clause in question: מימרך קים לעלמין "Thy word endureth forever." R. Sol. Isaaci (Rashi) also adopts this reading, quoting it as the original writing of the prophet. In this connection it is a significant fact worthy of note, that the Revised Version of 1884 has to this particular verse the marginal comment, "According to an ancient Jewish tradition, *thou diest not.*" Undoubtedly to the ancient Scribes, it was considered unbefitting to speak of *death* at all in regard to Yahweh, even though, as in this case, the direct denial of the Lord's ever experiencing it, was predicated.

XIII. Zechariah II. 12. (A. V. verse 8.)

(כ). For thus saith Yahweh of hosts, (for the sake of *your* glory hath he sent me unto the nations which despoil you), 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of my eye (עיני).'"

[1] Commentary on the Prophets, Smith's translation, vol. III., p. 36.
[2] Introduction to the O. T., 2d ed., by Venables, vol. II., p. 459.

Digitized by Google

(ת). "For thus saith Yahweh of hosts, for the sake of *your* glory hath he sent me unto the nations which despoil you, for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye (עינו)."

Here the Sopherim thought that they could detect a tendency toward anthropomorphism, similar to that displayed in X. The main objectionable element in both these passages, appears to have been, that the pronominal suffix employed (י *my*) seemed to imply that Yahweh *himself* ascribed *to himself* certain degrading anthropomorphic characteristics. Moreover the Lord is never elsewhere represented as himself using the personal pronoun *my* in conjunction with so pronounced an anthropomorphism as, "apple of the eye." Its use, therefore, in this exceptional case, might be construed as an inconsistency, and hence derogatory to the divine character.

XIV. Malachi I. 13.

(כ). "And ye have said, Behold, what a bore it is. And ye have snuffed at me (אותי), saith Yahweh of hosts; and ye have brought that which was taken by violence, and the lame, and the sick; thus have ye brought the offering: should I accept this from you? saith Yahweh."

(ת). "And ye have said, Behold, what a bore it is; and ye have snuffed at it (אותו), saith Yahweh of hosts," etc.

Commenting on this verse, Keil and Delitzsch remark: "Jerome thinks that instead of אותו we might read אותי, which is found in a good number of codices."[1] They, however, feel constrained, on general principles, to reject the reading, and stand upon the textus receptus. The exact words of Jerome, above referred to, are, "ut in Hebraeo legi potest, *et exsufflastis me*, haec dicendo, non sacrificio, sed, mihi cui sacrificabatis, fecistis injuriam." In support of this view, R. Sol. Isaaci is quoted by Buxtorf as saying: "In textu sacro fuisse scriptum אותי et postea per Scribas correctum אותו ut hodie legitur."[2] The expression as well as the idea contained in כ has, it cannot but be admitted, a tendency to awaken a revulsion of feeling in a sensitive reverential heart. Therefore, if the emendation was made, the motive that actuated it was good.

XV. Psalm CVI. 20.

(כ). "Thus they changed my glory (כבודי) into the similitude of an ox, that eateth herbage."

(ת). Thus they changed their glory (כבודם) into the similitude of an ox that eateth herbage."

The remarks under IX. will equally apply here, for the cases are almost identical. As a circumstance tending to show that a certain degree of uncertainty as to the true text, has from remote time existed, we may cite the fact, that the Vulgate here reads, *gloriam suam*, which is supported by some codices of the

[1] Commentary on the Minor Prophets, vol. II., p. 440.
[2] Lex., Rad., תקן.

Digitized by Google

LXX. where we find δόξαν αὐτοῦ; both indicating a single suffix (כבודו). Consult the striking parallel in Rom. I. 23.

XVI. Job. VII. 20.

(כ). "If I have sinned, what *injury* can I cause unto thee, O thou Watcher of men? Why hast thou set me up as a target for thee *to strike at*, and *why* have I become a burden unto thee (עליך)."

(ת). The same except the last word which here reads: "unto myself (עלי)."

This is a case where the presumption raised, in favor of כ being the original reading, is very strong. The Septuagint so has it, εἰμὶ δὲ επὶ σοὶ φορτίον; and many of the ablest critics have given their decision in its favor. We have space but to mention only one or two of the numerous authorities which have endorsed it. The eminent Jewish Commentator Ibn Ezra (1092-1167) adopts it as the original form written by the author. Houbigant, in his *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis*, 1753, says: "ואהיה עלי למשא etc., *sum mihi gravis*. Imo עליך *tibi*, quod scribae mutarent in עלי. Id vocant correctionem scribarum, h. e. תקון סופרים, quod indignum divina majestate arbitrarentur ut homuncio Deo esset oneri. Sed num fuerunt sapientiores Deo? Haec Drusius, ex ipso Aben-Ezra Judaeo, qui sic aiebat: *correctio est scribarum licit expositio ejus absque correctione recta sit.*" Sapienter vero id Aben-Ezra, cum עליך sui simile habeat לך in priori membro, et cum scriptum habuerint עליך Graeci interpretes." And in our day, such an able and conservative critic as Dr. Delitzsch feels himself constrained to accept this reading in preference to that of the Massora; he thus expresses his conviction: "Why, says Job, hast thou made me a mark of hostile attack, and why am I a burden to thee? It is not so in our text; but according to Jewish tradition, עלי, which we now have, is only a תקון סופרים *correctio scribarum*, for עליך, which was removed as bordering on blasphemy. This reading I should not consider as the original, in spite of the tradition, if it were not confirmed by the LXX."[1] In this he is followed by the Lange-Schaff Commentary. It does indeed seem as though it were only a matter of time before עליך would again obtain its due recognition and take its rightful place in the printed text. May we not with confidence assert that, when that much desired *critically revised Hebrew Text* shall appear, as appear it certainly must, this will be one of the corrections to be found incorporated in it.

XVII. Job. XXXII. 3.

(כ). "And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer *to Job* and also because they had condemned divine justice (את הדין)."

(ת). "And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job (את איוב)."

Tradition has preserved an alternative reading in כ, viz., את אלהים.

[1] Commentary on the Book of Job, translated by Bolton, 2d ed. 1886.

Digitized by Google

"God:" if this be adopted, the clause of course would be: "And also because they had condemned God." It is not indicated which is the more probably true reading. At any rate, the idea is evidently precisely the same, whichever term be employed.

Hitzig, though not giving his support to the traditional view (i. e., that the scribes have here made an emendation), still suggests that the reading אלהים may be the foundation for the rendering found in the LXX., *διότι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἀποκριθῆναι ἀντίθετα Ἰὼβ, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀσεβῆ.*[1] The reasonableness of the statement found in כ, as viewed in the light of other expressions met with in the poem, has been seriously attacked by some: e. g., Dr. Delitzsch peremptorily dismisses it with the remark, "According to the Jewish view, וירשיעו את־איוב is one of the eighteen תקוני סופרים (*correctiones scribarum*), since it should be וירשיעו את־אלהים. But it is not the friends who have been guilty of this sin of הרשיע against God, but Job, ch. XL. 8, to whom Elihu opposes the sentence אל לא־ירשיע, ch. XXXIV. 12. Our judgment of another such *tikkun*, ch. VII. 20, was more favorable."[2]

This objection seems to us to be without solid foundation, and rests upon a strange misconception and failure to apprehend the true trend of the various arguments, nor is it sustained by the passages referred to as authorities when they are rightly construed; for ch. XXXIV. 12 is obviously addressed to the three friends, and not to Job, as it is most commonly interpreted; this is plainly indicated by the form of address employed in verses 2 and 10. This whole passage, as we take it, is a fervid discourse addressed to the three friends for the purpose of instructing them as to how they could and should have effectively answered Job, which they had undoubtedly in their arguments failed to do, and for which palpable failure Elihu's anger was excited against them. And ch. XL. 8 does by no means preclude the idea that the three friends were guilty of condemning divine justice in their arguments, as is shown by the words employed by the Lord in the epilogue, where he explicitly censures them for *not having spoken of me the thing that is right* (ch. XLII. 7, 8). Now the statement here made manifestly presents an incongruity when considered in the light of the common interpretation as founded upon the reading את איוב in ch. XXXII. 3, to obviate which the translators of the LXX. here have made clearly an intentional correction and thereby bring into harmony these discordant statements (i. e., ch. XLII. 8, *οὐ γὰρ ἐλαλήσατε ἀληθὲς κατὰ τοῦ θεράποντός μου Ἰώβ*); and what is quite remarkable, some MSS. of the Hebrew exhibit a like reading (i. e., בעבדי את איוב *against my servant Job*);—all of which certainly tend to demonstrate the reasonableness of the reading found in כ.

---

[1] "Das Buch Hiob," 1874, Note b, page 240.

[2] "Commentary on the Book of Job," Bolton's translation, 2d ed., 1863.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Green has, with rare insight, detected and exposed the necessary logical result to which the argument of the three friends leads, when he says, "The friends undertook to justify God's providential dealings. The failure of their argument apparently leaves the divine proceedings open to censure and without any adequate vindication. . . . They had really inculpated the providence of God by their professed defense of it. By disingenuously covering up and ignoring its enigmas and seeming contradictions they had cast more discredit upon it than Job by honestly holding them up to the light. Their denial of its apparent inequalities was more untrue and more dishonoring to the divine administration, as it is in fact conducted, than Job's bold affirmation of them. Even his most startling utterances, wrung from him in his bewilderment and sore perplexity, were less reprehensible than their false statements and false inferences."[1] Viewed in this light, is it in anywise strange or unreasonable that the inspired writer should predicate of "the messenger of God, who came to plead God's cause," for such Elihu undoubtedly was, that "against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer *to Job*, and also because they had condemned divine justice"?

Moreover, if a *Tikkun Sopherim* is anything at all, it is one of two things: (1) a record of what the author actually wrote in a particular case; or, (2) a notice indicating what the ancient scribes considered the sense of the context naturally and logically demanded. If the former be true, then verily these critics have become wiser than the spirit of inspiration. And if the latter be true, then they certainly convict the Hebrew scribes of an egregious misunderstanding of an argument expressed in their own language, and what is more, contained in their so carefully studied Sacred Scriptures; which is indeed as improbable as that Dr. Delitzsch has discovered the *only* construction which can be put upon ch. XL. 8. It hardly needs mention, that the reason which might have influenced a scribe to consider a correction desirable, was the offensiveness of a statement implying that mortal man had audaciously condemned the infinitely wise and just God.

XVIII. Lamentations III. 19–21.

(כ). "O remember my wretched and forlorn condition, *it is* wormwood and gall. Yea, verily thou wilt remember, and thy soul will condescend unto me (ותשׂיח עלי נפשך): this I recall to my heart, therefore have I hope."

(ת). "O remember my wretched and forlorn condition, *it is* wormwood and gall. My soul indeed remembers, and is humiliated within me (ותשח עלי נפשי); this I recall to my heart, therefore have I hope."

If, in this case ת be a correct translation of the Massoretic text, and such it most probably is, then there is even to the English reader, evidently a marked lack of cohesion between the clauses, and a painful want of logical concatenation

[1] "The Argument of the Book of Job unfolded," pages 245 and 519.

Digitized by Google

in the thought; while, on the other hand, the clearness and beauty of the idea brought out in כ cannot but awaken an involuntary sanction and approval in the mind of every candid reader. If it be a fact that an emandation has been incorporated into the text here, then, indeed, it is to be regretted; for great has been the loss sustained, through the over-zealousness of Hebrew scribes in removing a seeming offensive anthropomorphism, which resulted well nigh in an annihilation of the sense. But if this view seem to lack support, then by far the most reverential attitude to assume is, that the text, as we now possess it, has suffered corruption during the process of time. Such indeed, is the view entertained by eminent commentators, who have been prolific in suggesting various emandations. But, after all, what is more reasonable or natural than to adopt the suggestion supported by the oldest tradition, and which so beautifully and consistently removes all ambiguity.

In conclusion, we feel confident that we cannot do better than quote the judgments expressed upon the *Tikkum Sopherim* by two such eminent authorities as Eichhorn and Bleek. The former concludes from "the character of the readings" that "this recension took note only of certain errors which had crept into the text through transcribers, and which were corrected by collection of MSS.[1] The latter thus expresses himself: "It is usually assumed that the notes called *Tikkun Sopherim* were merely alterations of incorrect readings in many manuscripts, according to others which were more exact, and it is supposed, unquestionably, that the readings brought forward by the Sopherim, which are just those of our present MSS. and editions, were the genuine and original ones. But in what we find stated, there is nothing to the effect that they were emendations from other MSS.; thus, then, the question would arise how the readings set aside by the corrections of the Sopherim were introduced into MSS.; as from the nature of many of the readings, they could not have got in by mere accident. Partly from the statements of the Massorites, and partly from the nature of many of the readings set aside by the *Tikkun Sopherim* as compared with those introduced by the latter and now existing in the text, we are led to look upon the matter in the following way:—that in these passages there actually existed generally, or at least in most of the manuscripts in use, other readings which, because in some points of view they presented certain offensive or doubtful expressions, the Sopherim considered themselves justified in altering. Thus, in a critical point of view, these earlier readings which are specified as being altered, always deserve much attention, and at least in many cases, it may be really assumed with great probability that they are the original ones. It may, however, be assumed with probability, that these *correctiones scribarum* existed in ancient times, indeed before the date of the Talmud, and that it is only by accident that they are not

[1] Einleitung in das Alten Test., 1823, § 116.

Digitized by Google

expressly mentioned in the latter. But the fact that the knowledge of them was afterwards preserved serves as a direct proof of the anxiety that was shown as to the form of the text."[1]

Our main purpose in the writing of this article has been (1) to attempt to demonstrate the fact that there was a cogent motive in each case, sufficient to induce the Sopherim to change the original text; and (2) to establish, by external as well as internal proof, the basis for the presumption that the original text has actually suffered corruption at the hands of the ancient scribes, if not in all, at least in some of the cases considered, whether we have succeeded in our object, or not, is a question to be decided by the verdict of each unprejudiced reader. If it be proven that the scribes have, in truth, made one single correction in the original writings in the places designated as *Tikkun Sopherim*, then their whole line of defense must fall to the ground; for it is no longer entitled to the least credence, and the value of each *Tikkun* must be determined solely by the weight of evidence in its favor, in each individual case, totally irrespective of any statements or explanations handed down by personally interested scribes. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is a well established principal of legal evidence for determining the credibility of witnesses, and it is equally applicable to the case in hand.

In closing, we have only to say that there has been, throughout this discussion, an honest intention to bring to light only the truth, and while so doing, to endeavor to be fair and just in the criticisms indulged in and the judgments expressed.

---

[1] Introduction to the O. T. translation of Venables, vol. II., p. 459.

Digitized by Google

A SYNOPSIS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY BY BAR 'EBHRÂYÂ.

By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D.,
Columbia College, New York City.

In his "Lamp of the Holy Things" Bar 'Ebhrâyâ has given us a compendium of his logical, physical, metaphysical, and theological writings. In its general construction it is very similar to the "Book of the Bee" and to the "Causa Causarum" attributed to Ya'ḳubh 'Urhâyâ (ZDMG. xv. 648). The "M'nârath Ḳudhšê" is perhaps one of the least known of the larger works of Bar 'Ebhrâyâ.[1] MS. copies of it are quite rare.[2] At some future date I hope to edit the whole of it. It is especially interesting as giving us a picture of the state of science in Syria during the thirteenth century. It furnishes also important additions to our Syriac lexicon, and has not been sufficiently excerpted by Quatremere for the "Thesaurus Syriacus." In a small publication, I have already edited the chapter on plants and their medicinal properties.[3] The following contains the chapter on the Greek philosophers, taken from the Berlin MS. It is much more scientific than the accounts in the Syriac Chronicle and Arabic "Historia Dynastorum." I do not think that Bar 'Ebhrâyâ has himself gone very deeply into Grecian philosophy. It is probably based upon some such synopsis as those of Aristotle in the first book of the "Metaphysics," Plutarch in Eusebius, "Prepar. Evan." xiv. 14, and Stobaeus, "Eclogae Physicae," i. 12. The names are written too correctly for it to have come from an Arabic source; though Bar 'Ebhrâyâ has otherwise drawn largely from Ibn Abi Oseibia, El Kifti and Sa'id (Steinschneider, "Al Farabi," pp. viii, 152, 154, 157). In what connection this synopsis stands to one mentioned by Renan in his "Phil. Peripat. apud Syros" (Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*, p. 128) I am unable to say, as I have no means of consulting that book.

Through the kindness of Professor Sachau and Herr Stud. Müller in Berlin my copy has been once more collated with the MS.

MS. Sachau 81, fol. 22*a*.

هدلهد ٢ذعلمد هلي صلعمد ١هنا حلا . ٥٥٥ اسد حمد١ . ٥٥٥ ١مقلل ٢لحدا . قسم

حمد١ ٢ذحمد هي بسم سيمال ٥٥٥مشحمد ٥٥٥ حصيمنا حلا صلعمد ١هنا

حلا . ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥مشمد هي سم نسما مدد١حدا (!) سمر حمحنا امدا ٢١لحمس

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1834, p. 461, contains a description of the work. Assemâni (B. O. II. 234) does not say much. A short extract will be found in Frothingham's "Stephen bar Sudaili," p. 63.

[2] Vatican (B. O., *loc. cit.*), Paris (anc. fonds MS. 121), Berlin (Sachau MS. 81). Arabic translations exist in Paris, the British Museum, and the Bodleian.

[3] "A List of Plants and their Properties," etc. Berlin, 1886. For private circulation only.

Digitized by Google

(fol. 22b)

[1] The scribe first wrote "dʿhenê(i)n," which he afterwards corrected:

Digitized by Google

ܐܝܟ ܐ[ܢ] ܐܬܝ ܡܢ . ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܒܐܪܣܛܘ . ܐܪܣܛܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܡܢ
ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ
ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ
ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ
ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ
ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ
ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ
ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ
ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ
ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ . ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ
ܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ .

ܗܕܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܥܠ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܩܕܡ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܡܝ ܗܘ

these there were those who assumed infinite ὁμοιομερῆ, as Anaxagoras.[1] He said that when these parts (μέρη) collide with one another and again separate from one another, generation and destruction are completed. The active cause of existence he affirmed to be the νοῦς. Lucippus also assumed infinite elements, but [said] that they differ [from one another] and possess real Being, and that "Being is not more real than not-Being."[2] Democritus again assumes infinite principles round in form (σχῆμα), which can be divided off mentally, not in reality. Epicurus, again, says of the [first] principles that they are infinite [in number], indivisible, and are set in motion in an infinite vacuum, and that they possess magnitude, shape and gravity.

Others posited the principles as finite, as Empedocles. This [philosopher] set up the four elements as principles, and the mingling (μῖξις) [of the elements], which is generation, he calls love (φιλότης), and [their] separation (διάλλαξις), which is destruction, [he calls hate (νεῖκος)].[3] Aristotle posits three principles, ὕλη, εἶδος and deprivation (στέρησις).[4] He also assumes elements for the στέρησις, because the destruction of every εἶδος is the cause of another εἶδος. The Stoics said that the Deity (ὁ θεός) and the ὕλη are the [material] principles, the one as working force (τὸ ποιοῦν) the other as passive (τὸ πάσχον) and receptive, i. e., father and mother. Some Stoics posited five elements,—god, the soul (ψυχή), ὕλη, time (κρόνος) and vacuum (κενόν).

Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, the Samian, he who first gave the name *philosophy* to philosophy,[5] made numbers the elements of this universe; saying that the compound numbers come from the simple ones, and that there is nothing simpler than number, because it is bereft of all nature, and that every nature, since number necessarily belongs to it, is compound,[6] and not simple. He asserts, further, that the first number is the active force (ποιητικόν), and the second the receptive (ὕλη). The full number is ten (δεκάς), because it cannot be added to, but we [commence again to] count from it. The number four (τετρακτύς) is its [i. e., ten's] foundation; for by means of it [the ten] is made full; namely, by [the addition of] one, and two, and three, and four. Atticus, in the first chapter of the book Philicus [Phillipus?] says that Plato thought [there were] four elements,—νοῦς, which is the active force, or deity, praise be to his goodness; the receptacle (δοχεῖον?) or ὕλη, which he also calls the receptive mother[7] and ἐκμαγεῖον;[8] the image

[1] Arist. *Metaph.* I. 3.

[2] Aristotle, *Metaph.* I. 4, of which our words are a translation: διὸ καὶ οὐθὲν μᾶλλον τὸ ὂν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι φασιν.

[3] A clerical omission in MS.

[4] Stobæus, *Eclogae Physicae*, I. ch. XII. Schahrastâni, "Kitâb al-Milal wan-Niḥal," II. 317. Aaron ben Elia, "'Êṣ ḥayyim," ed. Delitzsch, p. 326.

[5] In the *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 51, this has become, "Some say that the first one who philosophized was Pythagoras."

[6] In the MS. this word occurs twice; but see *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 84.

[7] Timæus, 51 A. [8] Timæus, 50 D.

Digitized by Google

[of the thing generated, i. e., ἀφομοιούμενον] or εἶδος, which he calls the archetype, saying that in its likeness the different substances were created; and motion (κίνησις) or soul, which until then had existed without knowledge in the ὕλη as the first principle, and [which] had been brought into motion confusedly and not according to order (ἀτάκτως).[1] In the book Timæus, Plato himself says that these [principles] are three,—being, δοχεῖον, and νοῦς, a treble triad, and [one which] existed before the heavens.[2] Moreover, he called εἶδος God,[3] and δοχεῖον ὕλη; motion or soul [he called] generation. And in one place also he says there are two principles, combining the deity and εἶδος into one, and ὕλη and motion into one. Syrianus (MS. Sîbarius ?), to whom Plotinus attached himself, and Boëthus (MS. BUTUS), to whom Longinus (MS. LUKGS), the teacher of Porphyrius, was attached, have said much about the opinions of Plato; but we omit them, in order that this exposition be not prolonged. Of the rest, Bardaiṣân posited five principles or beings,[4]—fire, and wind, and water, and light, and darkness; Mani, however, only two,—goodness and evil.[5] And because all these profane [writers] attributed eternity and not generation to this world, being in opposition to the holy church, which does not attribute to it eternity, but generation, i. e., temporal beginning, holding its generation to be true, but denying its eternity, we refute them in a body, as we do all their frightful doctrines. A separate treatise, however, is necessary against every one of these heresies on a larger scale than in this writing.

---

[1] Timæus, 69 B, ταῦτα ἀτάκτως ἔχοντα ὁ θεὸς, κτλ.

[2] Timæus, 52 D, ὃν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ γένεσιν εἶναι τρία τριχῇ καὶ πρὶν οὐρανὸν γενέσθαι.

[3] Read, "kârê 'allâhâ lâdhšâ."

[4] Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, p. 3, etc. Cf. also Payne Smith, s. v. "Schahrastâni," I. 194; Aaron ben Elia, p. 310; Bardesandes von Edessa von Dr. A. Merx, Halle, 1863; Bardesanes der Letzte Gnostiker, Leipzig, 1864; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, p. 220; Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, p. 161. MS. or. Berlin Sachau 302 contains a short extract from Bardaiṣân. Aprêm, however (B. O. I. 131), has *seven* instead of *five*.

[5] Titus von Bostra, ed. Lagarde, 6:1. Flügel, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

Digitized by Google

S. J. FINN'S NEW HEBREW DICTIONARY.

By Rabbi B. Felsenthal, Ph., D.,

Chicago, Ill.

This dictionary may be designated not only as very interesting and instructive, but as quite unique in its character. Its full title is given below.[1]

Of this book which is now in the course of being published in the city of Warsaw, five numbers, each containing eighty pages, have reached me. These five numbers comprise the words from the letter א to the word גנב. The work will be completed in twenty numbers. The book is written throughout in an easy and flowing neo-hebraic language, and no exceedingly great Hebrew learning is required in order to be able to use this dictionary.

But what is there so unique in this book? the reader may ask. Have we not already a very large number of Hebrew dictionaries? Have not very many such been written during the last thousand years? At no time was there a lack of this kind of literature, since the days when Jehudah ben 'Alan, of Tiberias (died in the year 932), wrote his lexicon,[2] and since soon after him Jehudah Ibn Qoreish composed his "*Iggaron*,"[3] down to the present day in which Friedrich Delitzsch is preparing a new Hebrew dictionary which is looked for with great expectations by the friends of Hebrew philology. (For, according to all that we learn of the forthcoming work of Delitzsch, it will, in all likelihood, mark a decided progress in Hebrew lexicography.) What, then, is there so unique in Finn's book? Is it the circumstance that it is composed in Hebrew? But we have also *such* dictionaries, and quite a number of them.[4]

Our answer is: Finn is the first one who has undertaken to give us a complete thesaurus of the *entire* Hebrew language. All other Hebrew dictionaries —I speak only of *Hebrew* dictionaries, and not of Aramaic or Talmudic dictiona-

[1] האוצר

אוצר לשון המקרא והמשנה, כולל פתרון כל המלות שנמצאו במקרא ובמשנה באור הנחותיהן הראשונות וההוראות הנגזרות מהן, והברלי השמות והפעלים הנרדפים, ועם זה זכרון המלות הנגזרות מלשון המקרא והמשנה, שבאו בתלמודים, במדרשי ההלכות וההגדות, בפיוטים ובספרי גדולי חכמי ישראל האחרונים, והעתקתם ללשון רוססית ואשכנזית, וכן כל שמות העצמים הפרטים שנזכרו במקרא. חבר מאת ר' שמואל יוסף פין נ"י מווילנא. יוצא לאור על ידנו נפתלי משכיל-לאיתן ואברהם צוקקערמאנן. ווארשא, שנת תרמ"ו לפ"ק.

[2] About him and his grammatical and lexical works see Pinsker's *Liqqutê Qadmoniyyoth*, I., 106; also Geiger in "Oçar Neḥmad," II., 158, reprinted in his *Hebr. Abhandlungen*, p. 32.

[3] See Pinsker, *loc. cit.*, p. 108. In a passage to be found in his *Risalet* and quoted by Pinsker, Qoreish himself mentions that he wrote a dictionary; comp. also M. Jastrow, above page 105.

[4] Among these Hebrew dictionaries, written in Hebrew and published within a comparatively recent time, probably the best known is the "Oçar ha-Shorashim," by J. Benzeeb (*vulgo Bensew*), the first edition of which appeared in Vienna, in 1807.

Digitized by Google

ries—gather in only the *Wortschatz* of the Hebrew Bible, and leave Mishnah, Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre, Beraithoth, etc., entirely unnoticed. But our author does not restrict himself to that part of the Hebrew, of which, accidentally, roots and stems have been preserved in the Old Testament. He defines and explains also those Hebrew words which are not found in the Bible. And there are a large number of such Hebrew *roots* in that part of the post-biblical literature of the Jews which dates from the apostolic age and the first centuries of the Christian era. There are still larger and still more extensive numbers of new *derivations*, formed from these Hebrew roots and stems, which were coming into common use in the Hebrew literature of the Jews in all later ages. Such new word-formations are coined even by Hebrew writers in our present age,—often, it must be admitted, very clumsily and really un-Hebrew, but often also very happily and quite in harmony with the genius of the Hebrew language.

The want of such a *complete* thesaurus has been felt for a long time. Zunz, more than thirty years ago, in an article containing "*Wuensche fuer ein Woerterbuch der Hebr. Sprache*,"[1] declared this to be a great fault and neglect in our Hebrew dictionaries that they are so narrow and limited in their scope, and he thought it not more than right and proper that the lexicographers should take notice also of the Hebrew as it was spoken and written after the canonical books of the O. T. had been collected. And now what this master was looking for thirty years ago, is gradually being realized.

We are probably not in error when we suppose that to many readers of HEBRAICA, the post-biblical Hebrew literature is an unexplored and not much-known field. It may, therefore, not be out of place if we use this occasion for trying to convey here, by a few illustrations and examples, an idea of the post-biblical Hebrew,—not of its grammatical structure, for this would require a special article, or series of articles, but of its lexical peculiarities and distinctions.

It has been said above that in the Mishnah and its cotemporary Hebrew literature Hebrew roots and stems are found which accidentally are not to be met with in the Hebrew Bible. Let us give some such roots as are not to be found in Gesenius, Fürst, or any dictionary of the Hebrew Bible.

בגר, *to enter into a riper age*, used especially of females; derivatives: בוגרת *a maiden*; בגרות *the mature state of womanhood*, etc.

בדח *to amuse, to make merry;* derivatives: בדחן *a jester;* בדיחות or בדחנות *amusement, entertainment*, etc.

דוק (compare the bibl.-Hebrew דק, דקק) *to be strict;* derivatives: מדויק *exact;* דיוק *strictness, close examination;* reduplicated: מדקדק, מדוקדק *to take it, or to be taken, strictly;* דקדוק *exact knowledge, science of grammar*, etc.

פסד (not used in Qăl), הפסיד *to cause damage;* הפסד *loss, damage*, etc.

[1] See *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch-Morgenland. Gesellsch.*, vol. X., (1856) p. 501 sq.; reprinted in Zunz' *Ges. Schriften* vol. III., p. 14, sq.

Digitized by Google

צער *pain, suffering, affliction;* מצער *one who causes pain or trouble*, etc.
תרה *to warn;* התראה *warning*, etc.

The list could be easily enlarged. That these words are pure and genuine Hebrew, and were used not only by the apostles and their cotemporaries, but also in pre-Christian times, there can be no rational doubt.

Another class of neo-Hebraic words are those which in later ages were derived from, and formed out of, such roots as already occurred in the Bible. For instance:

חליצה *the act of releasing a man from the duty of marrying his widowed sister-in-law*, (see Dt. xxv. 5 seq.), derived from חלץ *to draw off;* חלוצה *the widow thus released*, etc.

יבמות *the leviratical status* (see Dt. ibid.), derived from יבם *the levir, brother-in-law*. This word יבמות is also the title of one of the tractates in the Talmud, and is usually read "*Yebamoth*." Joseph Derenbourg, however, a few years ago, advanced the idea, and supported it by good arguments, that it would be more correct to read "*Yabmuth*."

גר in the Bible, *the stranger who dwells with us*, from the root גור *to dwell;* in post-biblical literature *the proselyte;* therefrom the derivations גִּיֵּר, התגיר, *to make, or to become, a proselyte;* גרות *proselytism;* גיורת *a female proselyte*, etc.

הבדלהקם *distinction* (from בדל); *the benediction spoken on the close of the Sabbath*, in which God is praised "who makes a distinction between the holy Sabbath-day and the profane week-days," etc.

מַסּוֹרֶת *Massoreth*, or מָסוֹרָה *Masorah* (from מסר *to transmit*),—technical terms for the traditions concerning the orthography of the original text of the Bible and what is connected therewith.

הֲלָכָה, *Halakhah*, the rule, the religious law or enactment (from הלך *to go.*)[1]

הַגָּדָה or אַגָּדָה *Haggadah, Agadah*, (from נגד, Hîph'îl *to announce, to tell*), the non-Halakhic parts of the Talmud (sentences, maxims, parables, narratives, homiletical explanations and amplifications of biblical passages, etc.).

מבוא, in the Mishnah מבוי, *a court before a house, an entrance into a house;* in later periods, *an introduction* into some branch of learning.

מַחַט *needle;* חַיָּט *a tailor.* In the Bible we find only חוּט *the thread.*

---

[1] I cannot forego to submit here to the consideration of those of my readers who are more conversant with the New Testament and its exegesis than I claim to be, the following thought. In the Gospel according to St. John, xvi. 6, we read: Jesus said unto Thomas, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," etc.—"I am the way,"—what does this mean? Let us re-translate it into the language of the educated Jews in Jesus' times, and we will find that Jesus probably said, אנכי ההלכה "*I am the Halakhah* (the law), etc., and no man cometh to the Father but by me." Now the sentence becomes much clearer, and expresses an idea which is in full harmony with the theology of the Fourth Gospel. But what good sense can be connected with the words "I am the way?" In looking into the excellent Hebrew translation of the New Testament by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, I notice that the words under consideration are rendered there by אנכי הדרך,—and this, I must confess, causes me rather hesitation in regarding my rendering as correct. However, it may be worth examination by experts.

Digitized by Google

רְאִיָה *the argument;* רְאִיָּה *the faculty of seeing;* רְאִיוֹן *the act of appearing before God in the Temple;* (see Dt. XVI. 16); רָאוּי *to be fit* or *proper* (from the verb ראה *to see*).

A רב מובהק is *a celebrated* or *illustrious teacher.* מובהק, from בהק *to shine;* see the biblical ἅπαξ λεγόμενον בֶּהָק *a white spot*, Lev. XIII. 39.

תקנה, תקון *an institution, a firmly established rule;* מתוקן *to be ready, established;* derived from תקן, which is three times found in Ecclesiastes.

כַּוֵּן (from biblical כּוּן) *to direct the attention;* therefrom כַּוָּנָה *attention, devotion.*

חַזָּן (from biblical חזה *to see*) *the overseer;* in the Mishnah, חזן הכנסת *the overseer of the synagogue;* later, *the reader*, or *the conductor of divine service.*

עבודה, which in the Bible means *manual work*, or *bodily labor*, signifies in later times, *service in the temple;* and afterwards *divine service* in general.

And thus could we multiply these examples by the hundreds; we could enumerate whole pages full of such neo-hebraic word-formations, as עברה, תרם (from תרומה, and this from רום), תחיה, סעודה, אנינות, אבלות, הכנסה, התחלה, ברירה, תבשיל, תלמיד, הרגל, היתר, כנסיה or כנסת, כחגיגה, etc., etc.

All these word-formations and derivatives, given above, occur already in the literature of the Talmudical age. But the Jewish authors in all subsequent ages coined new words, as necessity required, from the old roots. A furtive glance into the liturgical poetry of the synagogue (the *Piyyutim*) which originated in the middle ages makes us acquainted with a vast number of such new formations. (Zunz, in the appendices to his *Synagogale Poesie*, furnishes several lists of such new enrichments of the store of Hebrew terms by the *Payyetanim.*) So we find a peculiar class of metaphysical Hebrew terms in the writings of the many Jewish metaphysicians and theologians of these mediæval times,—which, of course, had to be coined anew. For, who before *Saadia Gaon*, in the tenth century, wrote on systematic theology or on speculative philosophy? הכרח *the necessity;* בחירה *freedom of will;* אפשרות *possibility;* ישות *being, existing;* מהות *the what, quality;* כמות *the how-many, quantity;* איכות *the how;* אחדות *the oneness;* ייחוד *monotheism;* קדמות *priority;* השארת הנפש *immortality of the soul*, etc.; such are some of these abstract philosophical terms.

While קוֹדֶם, מוּקְדָּם etc. (comp. biblical קֶדֶם, קָדַם) are found already in the more ancient post-biblical literature, we find in later periods הַקְדָּמָה *preface;* קְדִימָה (e. g. כסף קדימה *payment in advance*), etc. In our own times Hebrew writers have given currency to such words as סִפְרוּת *literature;* יַהֲדוּת *Judaism*, and so forth.

Let us now, after these illustrations from the peculiar *Sprachgut* belonging to the realm of the neo-hebraic language and literature, return to Finn's *Thesaurus.* In general, we must say that the author is perfectly competent and

Digitized by Google

qualified for his work, and that in the main he is fully reliable. Yet, in a few instances, it seems that some stems have been overlooked, or that some other stems are somewhat defectively defined and admit of corrections. Thus, e. g., under אדום the author states correctly that in the Talmudical literature "Edom" was used as a typical name for the Roman empire, but he forgot to add that at a later time, after the city of Rome had become the center and capital of the Christian world, "Edom" was also used to designate Christendom. In some connections "Edom" means the language of Rome, the Latin language (see, e. g., Jehudah Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of Jehudah ha-Levi's *Cozari*, II., 77: לא באדום ולא בערב = neither in the Latin, nor in the Arabic language).

Strange it is that the author forgot to state that the noun אור is, in some instances, to be translated by *the eve* (preceding a certain day). In this sense the word is used in the very beginning of the Mishnah Pesaḥim.

Under the stem בטא, resp. מבטא, mention should have been made that with some philosophical writers חכמת המבטא means the *science of logic* or *of dialectics*.

S. v. בית the author gives a list of seven various definitions, for which the word stands in the Bible and in the later Hebrew literature. He might have added an eighth definition; he might have informed us that בית means also in some connections a *stanza* or a *verse* in poetry.

גלח *to shave off, to shear*. Under this article the author mentions correctly the Mishnaic abstract nouns derived from it: גלוח and תגלחת. But he does not mention the word גַּלָּח, used in post-talmudical times, a *monk* (literally, a *shorn one*, one who wears a tonsure), and the word גלחות, derived therefrom, the *monkdom*, also sometimes the language of the monks, the *Latin*, etc.

But it is perhaps too early to expect in our days a perfect and complete thesaurus, which should comprise *all* the words of the Hebrew found in the large post-biblical literature of the Jews, and which should give *all* the meanings and shades of meanings in which these words have been used by various authors and in various times. A number of smaller lexical works, collecting and arranging the words used by certain authors, or in certain special branches of learning, ought first to be written and published before a full and complete thesaurus *can* possibly be undertaken. The field is too large and as yet not as much explored as it ought to be. It would, therefore, be well if, for instance, one would undertake to extract from the grammatical works of the mediæval grammarians their peculiar grammatical terms and to explain them; and if he would thereby furnish us a glossary in which the words מלכים, משרתים, נקודות, תנועות, טעמים, חרוזים, יתד, דלת, סוגר, בנין, משקל, etc., would be properly defined. So we ought to have, as a preliminary work, a neo-hebraic philosophical glossary; also a glossary explaining medical, mathematical, astronomical and other scientific terms. Even in the historical Hebrew literature of the mediæval and mod-

Digitized by Google

ern Jews we meet words which to the beginner must be puzzling, though they are seemingly so easy. What, for instance, is to be understood by זהובים, or by פרחים? Not every one will know that these words are translations of the European words *Gulden* and *Florins;* or that the word צעירים is the neo-hebraic equivalent for *Minorites*, etc., etc.

But after all, despite some shortcomings, Finn's book is highly commendable.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON PSALM LXXIV. 4, 5.

By Rev. F. H. Woods, B. D.,

Theological Lecturer at St. John's College, Oxford, England.

The difficulty of these verses has been recognized by all commentators; and it is not my intention to discuss the many explanations which have been offered. I merely wish to propose a solution of a different kind by what appears a simple and well-warranted emendation of the text. If the suggestion has already been made by others and rejected, your readers will, I hope, pardon my ignorance. Now it is certainly noticeable that the chief difficulties lie in the word אתות closing verse 4, and יודע beginning verse 5. Leave out these words and the whole passage is quite intelligible. It runs as follows: "Thy enemies have roared in the midst of thy congregations, they have set up their signs (i. e., probably heathen idols). As one lifteth axes on high upon a thicket of trees, so now all the carved work together with hatchets and hammers do they break down." On the other hand, these two words, if read, give us two expressions clumsy, unparalleled, and, in spite of all the labor expended upon them, of very doubtful meaning. This is all the more remarkable, when we consider that otherwise the style of the psalm is vigorous, graphic and lucid. We should not, of course, be justified in rejecting these words on the ground already given, were it not that in this case we can trace a very probable source of interpolation. In the ninth verse we find these same words at the beginning and the end of the verse. The only differences are that the first has the additional suffix ינו, and the last, according to the Massoretic text, is pointed by different vowels. In the Massoretic text also the words, עד־מה are joined by Mer'kha to יודע, and this certainly gives a fair sense; but it would suit the parallelism and the context better to take יודע absolutely as a synonym of נביא. What the Psalmist complains of is that religious worship and religious teaching have been alike suppressed. The words עד־מה may have originally preceded עד־מתי as the beginning of the new sentence of verse 9; or are more probably an interpolation arising out of עד־מתי, a cause of interpolation so frequent in all languages that it is not necessary to quote parallelisms. Such an interpolation would have been favored by the ambiguity of construction very similar to what we meet in verse 4, where the words בקרב מועדך may be taken either with the first or the second clause of the verse. Those who repeated the psalm, or heard it repeated, being very familiar with the sound of עד־מה immediately after יודע might, not unnaturally, have associated these words in sense and so have unconsciously introduced the interpolation. This view seems to have the support of the LXX. The final ἔτι of verse 9 is, as the parallel ἔτι of the first

Digitized by Google

clause shows, not so likely a translation of עד־מה as of an עוד which naturally enough arose out of the עד at the beginning of verse 10. Now, if עד־מה is an interpolation, or should be taken with עד־מתי, then the words אתותינו יודע inclose the whole of verse 9, and is it not extremely likely that the words אתות יודע of verses 4, 5, represent an abbreviation of this verse? There are two obvious ways in which these words may have become interpolated in verses 4, 5. Either they were originally a marginal gloss, something of the nature of a note, intended to illustrate or explain the use of אתות; or far more probably they point to a difference of position in very early MSS., that is to say, the scribe simply wished to point to the fact that in some copy or copies he found this verse standing between 4 and 5. The transposition from verse 9 to the end of verse 4 may have arisen even unintentionally, the contrast between אתותם and אתותינו causing their juxtaposition. That verses got sometimes so transposed we have positive evidence in Ps. XXXVIII. 21, 22, compared with 2 Kgs. XX. 7, 8. But we probably have a more remarkable parallel to the supposed transposition in this psalm in Ps. XVIII. 13, 14, cf. 2 Sam. XXII. 13, 14. Here, if we had the psalm alone we should be inclined to suppose that the phrase ברד וגחלי אש was genuine in verse 14, and not in verse 13. But a comparison with the LXX. and Samuel shows that the reverse was more nearly the case. The true history of the variant appears to be as follows. The original reading in verse 13 was probably as in Samuel מנגה נגדו בערו נחלי אש. By transposition of letters בערו became עברו, and this latter word gave rise to the two variants עביו and ברדו which eventually found their way into the text. Of this origin of עביו there can be little doubt; it is possible, however, that ברדו, as one word, may have originally been substituted as a synonym of עברו, but this does not affect the main contention. In either case we get by conflation the present reading of verse 13 in Ps. XVIII. supported in this stage by the LXX. version of the psalm.[1] But now the last words ברד וגחלי אש became little intelligible (as a bright sky, not "hailstones and coals of fire," would be the natural result of the passing away of the clouds), and they were transposed to the end of the next verse, where they suited the context better. The present text of the psalm represents the final stage of text in which the position found in MSS. before and after the transposition is combined. The only difference between this case and Psalm LXXIV. is that here the repeated clause, which is very short, appears twice in full; in the latter case it is abbreviated in verses 4 and 5.

[1] The LXX. does not read these words in Ps. XVIII. 14, in Samuel it agrees with the Hebrew text.

Digitized by Google

GENESIS II. 25 AND XLVIII. 10.

By Rev. John Edwards,

Wheelock, Indian Territory.

1. I take Past and Future to be the primary significations of the two tenses in Hebrew. I therefore adhere to the old nomenclature, Preterite and Future.

2. From these primary significations are derived various ideas and relations which the tenses are used to express.

3. When used to express any of these derived notions, the time to which it belongs, whether Past, Present or Future, as in the case of the Participle or the Infinitive, is wholly indicated by the connection.

4. Some of these derivations are as follows:

FROM THE PRETERITE.	FROM THE FUTURE.
I. Antecedence, or Relative Past.	I. Sequence, or Relative Future.
II. Causality.	II. Result.
1. Cause.	1. Of Cause.
2. Reason.	2. Of Reason.
3. Adversative: though, notwithstanding, whereas.	3. Adversative: yet, nevertheless.

By *adversative* I mean that, from some cause, reason or condition, or from some statement, a certain result might be expected; but such is not the case, or the contrary or an entirely different one issues. That cause, reason or condition is, in Hebrew, often put in the Preterite, while the Future is used to point out a result different from, or opposite to, the one which might be expected. The Preterite throws the adversative stress on the protasis, indicated in English by *though*, *notwithstanding*, *whereas;* e. g., though I went, I did not get there. The Future in like use throws the stress on the apodosis, indicated in English by *yet*, *nevertheless;* e. g:, I went, yet I did not get there.

Gen. II. 25 belongs here. "They were both naked." The *result* naturally expected is that they would be ashamed. But they were not. With this precisely corresponds 1 Kgs. I. 1, "They covered him with clothes, yet he gat no heat." Ez. XXIV. 12, "So they cried, yet I would not hear" (the Future of the protasis as frequentative Past).

This will account for the Future in Is. XLV. 4, the clauses being inverted. "I surnamed thee, though thou knewest me not" = Thou knewest me not, yet I surnamed thee. Ps. LXXIII. 22, with כִּי, "Yet my heart was embittered, and I was pricked in my reins." In the form of Waw conv. Pret. = Waw with Future separated, Ps. L. 21, "These things thou didst, yet I held my peace."

Digitized by Google

According to statement 3 above, examples in present time would illustrate the principle equally well. They are comparatively numerous. I will only refer to 2 Sam. XIV. 14*b*; Is. XII. 1; Jer. VIII. 12 (with גַּם); Ezek. XVIII. 14; Ps. L. 12; Job XIX. 4, 22.

GENESIS XLVIII. 10.

The Hebrew has three ways of expressing possibility and ability. *a*. By the use of יָכֹל followed by the Infinitive, often with the preposition לְ. *b*. By the Future tense. This is one of its derived uses. *c*. By a combination of the two, i. e., the Future of יָכֹל, the future form reinforcing the essential idea of the verb.

The first requires no remark. As to the second, see Driver, § 37. There are numerous instances of the third in present time, e. g., Gen. XXXIV. 14; Exod. XVIII. 18; Num. XXII. 37; Deut. I. 9; 1 Sam. XVII. 33; Is. LVII. 20; Jer. VI. 10; Am. VII. 10; Hab. I. 13; Ps. CXXXIX. 6; Prov. XXX. 21; Job. XLII. 2; Lam. I. 14; Ec. VIII. 17.

According to statement 3, it may equally as well be used of Past time. Under this belong Gen. XLVIII. 10; Josh. VII. 12; XV. 63 seq.; Jer. XLIV. 22; Ezek. XLVII. 5; Hos. V. 13; Job XXXI. 23; 2 Chron. XXXII. 15*a*, and, in the sense of lawfulness, according to the customs of the country, Gen. XLIII. 32.

Digitized by Google

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

By Rev. B. Pick, Ph. D.,

Allegheny City, Pa.

IV.

Isaiah.

XXX. 18. "And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you," etc.

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachmani, said that Rabbi Jonathan said: May the bones of those who compute the latter days (when the Messiah shall appear) be blown away; for some say, Because the time has come and himself has not, therefore he will never come! But wait thou for him, for it is said: "Though he tarry, wait for him" (Hab. II. 3). Perhaps you will say, We wait, but he does not wait; learn rather to say: "And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

—— 25. "And there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill rivers and streams of waters," etc.

Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Rabbi Hayim, said: All that Abraham did unto the ministering angels, God has repaid to his children at their exodus from Egypt, and will repay yet to them in the future. You find by Abraham: "Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched" (Gen. XVIII. 4), and God repaid it to his children (as it is said): "And I will take you to me for a people" (Exod. VI. 7), where "I will take you to me" stands against "Let, I pray, be fetched." Rabbi Jochanan said, "To me" denotes in this world; but whence (is it proved that it refers also) to the future! (From) "And the people shall take them and bring them to their place" (Isa. XIV. 2). Of Abraham it is written "a little water;" but God gave his children water at their exodus from Egypt, (as is seen from) "and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it" (Exod. XVII. 6). And how is it proved that it shall also be so in the future? From "for the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills" (Deut. VIII. 4). And how is it proved that it shall also be so in the days of the Messiah? From "and there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers and streams of water," and "I will open rivers in high places" (Isa. XLI. 18).—*Midrash on Numbers* VII. 48, sect. 14.

Digitized by Google

—— 26. "Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun."

This verse is quoted as presenting the Messianic age in *Talmud Pesachius*, fol. 68, col. 1; *Sanhedrin*, fol. 91, col. 2. God said to them (Bezaleel and Moses), You have made a candlestick before me, but in the future I will light a sevenfold larger light, as it is said, "Moreover, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun.—*Midrash on Exodus* XXXVII. 1, sect. 50.

XXXII. 20. "That send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass."

What is the meaning of "but thou shalt in any wise let the dam go"? (Deut. XXII. 7). It is to indicate that, by observing this commandment, you will hasten the coming of the King Messiah, of whom also the word "send forth" is written. Whence is this proved? It is said, "That send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass."—*Midrash on Deuteronomy* XXII. 7, sect. 6.

XXXV. 5, 6. "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing," etc.

Come and see; all that the Holy One has wounded in this world he will heal in the future. The blind shall be healed; for it is said, "The eyes of the blind shall be opened." The lame shall be healed; for it is said, "Then shall the lame man leap as an hart." The dumb shall be healed; as it is said, "And the tongue of the dumb sing."—*Midrash on Genesis* XLVI. 28, sect. 85; *Yalkut on 1 Sam.* XXVIII. 24.

The word "then" (אז) may refer to the past and to the future. To the latter refers "then thou shalt see and flow together" (Isa. LX. 5); "then shall thy light break forth as the morning"? (*ibid.* LVIII. 8); "then the eyes of the blind," etc.; "then shall the lame man leap," etc.—*Yalkut on Joshua* X. 12.

XL. 1. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God."

When the word of Joseph had such a soothing effect upon the hearts of the tribes, how much more will be the effect when the Holy One, blessed be he! will come to comfort Jerusalem; as it is said, "Comfort ye, comfort ye," etc. —*Midrash on Genesis* L. 21, sect. 100.

—— 5. "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together," etc.

On Leviticus XLI. the Midrash remarks: Rabbi Phinehas said, in the name of Rabbi Hoshaya, this parable: A king showed himself to the son of his house in his true likeness; for in this world the shechinah appears to individuals; but in the future the glory of the Lord will appear; as it is said, "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed," etc.—*Midrash on Leviticus* I. 1, sect. 1.

—— 10. "Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him; behold, his reward is with him," etc.

And on account of the sufferings which Israel suffered, will the Holy One,

Digitized by Google

blessed be he! give them a double reward in the days of the Messiah; for it is said, "Behold, the Lord God will come," etc.—*Yalkut on Exodus* XXXII. 6.

XLI. 18. See under XXX. 25.

—— 25. "I have raised up one from the north, and he shall come," etc.

This verse is Messianically applied in the Midrash, where it is said, "When the Messiah rises, who is in the north, and comes to rebuild the sanctuary, which is in the south; for it is said, "I have raised up one from the north," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers* VII. 12, sect. 13.

—— 27. "The first shall say to Zion," etc.

The name of the Messiah is "the First," as the Prophet says, "The first shall say to Zion," etc.—*Talmud Pesachim*, fol. 5, col. 1.

Rabbi Haggai said, in the name of Rabbi Isaac: It is said, The first (came out red, Gen. XXV. 25), on account of the first day; (as it is said) "And ye shall take you on the first day" (Lev. XXIII. 40), i. e., in the merit of the first day I will reveal myself to you as the first; as it is said, "I am the first, and I am the last" (Isa. XLIV. 6), and, I will get you satisfaction from the first, i. e., Esau; for it is written, "And the first came out red" (Gen. XXV. 25); and, I will build you the first, i. e., the temple; as it is written, "A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary" (Jer. XVII. 12), and, Bring you the First, i. e., the King Messiah, of whom it is written, "The first shall say to Zion," etc.[1]—*Midrash on Genesis* XXV. 24, sect. 63.

XLII. 1. "Behold my servant, whom I uphold."

Targum: Behold my servant, the Messiah, I will bring him near.

XLIII. 10. "And my servant, whom I have chosen."

Targum: And my servant, the Messiah, in whom I am well pleased.

LII. 3. "Ye were sold for nought; but ye shall be redeemed without money."

Rabbi Eleazar says: If Israel would repent, they would be redeemed; as it is said, "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings" (Jer. III. 22). Rabbi Joshua said unto him: Has it not been already said, "Ye were sold for nought, but ye shall be redeemed without money"? "Ye were sold" among the idolaters; but ye shall be redeemed without money, i. e., without repentance and good works.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

—— 7. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings."

In the hour when the Holy One, blessed be his name! redeems Israel, three days before Messiah, comes Elijah, and stands upon the mountains of Israel and weeps and mourns for them, and says to them, Ye mountains of the land of Israel, how long shall you stand in a dry and desolate land? And his voice is heard from the world's end to the world's end, and after that he says to

[1] In similar connection our passage is quoted in *Midrash on Leviticus* XXXIII. 40, sect. 30; *Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 185, col. 2.

Digitized by Google

them: Peace has come to the world, peace has come to the world; as it is said, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings," etc. And when the wicked hear it, they rejoice, and they say one to the other: Peace has come to us. On the second day he shall stand upon the mountains of Israel and shall say: Good has come to the world, good has come to the world; for it is said, "that bringeth good tidings of good." On the third day he shall come and stand upon the mountains of Israel, and say: Salvation has come to the world, salvation has come to the world; for it is said, "that publisheth salvation." And when he will see the wicked say so, he will say unto Zion, "thy God reigneth."—*Yalkut* in loco.

—— 13. "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently; he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high."

Targum: Behold, my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper; he shall be exalted, etc. "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently." This is the King Messiah. "He shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high." He shall be exalted more than Abraham; for of Him it is written, "I have exalted my hand to the Lord" (Gen. XIV. 22). He shall be extolled more than Moses; for of Him it is written, "Thou sayest unto me, Extol (i. e., carry) them in thy bosom" (Num. XI. 12). And he shall be higher than the ministering angels; for it is said: "As for their rings, they were so high" (Ezek. I. 18). And thus it is said, "Who art thou, O great mountain?" (Zech. IV. 7), i. e., that is greater than the fathers. "But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed" (Isa. LIII. 5). Rav Huna, in the name of Acha, said: The chastisements (or afflictions) were divided into three parts—one to David and the fathers; and one to the rebellious generations; and one to King Messiah.—*Yalkut* in loco (also *Tanchuma* in loco).

Digitized by Google

CONTRIBUTED NOTES.

"Professor Peters' Notes."—The January number of HEBRAICA contained quite a number of suggestive articles, among which were the interesting notes of Professor Peters. His explanation of the ending ות in Hebrew (in אָבוֹת, for instance) as identical in origin with the ending û t i of masc. adjectives and nouns in Assyrian is quite correct. For the sake of preserving the historical character of our science,[1] I should like to call attention to the fact that, in the preface (p. xxxvii) to his *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883), Professor Haupt has already remarked, "a b û t i[2] *Väter* = Hebr. אבות, was nicht aus *a b â t i entstanden ist." These few words contain the whole story, since they assert that Hebrew אָבוֹת is a masculine and not a feminine formation.

Similarly for his remarks about šaḍû *mountain* being equal to שָׂדֶה *field*, Dr. Peters might have quoted HEBRAICA, vol. I, p. 181, note 1.

That û and â were respectively the masculine and feminine perfect third person plural endings in primitive Semitic seems quite probable, if we grant that primitive Semitic possessed a perfect. More than that, the examples Dr. Peters cites (the Chinese pronunciation of Ethopic n a g a r û, n a g a r â included) would not prove. For the explanation of the forms צִעְדָה, Gen. XLIX. 22, and קָמָה, 1 Sam. IV. 15, it will suffice to refer to Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, § 146: 3 and 4; Müller-Robertson's *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, § 507 : 1; Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. II., 146.

The ingenious explanation of the form יִקְטֹל may safely be passed over in silence. Very problematical is the combination of Hebrew אֵז with Assyrian a d ê. I know of no case in which ז in Hebrew corresponds to ד in Assyrian[3] and since we have Hebrew עֵד, poetic עֲדֵי, I see no need of setting up a new phonetic law.

CYRUS ADLER,
Johns Hopkins University.

---

[1] See the conclusion of Prof. Paul Haupt's review of Delitzsch's "Kosseans," in the *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 98; and Dr. Bezold's reference to the passage in the preface (p. 7) to his *Babylonische Literatur*.

[2] a b û t i itself never occurs; a parallel form, however, is š i b û t u *elders*, in the *Deluge*, I., 31.

[3] Nobody would bring forward in support of this the combination of p i a z u and Arabic فَهْدٌ *hunting leopard*, and k u r k i z a m m u and كَرْكَدَنٌ, Ethiopic k a r k a n d (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien* 61:47; Hommel, *Saeugethiere*, 301:2), especially since Dr. Jensen has shown, in the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, I., 311, that p i a z u, or b i a z u, means "hog," just like š a ḫ u *wild boar*, fem. š a ḫ ṭ u; and ḫ u m ṣ i r u, Hebrew חֲזִיר, Arabic خِنْزِيرٌ

Digitized by Google

BOOK NOTICES.

BEZOLD'S BABYLONISCH-ASSYRISCHE LITERATUR.*

By the publication of this book Bezold has placed all Assyriologists under great obligations to him. It contains useful and necessary information for beginners in this department as well as for advanced students and authorities. The former can find in it a short history of the discoveries, a list of all the important historical texts together with a complete bibliography of the literature connected with these texts. Its chief value to the latter lies in the index to the British Museum and other tablets, and in the bibliography.

The nature of the book is such that an idea of the great amount of labor expended in its preparation and of the value to all Assyrian students of the topics treated can only be obtained from a list of contents. After an introduction and a Chronological *Excurs*, under the HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS, in §§ 12–82, are taken up those of the Kings, viz.: 1. The inscriptions of the old Babylonian kings. 2. Those of the old Assyrian kings up to the beginning of the Eponym canon. 3. Those of the Assyrian kings from Ašûrnâṣirpal to Ašûrbanipal. 4. Those of the Babylonian kings from Ramânapiliddina up to the end of the New-Babylonian kingdom; the Achæmenian and Seleucidean inscriptions. Under C, in §§ 83–95, we have the contract tablets, letters, etc. II. NON-HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS. A. The poetical literature. 1. Epics; legends; fables. 2. Penitential psalms and hymns; prayers and songs. 3. Magical formulas, etc. B. The scientific literature. 1. Grammatical and lexicographical collections. 2. Geographical lists. 3. Mathematical, astronomical, astrological and mythological inscriptions. 4. Remains of medical and "literary" works. By far the most interesting to advanced students are the separate lists of the tablets in the Kujundschick, George Smith and Rassam collections. Each one of these tablets is described as fully as was possible at the time of publication.

The author has given us a book, the intrinsic value, completeness, typographical appearance, etc., of which recommend it to all Assyrian students.

ROBERT F. HARPER.

DERENBOURG'S "LA SCIENCE DES RELIGIONS ET L'ISLAMISME."†

A most gratifying testimony to the importance which the young science of religion has assumed is furnished by the recent establishment at Paris, already so rich in its provisions for higher studies in all departments of research, of a special

* Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die babylonish-assyrische Literatur nebst einem chronologischen Excurs, zwei Registern und einem Index zu 1700 Thontafeln des Britisch-Museums, herausgegeben von Carl Bezold. Leipzig: *Otto Schulz*, 1886. 8vo, pp. 394, price, M.12.

† LA SCIENCE DES RELIGIONS ET L'ISLAMISME. Par Hartwig Derenbourg. Paris: *Leroux*. 1886. pp. 95. fr.2.50

Digitized by Google

school for the *sciences religieuses*. As the first of the kind, unless we include the (former) theological department of the University of Leyden, which some years ago was removed from its dogmatic to a purely scientific basis and was practically incorporated with the historical section of the university, it deserves our special attention, and its development will be watched with deep interest by all who are alive to the important results which may be expected from the scientific investigation and critical study of religions, of the development of religious thought and practices, of the growth of doctrines, dogmas and ceremonies. At the head of the new school stands the eminent Professor of the Science of Religion at the Collège du France, Albert Reville, whose name alone is a sufficient guarantee for the high rank which the new departure will take; and the brilliant array of scholars gathered around Reville, including such men as Maurice Vernes, Ernest Havet, Hartwig Derenbourg, E. Lefebure and A. Bergaigne (to which we should like to see added Ernest Renan), warrant the holding out of the very highest expectations. In the spring of 1886, the faculty, consisting of thirteen professors, was organized and courses announced embracing a large variety of subjects appertaining to the religions of India, China, Japan, Greece and Rome, as well as the critical study of the origin and development of Judaism, Christianity and Mahommedanism.

The interesting little volume before us embodies two lectures delivered by Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg as an introduction to the courses in the department assigned to him, namely, the religion, or rather religions of Islam. He starts out with a picture of the condition of Arabic studies in France when he began his career seventeen years ago, which is desolate enough to reassure even those who take a despairing view of the prospects for the study in this country. With a good deal of humor he describes the character of a very slim audience that gathered around him in a room of the Sarbonne, and who seem to have come more out of pity for the young savant than because of any attraction which the study of the Arabic grammar and the Koran had for them. Derenbourg was careful, as he tells us, not to impose any tasks on his "hearers,"—they could not be called his pupils,—for fear of losing them entirely. After holding up in contrast the brighter picture furnished by the present, Derenbourg enters upon an examination of the scope and aim of the science of religion, the methods of study and the means at our disposal. He shows that, while the science of religion borrows largely from philosophy, archæology, anthropology and ethnography, it is properly to be classed as a branch of historical studies. In pursuing his work, the investigator is to be actuated by no motive save the desire to understand and to explain in a natural manner phenomena which present themselves to his notice. He is not to place himself in the position of an advocate or of an opponent; and while rigidly excluding the supernatural as lying entirely outside of his province, he is to maintain that "spirit of respectful sympathy" which all religions as "the great efforts of the human spirit, efforts which represent the best labors and hopes of mankind," merit. In the second lecture Derenbourg gives an admirable sketch of the religious movement inaugurated by Mohammed, such as, for compactness and at the same time clearness—the whole covering only sixty pages—we do not remember to have seen surpassed. It reminds one forcibly of Nöldeke's sketch of the "Life of Mohammed," from which one obtains a far better picture of the general course of the prophet's career than from Sprenger's exhaustive work, notwithstanding the excellent qualities of the latter. We are

Digitized by Google

glad to see Derenbourg lay stress upon the necessity of studying, by such means as are at our disposal, the period preceding Mahommed as the *sine qua non* for the understanding of the religion that bears his name. The notion that any religion can sprout up, as it were, over night, or that people suddenly wake up to a recognition that henceforth their worship must be confined to one Deity, instead of many, is well-nigh exploded. A religion cannot properly be said to have been "founded" least of all by a single person; it is a growth, and the appearance of Mahommed—like that of all religious reformers—marks simply an important stage—a turning-point, if you will—in the development of religion among the Arabs, the beginnings of which must be sought in a period long prior to his coming. The ground had gradually been prepared to receive the seed sown by him, and this preparation was certainly equal in importance to the sowing of the seed. In addition to such valuable sources for studying the pre-islamitic times as the "Kitâb al Agâni" ("Book of Songs") we have now fortunately a number of ancient monuments, notably the Himyaritic inscriptions, which furnish us with most precious, though scant, data of pre-islamitic conditions. Such "finds" as the inscriptions discovered at Teima, some years ago, are an augury of what is still in store for future explorers. The conviction has gained ground among scholars that the interior of Arabia, unfortunately at present practically inaccessible because of the dangers attending the traveler, is filled with stone monuments of all kinds dating from the days anterior to Mohammed.

Another point upon which Derenbourg justly lays great stress is the services which Abou Bekr, and more especially Omar, rendered to Mahommedanism. His summing up in this connection merits quoting: "What the prophets of Israel were for Judaism, what St. Paul was for Christianity, Abou Bekr and Omar were for Islam." The sword of Omar accomplished what the visions of Mahommed failed to do; and indeed but for Omar, the efforts of Mahommed would have resulted in total failure. Not only does Omar's conversion mark a turning-point in the fortunes of the prophet, who until then had made little if any headway, but the different tactics introduced by Omar, more particularly after Mahommed's death, first gained for the new movement a foot-hold among the Arab tribes, so that, while Mahommed must be put down as the inaugurator of the great movement, Omar is the real *leader* of it. To have united under one banner tribes scattered over a great area and engaged in constant warfare with each other, and to have roused a people cowardly by nature to a pitch of enthusiasm which enabled them to face death in the battle-field with calm resignation, nay, to hail it with joy, remains an everlasting testimony to Omar's eminent genius, to which is due the wonderful spread of a religion that numbers more than one hundred and seventy-five millions, and so far from being on the decline, as we sometimes see it stated, is still growing.

Professor Derenbourg stands to-day in the foremost rank of oriental scholars, and the high reputation which he enjoys has lately been still further enhanced by his edition of the grammatical work of the famous Sibawaihi. Suffice it to say that the little volume before us is worthy of the successor of Silvestre De Sacy, whose chair for the Arabic language and literature at the "Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes" Professor Derenbourg at present holds.

PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH. D.,
Philadelphia.

Digitized by Google

SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ABEL, C. Einleitung in ein ägyptisch-semitisch-indoeuropaisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Leipzig. Pp. 532.....$36.70

AMELINEAU, A. Le christianisme chez les anciens coptes. *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, Tome IV. No. 3.

—— Un document copte du XIII. siècle. *Journ. asiatique.* IX. 2.

—— On the Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job. *PSBA.* vol. IX.

AMIAUD, ARTHUR. The Various Names of Sumer and Akkad in the Cuneiform Texts. *Bab. and Orient Record*, June, '87.

BAETHGEN, FRIEDRICH. Siebzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia. (Schluss.) *Ztschr. f. alttest. Wissensch.*, '87, Heft. I.

BALL, C. J. The Metrical Structure of Qinôth; the Book of Lamentations, arranged according to the original measures. *PSBA.* vol. IX.

BERGER, PHILIPPI. On Inscriptions discovered in Cyprus. *Ibid.*

BERTHELOT. Sur quelques métaux et minéraux provenant de l'antique Chaldée. *Revue archeologique*, Jan.-Fév., '87.

BROWN, ROBERT, Jr. On Euphratean Names of the Constellation "Ursa Major." *PSBA.* vol. IX.

BUDGE, E. A. W. Anecdota Oxoniensa (Semitic Series). Vol. I. Part II. The Book of the Bee. *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* (Isaac H. Hall).

CASARTELLI, L. C. Pehlevi Notes. I. The Semitic Verb in Pehlevi. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Apr., '87.

CHWOLSON, D. Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semerjetschie, hrsg. u. erklärt. Mit 1 Tafel. St. Pétersbourg: *Egger et Cie.* 1887.....M.2.

DELITZSCH, FRIED. Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramaischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament. *Lit. Centlblt.*, May 28, '87; *ZDMG.* Band XL. (Th. Nöldeke); *Revue des Etudes Juives*, '87 I. (J. Halévy).

—— Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesammten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur unter Berücksichtigung zahlreicher unveröffentlichter Texte. Lief. I. Leipzig: *Hinrichs.* 1887.....$11.55

—— Assyr. Wörterbuch. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, June, '87. (Bel-ibnu).

DELATTRE. L'Asie occidentale dans les inscriptions assyriennes. *Litblt. f. orient. Phil.* III. 3 (J. Oppert).

LEVI, S. Vocabulario geroglifico copto-ebraico. Vol. I. Turin: *Loescher*..30fr.

TAWROGI, A. J. Der talmudische Tractat Derech Erez sutta nach Handschriften und seltenen Ausgaben mit Parallelstellen und Varianten kritisch bearbeitet, übersetz u. erläutert. *Lit. Centrlblt.* (H. Strack).

SCHWARZLOZE, FRIED. W. Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Alterthumskunde, Synonymik und Lexikographie nebst Registern. Leipzig: *Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung*, 1886. xvi, 39 S. gr. 8.....M.12.

DUVAL, A. Notes sur la Peschito. *Revue des Etudes Juives*, '87, I.

EGERS, JACOB. Diwân des Abraham Ibn Esra mit seiner Allegorie Hai Ben Mekiz. *Deutsche Lit.*, April 9, '87 (D. Hoffmann).

FROTHINGHAM, A. L., Jr. Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic and the book of Hierotheos. *Theol. Lit.*, May 21, '87 (F. Baethgen).

Digitized by Google

GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN G. The Massorah compiled from Manuscripts alphabetically and lexically arranged. In 2 vols. London, 1880—1883.

[המסרה על פי כתבי יד עתיקם אשר נקבצו מארצות שונות במחברם אחת שלמה ערכה בכל סדורה במערכות אלפא ביתא ועל פי השרשים]

ZDMG. Band XL. Heft IV. (S. Baer).

HIRSCHFELD. Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korân. *Ltblt. f. orient. Phil.*, III. 3 (Goldziher).

JASTROW, M. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature. I. *Andover Rev.*, June, '87 (Geo. F. Moore).

KLAMROTH, M. Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei Al-Ja'qûbi. *ZDMG.* Band XL. Heft 4.

KUENEN, A. In *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 21st Jaargang–11de Stuk: G. d'Eichthal, Melanges de Critique Biblique; J. Bloch, Krit. Untersuchung über Abfassung, Charakter u. Tendenz des B. Esther; E. Nestle, Septuagintastudien; J, Halévy, Considerations supplémentaires sur xe Chapitre de la Genèse; Clermont Ganneau, over Dan. v. 25–28; J. J. P. Valeton, Viertal Voorlezingen over Profeten des Ouden Verbonds.

LANG, CARL. Mu'tadid als Prinz und Regent, ein historisches Heldengedicht von Ibn el Mu'tazz. *ZDMG.* XL. Heft. 4.

MEYNARD, DE. Menontcheri, poète persan du XI siècle. *Journ. asiatique*, IX. 2.

MONTET, EDOUARD. La religion et le théâtre en Perse. *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, Tome IV. No. 3.

MUELLER. Sabäische Alterthümer in den K. Museen zu Berlin. *Litblt. f. orient. Phil.*, III. 2 (Praetorius).

PHILIPPI, FR. Die Aussprache der semitischen Consonanten ן und ע. Eine Abhandl. über die Natur dieser Laute. *ZDMG.* XL. 4.

PINCHES, THEO. G. Tablets referring to the Apprenticeship of Slaves at Babylon. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Apr., '87.

—— Glimpses of Babylonian and Assyrian Life. *Ibid.*, June, '87.

POGNON, H. Sur un plat avec inscription punique. *Journ. Asiatique*, IX. 2.

—— Les inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi-Brissa. Paris: *Vieweg*.....10fr.

RECKENDORF, S. Ueber den Werth der altäthiopischen Pentateuchübersetzung für die Reconstruction der Septuaginta. *Ztschr. f. Alttest. Wiss.*, '87, I.

REVILLOUT, E. and V. Sworn Obligations in Egyptian and Babylonian Law. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, May, '87.

REVILLOUT, V. A Settlement of Accounts in Nabopolassar's Time. *Ibid.*, June, '87.

SACHAU, ED. Alberuni's India; the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, etc., of India, edited in the Arabic original..... 63sh.

SMEND & SOCIN. Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab. *Deutsche Ltztng.*, Apr. 30, '87 (J. Euting).

STERN. Die koptische Apocalypse des Sophonias, mit einem Anhange über den untersahidischen Dialekt. *Ztschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, '86, 3, 4.

WAHRMUND, ADOLF. Praktisches Handbuch der neuarabischen Sprache, mit Schlüssel. *Deutsche Lit.*, June 4, '86.

WARD, WM. HAYES. Some Babylonian Cylinders. *Bab. and Orient Record*, June, '87.

Digitized by Google

General Index.

Bennett, William Henry, Notes on a Comparison of the Texts of Psalm XVIII. and 2 Samuel XXII. 65

—— Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses 22

Bibliography, Semitic 62, 127, 191, 273

Book Notices: Bezold's Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur, 270; Bezold's Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 57; Derenbourg's La Science des Religions et l'Islamisme, 270; Friedrich Delitzsch's Prolegomena, 122; Jewish Literature, 120; Lansing's Arabic Manual, 56; Lyon's Assyrian Manual, 53; Neubauer's Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts, 59; Prætorius' Grammatica Æthiopica, 58; S. A. Smith's Asurbanipaltexte, 189; Smend and Socin, Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab, 124; Vatke's Old Testament Introduction, 188.

Briggs, Prof. Charles A., The Strophical Organization of Hebrew Trimeters.. 152

Cheyne, Rev. Prof. T. K., Notes on מַבּוּל, נְפִילִים, etc 175

Clermont-Ganneau, Prof. M., Mene, Tekel, Peres, and the Feast of Belshazzar 87

Composite Character of Exodus I., II., The Alleged 1

Contributed Notes: *Cyrus Adler*, Professor Peters' Notes, 269; *M. A. Altschueler*, Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament, 117; An Examination on Psalms XL.–LXXII., 46; *Richard J. H. Gottheil*, Syriac and Assyrian, 187; *Isaac H. Hall*, An Old English Semitic Series, 118; *Henry S. Morais*, Abraham Firkowitsch, 44, Neubauer's Etymologies, 186; Mr. Bennett's Articles on the Hebrew Tenses, 45; *H. J. Weber*, Notes on Malachi, 43; *Nathaniel West*, Diqduq, 41.

Craig, James A., The Monolith Inscription of Salmaneser II 201

Crane, Rev. Oliver Turnbull, Tikkun Sopherim 233

Dembitz, L. N., The Passive of Qal 39

Editorial Notes: A New Volume, 49; A Note from Professor Hall, 51; A Little Knowledge of Hebrew, 50; An Essay on the Book of Proverbs, 51; Comparison of Greek and Hebrew, 50; Dr. Jastrow's Dictionary, 49; The Present Number, 49; The Study of Syriac, 51.

Edwards, Rev. John, Genesis II. 25 and XLVIII. 10 263

Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R., 45–47, and III R., 15, 16, Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the 177

Etymology of Nekasim, On the 107

Feast of Belshazzar, Mene, Tekel, Peres, and the 87

Felsenthal, Rabbi B., S. J. Finn's New Hebrew Dictionary *255*

Genesis II. 25 and XLVIII. 10 ..... *263*

Gottheil, Richard J. H., Kottek's "Das Sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum." 136

Digitized by Google

Gottheil, Richard J. H., A Synopsis of Greek Philosophy by Bar 'Ebhrâyâ... 249
Greek Philosophy, A Synopsis of by Bar 'Ebhrâyâ... 249
Green, Prof. W. Henry, The Alleged Composite Character of Exodus I., II.. 1
Harper, Robert F., Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R., 45–47, and III R., 15, 16 177
Haupt, Prof. Paul, On the Etymology of Nekasim 107
Hebrew Dictionary, S. J. Finn's New 255
Hebrew Tenses, Notes on the Use of the 22
Inheritance in Ancient Babylonia, The Law of 13
Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, Variants of an Unpublished Duplicate of the New York Cylinder 166
Jastrow, Prof. Morris W., Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages.....103, 171
Jeremiah, The Text of 193
Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages.....103, 171
Kottek's "Das Sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum" 136
מַבּוּל, נְפִילִים, etc., Notes on 175
Mene, Tekel, Peres, and the Feast of Belshazzar 87
Miscellaneous Notes: Feminine Plural of Verbs; Masculine Plural in ôth; Waw Consecutive with the Imperfect; The Use of Numbers in Hebrew; Judges V. 30; The Meaning of שׁדה 111
Monolith Inscription of Salmaneser II., The 201
Nekasim, On the Etymology of 107
נְפִילִים, etc., Notes on מַבּוּל 175
Nordell, Rev. Philip A., On the Synonyms עדה and קהל 129
O'Conor, Rev. J. F. X., Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, Variants of an Unpublished Duplicate of the New York Cylinder 166
Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied by the Ancient Synagogue, 30, 265
Peters, Prof. John P., Miscellaneous Notes 111
Pick, Rev. B., Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied by the Ancient Synagogue 30, 265
Pinches, Theo. G., The Law of Inheritance in Ancient Babylonia 13
Psalm LXXIV. 4, 5, Notes on 261
Psalm XVIII. and 2 Samuel XXII., Notes on a Comparison of the Texts of.. 65
Qal, The Passive of 39
Rogers, Robert W., Mene, Tekel, Peres, and the Feast of Belshazzar (by Prof. M. Clermont-Ganneau), translated by 87
2 Samuel XXII., Notes on a Comparison of the Texts of Psalm XVIII. and.. 65
Smith, Prof. Henry Preserved, The Text of Jeremiah 193
Strophical Organization of Hebrew Trimeters, The 152
Synonyms עדה and קהל, On the 129
Tikkun Sopherim 233
Woods, Rev. F. H., Notes on Ps. LXXIV. 4, 5 261

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

1170 The author documents the importance of introducing every mitzvah with a dedicatory statement to the Almighty, with sources from Karo's *Maggid Mesharim*, "*Terumah*" (Jerusalem, 1960, 68); the Zohar (Vilna, 1922), 50a, b. and the *Shenei Luhot HaBrit* (Shanghai, 1947) vol. 1, 44a. ונראה בעיני שלא די כשאומר בשם ה' אני עושה זה במלאכה גשמיות, רק יאמר בלשון שאומרים בעשיית מצוה שהלשון הוא: לשם יחוד קב"ה ושכינתיה ע"י ההוא טמיר ונעלם. כך יאמר גם כן בכל מלאכה ופעולה." It seems to me that it is not sufficient to invoke the Lord's Name when performing a mundane act. Rather one should employ the formula used when performing a mitzvah, as follows: 'For the purpose of unifying the Holy One, blessed be He, and the Shekhinah, via the hidden and Holy Spirit.' Thus should one declare prior to the performance of any act."

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Em_Habanim_Semeha/92z6lIteXIYC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22unifying%22+%22%D7%99%D7%97%D7%95%D7%93%22&pg=PA309&printsec=frontcover

A. Affirming G-d's Unity:
For the sake of unifying the Holy One Blessed Be He and His Presence, with fear and love to unify the Divine four-lettered Name in perfect unity, in the name of all Israel.

• יחוד השם: לְשֵׁם יִחוּד קוּדְשָׁא בְּרִיךְ הוּא וּשְׁכִינְתֵּהּ בְּדָחִילוּ וְרַחֲימוּ לְיַחֵד שֵׁם י"ה בו"ה בְּיִחוּדָא שְׁלִים בְּשֵׁם כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Tefillin/0R04LgKkhfYC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22unifying%22+%22%D7%99%D7%97%D7%95%D7%93%22&pg=PA104&printsec=frontcover