CLARIFYING

BAFFLING

BIBLICAL

PASSAGES

BY

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PREFACE

Two of the most baffling biblical passages, a fragment from the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" in Num 21:15 and the "Song of Deborah" in Jud 5:1–31, can now be read with clarity thanks to philological tools readily available to interpreters of the Hebrew text.[1] Nine of the sixteen words making up the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" fragment were misunderstood by the later scribes and/or lexicographers. Similarly, of the three hundred eighty-four words in the original "Song of Deborah," sixty-eight of them went unrecognized in exegetical tradition. Now all the words in these two poetic texts have been recognized. It is only a matter of time before the recovered words—a number of which were noted in the Hebrew lexicons of earlier centuries—will be included in the standard Hebrew lexicons of the twenty-first century.

The philological methodology employed in clarifying the enigmas of the "Song of Deborah" and the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," when used to interpret other enigmatic texts in Biblical Hebrew—or even Greek texts having had a Hebrew *Vorlage*—has proven to be very useful. The thirty-five chapters of this volume are a demonstration of its benefits.

See T. F. McDaniel, *The Song of Deborah. Poetry in Dialect A Philological Study of Judges 5 with Translation and Commentary*, available at http://daniel.eastern.edu/seminary/tmc daniel.Deborah.pdf. The first edition, *Deborah Never Sang: A Philological Study of the Song of Deborah* [*Judges V*], was published in 1983 (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing Ltd.).

iii

Through a judicious use of Semitic cognates it is possible to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of the most baffling biblical texts and to enlarge the lexicon of Biblical Hebrew with words from non-Judean dialects, as well as rare words in the Judean dialect. Whereas it was once common for biblical scholars to emend freely any text which did not conform to the lexicons, it now seems wiser to modify the lexicons—informed by cognates—to accommodate the texts. The cautious emendation of the Hebrew text remains a necessary option, but restoring and expanding the entries in standard Hebrew lexicons is far more essential to clarify the meaning of most baffling biblical passages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

A-text	Codex Alexandrinus
AB	Anchor Bible, New York
ABD	*The Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, Chicago
AnBib	Analecta Biblica, Rome
AOS	American Oriental Society, New Haven
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible, 1611 (same as KJV, 1611)
B-text	Codex Vaticanus
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Philadelphia
BCTP	A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, New York
BH³	R. Kittel, *Biblica Hebraica*, third edition, Stuttgart, 1937
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia, Rome
BR	*Bible Review*
BSC	Bible Student's Commentary
BibT	*Bible Today*
BTal	*Bet Talmud*
CAD	I. Gelb, L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Washington, D. C.
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CV	*Communio Viatorum*
DR	*Downside Review*
EBC	The Expository Bible Commentary
ET	*Expository Times*
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley, Oxford
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, Massachusetts
IBCTP	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary Series
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven, Boston

ABBREVIATIONS

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Missoula, Montana
JBS	*Journal of Biblical Storytelling*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JPSTC	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Sheffield
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
KJV	King James Version of the Bible (same as the AV, 1611)
LTSB	*Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin*
LXX	Septuagint
MBC	Mellon Biblical Commentary
MT	Masoretic Text
NCB	New Century Bible
NITGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, New York, 1992
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OTL	Old Testament Library, Philadelphia and London
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible, London and New York, 1952
SC	The Speakers Commentary
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements, Leiden
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*, Philadelphia
ZAH	*Zeitschrist für Althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Gießen and Berlin
ZNT	*Zeitschrift für neuen testamentlische Wissenschaft*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

INTRODUCTION

In the thirty-five chapters of this study nine emendations are proposed which involve the confusion of a ⅄ and a ⅂ or the confusion of a 𝔶(= ⅁) and a 𝔷 (= ⅂), or the like. More serious scribal problems were encountered in Ezekiel 13 and 28, requiring the rearrangement of many verses and/or words or phrases within each chapter, similar to the proposed rearrangement of verses in Judges 5 (see note 1, above) and in Zechariah 3–4 (see Chapter XXII, below).

In comparison to the nine proposed emendations in the fifty-five verses which are the foci in the following chapters, fifty-five Hebrew words rarely appearing in the extant Hebrew literature—and consequently not cited in the current Hebrew lexicons—have been recovered. In addition, nineteen nuances of words currently in our Hebrew lexicons need to be added to the recognized definitions. Fifty-eight of these rediscovered words or nuances have well attested Arabic cognates.

James Barr (1968), in *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*, included an "Index of Examples" (pages 320–337) in which he cited three hundred-thirty-four selected philological proposals made by numerous scholars. Of these proposals one hundred sixty-five were based upon Arabic cognates. John Kaltner (1996), in *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography*, provided another list (pages 119–120) of sixty Arabic cognates to which other scholars have appealed in order to clarify baffling biblical passages. The seventy plus proposed definitions of Hebrew words made in the following chapters in this study should be added to the lists cited by Barr and Kaltner and become candidates for inclusion in subsequent ventures in Hebrew lexicography.

INTRODUCTION

The baffling biblical passages needing clarification start in *Chapter I* with Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25, which deal with the serpent's being cursed to eat *dust*. But it is common knowledge that serpents, snakes, and reptiles are carnivores—which makes the curse meaningless. However, the Hebrew עפר, which can mean "dust," is a homograph of several other words which, according to their with Arabic cognates, realistically correspond to the staple of a serpent's diet. By enlarging the lexicon of Biblical Hebrew to include עפר "small animal" and עפר "small herbage," the cognates of the Arabic غفر (ǵifar) and غفر (ǵafar), the curse of Gen 3:14 corresponds to reality; and Isa 65:25 envisions that time when reptiles will become herbivores.

The roots of Eph 5:22 "wives, be subject to your husbands" go back to Gen 3:16, "your desire shall be for your husband and *he shall rule over you* (מָשָׁל־בָּךְ)." However, Hebrew משל, which is discussed in *Chapter II*, is a homograph of two verbs, one meaning "to be similar" and one meaning "to rule." The traditions about men "ruling over" women may reflect a gender-biased selection of the lexical options made by male interpreters, rather than an unbiased effort to reflect the intention of the author of the Eden narrative who wrote about the sorrow that would come equally/similarly to Adam and Eve.

In *Chapter III*, the disparaging announcement to Hagar in Gen 16:10–12 that Ishmael would be a פרא אדם "wild ass of a man" is scrutinized, and a number of alternative translations of אדם and פרא are proposed which transform the text into a multi-layered laudatory affirmation of Ishmael.

INTRODUCTION

The name change of Abram to Abraham is the focus of *Chapter IV*. Three meanings of *Abram* are cited, followed by two distinctive definitions of *Abraham*—with an element of truth in all five definitions as they relate to the patriarch. A closing comment deals with the change of *Sarai*'s name to *Sarah* which makes *Sarah* a parallel of *Abraham*, both of which refer to their offspring becoming numerous.

The assertion in Exo 4:24 that God wanted to kill Moses on the first night of his return to Egypt to lead the Hebrews out of bondage is examined in *Chapter V*. Traditional interpretations are reviewed but they are of little benefit. Clarification comes only by recognizing the verb המיתו is a homograph which can mean (1) "to make him die," or (2) "to bond a relationship with him." Unfortunately, tradition settled on the first of these definitions and ignored the second. Similarly, וירף is a homograph of verbs meaning (1) "to withdraw" or (2) "to become bonded in marriage, to be united in purpose." This second definition has been missed by commentators and Hebrew lexicographers. Once the second definition of these two homographs comes into focus, contextually appropriate statements emerge, and the baffling statements disappear.

The notorious Azazel mentioned only in Lev 16:8, 10, and 26 receives attention in *Chapter VI*. Azazel has been identified as (1) a noun meaning "sending away" (Septuagint), (2) a compound noun "hard and rough" (Talmud), (3) a place name for a rocky precipice (Targum), or (4) the name of a demon or a demoted deity (the favored interpretation of recent commentators). Philological evidence is provided to support the traditions in the Talmud and Targum that Azazel is a place name rather than a demon's name.

INTRODUCTION

The statement that "the man Moses was more meek than any man on earth" (Num 12:3) is an embarrassment for those who would make Moses the author of everything in the Penta-teuch. In *Chapter VII* this verse is reinterpreted in light of (1) האיש being a homograph for "the man" and for the verb "he was brought to despair," and (2) in light of עניו/ענו being a homograph meaning either "to be meek/mild" or "to be dis-tressed." Interpreting the homographs according to the second definition of each word indicates that sibling rivalry made Moses "to *despair* and be *depressed*" more than anyone else on earth. It is a confession that could be made by Moses or about Moses with all due humility.

Chapter VIII addresses the tension between Deu 15:4, "there will be no poor among you" and Deu 15:11, "for the poor will never cease out of the land." The only problematic word in these two phrases is חדל "to cease" because it is also a homograph of two other verbs—with Arabic cognates—meaning (a) "to treat unjustly," (b) "to refuse to help." The intended statement of Deu 15:11 was "the poor from the midst of the land must not be denied aid." Alternative inter-pretations, which ignore or misinterpret the Arabic cognates of חדל, are in fairness also presented even though they fail to alleviate the tensions in the texts.

Without a doubt, Rahab of Jericho was a זונה. But "harlot" is only one of ten possible definitions of זונה. In *Chapter IX* all ten possibilities are presented and support is given for the understanding found in the Targum and in Josephus that Rahab was not a harlot but an inn-keeper. She provided her guests with "bed and breakfast"—not her bed.

The brief quotation in Jos 10: 7–15 from the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," coupled with Joshua's call for the sun to

"be still" and for the moon to "stand" are the focus of *Chapter X*. As the text now stands, Joshua's command to the sun and moon came *after* the enemy had already been defeated thanks to deadly hail stones from heaven. An Arabic cognate suggests that Joshua's commands to the sun and moon were made prior to his overnight march so that his troops could move in the stealth of a prolonged moonless night. He was granted not only a "blackout" but a solar eclipse as well—with the earth and moon continuously orbiting the sun which had never moved in the first place.

Although Huldah's name can mean "ageless" and "unforgettable," this prophetess, mentioned in II Kings 22:14 and II Chron 34:22, receives scant attention by the commentators. In *Chapter XI* the meanings of Huldah's name, her status, function, and "residence" are examined. All the evidence supports the translation of the Septuagint in II Chron 22:14 that Huldah was "the (woman) guarding the commandments." As the guardian of the oral tradition she was consulted by king and high priest to validate or discredit the integrity of a newly discovered Torah scroll.

While the prophetess Huldah was demeaned in tradition as the "weasel woman," the Samaritan prophet Oded is all but ignored. *In Chapter XII* the account about Oded in II Chron 28:5–15 is studied, with the unbelievably high casualty figures of 120,000 dead and 200,000 captured being reinterpreted as 120 units killed and 200 bands captured. Phoenician and Arabic cognates suggest four definitions for Oded's name which were probably recognized by his contemporaries: (1) *compassionate* (2) *aged* (3) *prophet*, and (4) *restorer*.

The brief study in *Chapter XIII* explores the etymology of the כַּרְפַּס "cotton" in Esther 1:6 and its relationship to similar

sounding words in Greek which became associated with Joseph's famed tunic. The effort is made to determine how celery and parsley became symbolic reminders of Joseph's tunic when celebrating the Passover Seder.

Chapter XIV deals with three problematic words in Psalm 2:11b–12a. Seven of the ancient versions translated the three words four different ways. Modern translations are equally diverse, having everything from "kiss the Chosen One" to "kiss his feet." The translations of Jerome and Symmachus, "worship in purity" find support from three Arabic cognates, with the only emendation being the reading of וגלו as וגילו and בר as ברי, i.e., shifting a י from one word to another.

The puzzle addressed in *Chapter XV* concerns, in part, the five names in Prov 30:1 (RSV) for which there are no corresponding names in the Septuagint. The apparent names are better read as: (1) a passive participle, (2) a noun, (3) an active participle, (4) a three-element phrase, and (5) a verb. Arabic cognates provide the clues for defining six words in addition to the sixteen words in Prov 1:1–5 having previously recognized Arabic cognates.

In *Chapter XVI* Qoheleth's chauvinism, as expressed in Eccles 7:26–28, comes under scrutiny. Once the relative pronoun אשר is recognized as the homograph of אשר "self-conceited," Qoheleth's chauvinism is diminished to the point that he dislikes conceited women, not women in general.

Three of the ten words in the Hebrew of Song of Solomon 1:3—dealing with perfume—were misunderstood by the Septuagint translators and the Masoretes who pointed the Hebrew text. These three words are examined in *Chapter XVII*, where the case is made, in light of contextually appropriate Arabic cognates, for repointing one sibilant and modifying four

vowels. The result of these changes brings sense to a statement about a scent.

A sexually explicit two-word Hebrew phrase is hidden in Jer 5:8a. There are five different spellings in the Hebrew manuscripts for one of the two words, and the etymology of both words has been uncertain until now. In *Chapter XVIII* these two words are identified with two Arabic cognates which, having slightly different pronunciations than their Hebrew counterparts, were overlooked in other studies of this phrase.

In *Chapter XIX* the enigmatic statement in Jer 31:21–22 about a reversal of sexual roles is examined. It has long been recognized that twenty-eight of the thirty-three lexemes in these two verses have Arabic cognates; but seven nuances of these Arabic cognates have been recognized only in Castell's Semitic Lexicon of 1669. Appeal to these nuances and an additional Arabic cognate brings clarity to the Septuagintal variants in these verses and the layered levels of meaning embedded in the Hebrew text.

To the surprise of the reader of Ezek 3:14, the "hand of the LORD" seemingly made Ezekiel "bitter" rather than ecstatic when the spirit/wind lifted him up and carried him to the Chebar River. In *Chapter XX* two Arabic cognates are introduced which permit this verse to be read as a simple statement about Ezekiel's mode of transport rather than being a statement about his emotional response or spiritual condition.

Ezek 13:17–23 has been a riddle for the best of commentators who have guessed about the meaning of "women sewing cushions to all armholes" or "pillows under every elbow?" In *Chapter XXI* the riddle is solved by recognizing that two oracles have been interwoven. Once the oracles are separated

and the poetic lines are reordered, Ezekiel's denouncement of (1) false prophetesses and of (2) women administering first-aid in the ruins of Zion can be recovered. The exact meaning of six Hebrew words are clarified by Arabic cognates which leave no doubt that Ezekiel addressed women doing triage to save the wicked while the righteous were left to die.

Ezekiel 28 is even more disordered than Ezekiel 13. In *Chapter XXII* order is restored in Ezekiel 28 by a major reordering of the poetic lines, coupled with minimal emendation of several words—like reading היית as *scriptio defectiva* for the customary הייתי "I was." Thus, the King of Tyre asserted, "I was in Eden, the Garden of God," rather than having, with the Masoretic text, Yahweh telling the King of Tyre through the prophet, "you were in Eden," as if Yahweh were validating the king's claim of being a god.

In *Chapter XXIII* the statement in Joel 2:31 that "the moon will turn into *blood*" (לדם) is interpreted as meaning "the moon will turn to *darkness*," with the Hebrew דם being a variant form of דהם, the Arabic cognate of which means "it became black, dark."

A résumé of the prophet Amos, gleaned from the book which bears his name, is examined in *Chapter XXIV*. One way of reading the résumé makes Amos a lowly herdsman and a dresser of sycamores; but another way of reading the same résumé would make him an affluent rancher, an investigator / examiner of what was happening in his world. He may even have affirmed, "I am indeed a prophet"

Zechariah's vision, as traditionally interpreted, of a wicked woman sitting in a covered basket (Zec 5:5–11) is examined in *Chapter XXV*. The interpretation made by Marenof in 1931, that the "basket" is actually a "shrine," is revived and fully

endorsed. The "woman" in the shrine is probably an image of a goddess." Consequently, Zechariah's vision was not about all women being wicked, but about idolatry in Jerusalem.

Eight texts from the Gospels are studied in *Chapters XXVI–XXXIII.* A reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of a Gospel text, or an appeal to the *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* published by Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut (c. 1400), provides exegetical options unavailable when one is restricted to the Greek texts.

The "standing" of a star over Bethlehem, as stated in Matt 2:9, is the focus of *Chapter XXVI.* Syriac and Arabic cognates would permit the Hebrew עמד הכוכב to be translated as "the star stood" or "the star set."

The five different traditions about Jesus' statement concerning the placement of a lamp are examined in *Chapter XXVII.* The variations apparently stem from Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlagen* having either סור or סיר or סיד or סוד or some combination of these which eventuated into doublets.

Chapter XXVIII, dealing with Matt 7:6 and its prohibition against "casting pearls before swine," is the longest chapter in the book. The Hebrew and Aramaic reconstructions of this verse are easy enough to make, but the interpretation of the *unpointed* reconstructions is difficult, thanks to homographs which do not distinguish between "dogs" and "dog-keepers" or "swine" and "swineherds," and the like. What appears in Greek to be a riddle of sorts was in Hebrew Jesus' building a fence around the Torah and his Halakah.

Another of Jesus' enigmatic statements, "Let the dead bury the dead" (Matt 8:22), is dealt with in *Chapter XXIX.* The repetition of νεκροὺς "dead" in the Greek reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* with homographs, namely מתים "dead" and מתים "next-of-kin." Jesus' use of paronomasia, when misread as

simple repetition transformed a common-sense word of advise to his disciple into a senseless riddle for the reader of Greek.

The report in Matt 10:34–36 that the "Prince of Peace" stated, "I have not come to bring peace but a sword," is critically examined in *Chapter XXX*. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* for "peace" was שלם (*shalom*), it was a homograph used for three other words; and if חלף (*ḥalif*) was in the *Vorlage* for "sword," it was a homograph with thirteen other definitions. The homographs are spelled out and it may well have been that Jesus stated, "I have not come to bring the *end*, but a *change*."

Chapter XXXI addresses the conflicting statements of Jesus (a) that loving one's neighbor/kith-and-kin (Lev 19:18) is the second greatest commandment (Matt 22:39) and (b) if would-be disciples do not hate their family members they cannot become disciples (Luke 14:26). Evidence is presented that a Hebrew *Vorlage* having שנה or שנא could have been translated into Greek as either "hate" or "forsake"—or a number of other ways, depending on one's choice of cognates and whether the ש is read as a שׂ or a שׁ.

In *Chapter XXXII* eight derivations of the names *Miriam* and *Mary* are presented and six definitions of *Magdalene* are cited. In dealing with the lexicons and literature on these three names, the meaning of ten other names in the Bible or in the Talmud are clarified through Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, Persian, and Syriac cognates or loanwords.

The Gospel of John concludes (21:15–23) with the final conversation between Jesus and Peter. In *Chapter XXXIII* this dialogue is analyzed, assuming Hebrew was the language of discourse. The reconstructed exchange between Jesus and Peter transforms the indefinite, "Do you love me more than

these" into the definite, "do you love me more than kith-and-kin." Peter's response to Jesus' thrice asking, "Do you love me?" was thrice an emphatic, "I cherish you!" Subtle nuances in Hebrew were lost when the conversation was translated into Greek.

The last two chapters deal with problems in extra-canonical literature. Chapter *XXXIV* addresses the crux in the Psalms of Solomon 2:26–27, which states that Pompey was "pierced through on the mountains of Egypt," in disagreement with classical sources which tell of his being assassinated in a boat offshore in Egyptian waters. A Hebrew *Vorlage* with חרי, recognized as the cognate of an Arabic word meaning "inlet," misread as הרי, can easily account for the errors in the Greek and Syriac texts of the Psalms of Solomon.

Chapter *XXXV*, like Chapter *XXXII*, deals primarily with the derivation of names. Arabic cognates of Hebrew חשם suggest multiple layers of meaning for *Hasmonean*, including (a) *angry*, (b) *lion*, (c) *feared*, and (d) *held in awe*. Arabic cognates also contribute to clarifying (1) the title "Thracida" ("Banisher-of-the-Enemy") given to Alexander Jannaeus, and (2) the reference in 4Q169 to "those seeking secession" (a phrase mistakenly rendered by some scholars as "the seekers of flattery").

These introductory comments to the following thirty-five chapters contain over twenty references to Arabic cognates. The reader unacquainted with the prominence of Arabic cognates in Hebrew philological studies may benefit from a preliminary look at the *Addendum* in *Chapter XIX* (180–181) where, in a random selection of Jer31:21–22, twenty-eight of the thirty-three Hebrew lexemes cited in the Hebrew lexicons have well recognized Arabic cognates.

I

REPTILE RATIONS IN
GENESIS 3:14 AND ISAIAH 65:25

INTRODUCTION

In Akkadian "eating dust" to indicate humiliation or defeat has essentially the same meaning as Hebrew "licking the dust" or putting one's face or mouth in the dust, as in Isa. 49:23, אַפַּיִם אֶרֶץ...וַעֲפַר רַגְלַיִךְ יְלַחֵכוּ "with their faces to the ground . . . they shall lick the dust of your feet," and Lam 3:29, יִתֵּן בֶּעָפָר פִּיהוּ "let him put his mouth in the dust." Seven examples are cited in *CAD*[1] under *eperu*, including, "let our enemies see (this) and eat dust (i.e., be defeated)," "dust shall be their food, pitch their ointment, sheep's urine their drink," and ". . . (in the nether world) where their sustenance is dust (and clay their food)." But in Hebrew עפר אכל "eating dust" was not the equivalent of "licking the dust" or "biting the dust." Hebrew אכל עפר pertained to a diet, and early translators understood it quite literally. The curse in Gen 3:14, וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל, became καὶ γῆν φάγῃ in the Septuagint, and the Targums have simply וְעַפְרָא תֵּיכוּל (Pseudo-Jonathan and Onkelos) or יהוי מזונך ועפרא (Neophyti). Likewise, in Isa 65:25 MT וְנָחָשׁ עָפָר לַחְמוֹ "a serpent dust (is) his food" became ὄφις δὲ γῆν ὡς ἄρτον in the Septuagint, and Targum Jonathan rendered the phrase וְחִוְיָא עַפְרָא מְזוֹנֵיהּ.[2]

However, when אכל עפר is taken literally rather than being read as an expression of humiliation, the texts under review become problematic since snakes, being carnivores, do

not diet on dust. The rodents or insects snakes ingest may be
dirty or dusty, but no dirtier than the hay oxen eat or the grass
cows chew. Dirt and dust were never the serpent's "daily
bread." The audience for whom Gen 3:14 was first intended
would have surely concluded that the serpent had proven
itself immune from the curse of eating dust since it was
obviously a carnivorous creature.

Moreover, there is tension, if not contradiction, between the
curse in Gen 3:14 requiring snakes to eat עפר and the asser-
tion in Isa 65:25 that in the coming peaceable kingdom snakes
will be able to eat עפר. Although van Ruiten (1992: 31–42)[3]
has argued that the expression "eating dust," like the ex-
pression "licking the dust," contains an element of curse,
there is no evidence to support the claim that Trito-Isaiah
wanted to perpetuate the curse about the serpent's food and
introduce a new *curse* making lions into straw-eating herbi-
vores.[4] Hos 2:20 (English 2:18) makes it quite clear that the
new covenant of peace would be a blessing for every creature,
including the רֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה "creeping creature"(which surely
included snakes) and the חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה "beast of the field"
(which, according to Gen 3:1, included the serpent).

Given these difficulties, which cannot be dismissed simply
by claiming that Isa 65:25c is a gloss (see *BHS*), the question
to be addressed is whether there is another possible way of
understanding עפר other than "dust" which would permit a
better interpretation of Gen 3:14, Isa 11:7, and Isa 65:25, as
well as help in a reassessment of critical conclusions about
the integrity of Isa 65:25c.

The commentators have not addressed the fact that the
serpent's diet of עָפָר did not reflect the real world in the

same way in which the curse of עִצָּבוֹן "sorrow, pain" reflected the reality of Adam and Eve's progeny in their productive and reproductive endeavors. The possibility of עפר having some other meaning in these texts was never broached, as a sampling of critical opinion on Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25 demonstrates.[5]

In reference to Gen 3:14, Skinner (1930: 79) cited Mic 7:17, יְלַחֲכוּ עָפָר כַּנָּחָשׁ כְּזֹחֲלֵי אֶרֶץ "they shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth" and Isa 65:25, וְאַרְיֵה כַּבָּקָר יֹאכַל־תֶּבֶן וְנָחָשׁ עָפָר לַחְמוֹ "the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and dust shall be the serpent's food." Disagreeing with other critics, he preferred a literal meaning, stating:

> It is a prosaic explanation to say that the serpent, crawling on the ground, inadvertently swallows a good deal of dust (Boch. *Hieroz.* iii. 245; Di. al.); and a mere metaphor for humiliation (like Ass. *ti-ka-lu ip-ra*; *KIB*, v. 232f.) is too weak a sense for this passage. Probably it is a piece of ancient superstition, like the Arabian notion that the *ǧinn* eat dirt (We. *Heid.* 150).[6]

Speiser (1964: 22) translated "on dirt shall you feed" (as though there were a preposition in the clause) but offered no comment as to whether he meant "dirt you shall feed on" or if he was changing עָפָר from being the serpent's diet to the place where the serpent ate. Similarly, von Rad (1961b: 89) noted, "It [the serpent] appears to live from the dust in which it hisses," thereby dismissing the diet of dust in exchange for the serpent's dusty habitat.[7] Sarna (1989: 27) also called attention to Mic 7:17, Psa 72:9, and Isa 49:2–3 ("He made my mouth like a sharp sword . . . "), stating in light of these texts, ". . . [the serpent's] flickering tongue appears to lick dust," as

if "licking dust" were the same as "swallowing dust" or "speaking" with a sharp tongue.

The commentators on Isaiah 65 have not been any more helpful in addressing the issues raised.[8] Torrey (1928: 470–471) argued that Isa 11:7 borrowed from Isa 65:25, commenting

> the parenthetical allusion to the serpent's food (!) is another example of the writer's sly humor which is likely to appear suddenly. As he thinks here of the improved diet of once dangerous beasts, Gen 3:14 comes into his mind and he adds the reflection 'No change for the old serpent!'

Smart (1965: 281) side stepped the issue by making Isa 65:25 a gloss from 11:7, asserting that 65:24 was the conclusion of the chapter since

> it seems more likely that Second Isaiah would have concluded the picture of the servants' felicity with a promise of God's readiness to help rather than with a general description of wild beasts at peace with each other in all Palestine.

Westermann (1969: 410) similarly concluded

> The passage might well have ended with v. 24. Verse 25 follows on somewhat abruptly and does not entirely suit what precedes it . . . . There [Isaiah xi 6–9], the peace among the animal-world is depicted with broader strokes of the brush and in greater detail; it is generally assumed that 65:25 is a quotation of Isa. 11.

Young (1972: 517) observed only, "[the] *Serpent* on this construction is a *casus pendens*. B [Codex Vaticanus =] ὄφις δὲ γῆν ὡς ἄρτον." Whybray (1975: 278–279) provided the lengthiest commentary, stating

> This [v. 25] is a condensed version of 11:6–9. . . . and dust shall be the serpent's food: it is probably useless to seek a logical link between this phrase and the rest of the verse. It

impairs the metrical structure, and its allusion to the eating habits of animals seems to be its only link with the context. It is a gloss based on Gen 3:14.

Ridderbos (1985: 572) conjectured, "The allusion [of dust being the serpent's food] is evidently to Genesis 3:14; the implication seems to be that the serpent will submit to its curse without hurting human beings anymore." But this interpretation, which follows several nineteenth-century proposals cited by Alexander (1875: 455), begs the question for the enmity between snakes and humans was very real long before post-exilic times, but snakes subsisting on עָפָר "dust" was as unreal then as now.

CLUES FROM ARABIC COGNATES

Two unrecognized Arabic cognates of עפר provide a more reasonable interpretation of Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25. Hebrew lexicographers have long recognized the stems עפר I "dry earth, dust" and עפר II "young hart, stag" (the former being cognate to Arabic عفر (ʿafar) and the latter to غفر (ġufr). But until now they have not recognized עפר III, cognate with Arabic غفر (ġfr), which Lane (1867: 842; 1877: 2274) defined as "[the غفر (ġifr) is] *a certain* دويبة (*duwaybbat*) [by which may be meant *a small beast* or *creeping thing*, or *an insect*]" i.e., a synonym of دابة (*dābbat*) about which Lane noted "The dim. [signifying *Any small animal that walks* or *creeps* or *crawls upon the earth, a small beast, a small reptile* or *creeping thing, a creeping insect,* and *any insect,* and also *a mollusk, . . .*] is دويبة (*duwaybbat*)."

This definition of غفر (ġifr) certainly fits the Hebrew עפר in Gen 3:14. Although a few snakes can swallow a small stag

or young hart (= עֹפֶר II), many more can devour smaller creatures like rabbits, rodents, or insects (= עָפָר III = دويبة *duwaybbat*). Consequently, in light of the Arabic cognate غفر (*ǵifr*) it seems reasonable to translate וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל in Gen 3: 14 as "rodents shall you eat," or the like, a translation which corresponds to reality and indicates an etiological element in the narrative.

In addition, Arabic غفر (*ǵfr*) may be read not only as *ǵifr* but also as *ǵafar*, the Hebrew cognate of which can be labeled as עָפָר IV. Lane defines غفر (*ǵafar*) as

> Small herbage . . . [or] *a sort of small sprouting herbage, of the* [*season called*] ربيع (*rabîᶜ*) growing in plain, or soft, land, and upon the [*eminences termed*] آكام (ᵓ*akâm*) . . . (which) *when green, resembling green passerine birds standing; and when it is dried up, resembling such as are red, not standing.*

This definition of غفر (*ǵafar*) (= עָפָר IV) fits well the cognate עָפָר in Isa 65:25.

Since some may consider these suggestions for Hebrew stems עָפָר III and IV the result of "fishing about" in the Arabic lexicon,[9] traditions in Megillah 18[a–b] and Rosh Ha-shanah 26[a–b] need to be kept in mind. They speak of biblical and Mishnaic words "of which our teachers did not know the meaning . . . (לֹא הָווּ יָדְעֵי רַבָּנַן מַאי)" until the words were heard being used by Arabs in the marketplace and by handmaids in the household of the Rabbi.[10]

If the עָפָר in Isa 65:25 is stem IV and cognate with Arabic غفر (*ǵafar*), the phrase וְנָחָשׁ עָפָר לַחְמוֹ can be translated "sprouts (will be) the serpent's food," or the like. Thus, the prophetic vision of the peaceable kingdom anticipated lions

and snakes being transformed from carnivores to herbivores, admitting that some of the plants may have animal-like or bird-like appearances—if the Arabic nuances of غفر (*ġafar*) were also true of Trito-Isaiah's עפר. For Trito-Isaiah, all creatures—serpents, snakes, and reptiles included—would be free from the curse of their own predacious behavior and the predatoriness of others.

If the poetry of Trito-Isaiah was originally oral poetry, free from the ambiguities of homographs, an effective wordplay would have been transparent: serpents which ordinarily feasted on עֹפְרִים "small creatures" would dine in the new age only on עַפְרִים "sprouting vegetation." Unfortunately, the voiced velar fricative (غ = ע) was lost in the spelling—even if retained in speech—having merged with the voiced pharyngal fricative (ع = ע),[11] resulting in the homophones עָפָר "dust," and עָפָר "sprouting plant" and the homographs עפר, stems I, II, III, and IV, noted already. Had the poet been controlled by post-exilic orthographic canons, it seems very unlikely that the ambiguous עפר would have been used without a clarifying modifier.

With the غفر (*ġfr*) and عفر (*ᶜfr*) Arabic cognates in mind, we can prepare a more realistic menu for the serpent mentioned in Gen 3:14 and in Isa 65:25. Since Hebrew עפר can equal the Arabic غفر (*ġfr*) as well as عفر (*ᶜfr*), it could have meant dirt, dust, crawling creatures, or sprouting vegetation. However, contextually, the עפר "entrée" in Gen 3:14 is best understood as a collective noun meaning "small crawling or creeping creatures." But the context of Isa 65:25 suggests that the "entrée" there was some sort of "sprouting vegetation."[12] When so read, these verses are no longer at odds with each

other, and Gen 3:14 is consistent with the observable eating habits of snakes and reptiles.

The question of the priority of Isa 11:7 or 65:25 remains open. I agree with van Ruiten and others who have argued for the priority of Isa 11:7. However, there is no longer sufficient justification to isolate Isa 65:25c as a late addition. When read as a term for sprouting vegetation, עפר (stem IV) is the synonymous parallel of תֶּבֶן, "straw," matching the parallelism of the lion and the serpent. Since glossators seldom transformed bi-colons into fully synonymous tri-colons, the third colon was no doubt in the original poetic line. Trito-Isaiah's point in 65:25 appears to have been that the transformation of all carnivores into herbivores will restore Eden's harmonious coexistence for all creatures. Serpents will participate in the restoration of the Edenic vegetarian diet (Gen 1 29a) by shifting, so to speak, from eating *hares* to eating *herbs*.

NOTES

1. *CAD* 4: 184–190, especially 186. For studies which focus on dust, see Hillers (1987: 105–109) and Rainey (1974: 77–83).

2. For the Septuagint references see Zeigler (1939: 365) and Wevers (1974: 92); for the Targums see Berliner (1884: 2); Stenning (1949: 218–219); Díez Macho (1968: 15); Wevers (1974: 92); Aberbach, M. and B. Grossfeld (1982: 37); Clarke and Aufrecht (1984: 4); and *The Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch: Codex Vatican* (*Neofiti 1*), Jerusalem: Makor, 1979, Volume I: 7.

3. See especially van Ruiten 1992: 41–42.

4. van Ruiten (1992: 41) concluded,

> The grazing of the wolf, the eating straw of the lion can be interpreted as curses for these predatory animals. At the same time these curses are blessings for the domesticated animals, the lamb and the ox. . . . It is not the harmony between the strong and the weak, which is the most important point In (*sic*) Isa 65, 25, but the righteous judgment in which the curse for the strong will be a blessing for the weak.

However, van Ruiten introduced his study with the assertion, ". . . the harmonious state of the animal world reflects the perfect relationship between YHWH and his servants, described in v. 24. This relationship results in the disappearance of evil and ruin from the holy mountain." One must ask, therefore, how the *perfect relationship* of the new cosmos can be structured— without evil—on a paradigm of curses for the strong and blessings for the weak? The tension between Isa 11:7 and 65:25 was removed by van Ruiten, but in the process Trito-Isaiah is made to envision a new cosmos which is less than perfect.

5. See van Ruiten 1992: 31–32 for bibliography and a summary of critical opinion on redactional issues relative to Isa 11:6–9 and 65:25.

6. The abbreviations used by Skinner are for S. Bochartus, *Hierozoicon, sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, edited by E. F. K. Rosenmüller (1793–1796, vol. 3, p. 245); A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, Kurtzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, sixth edition, 1892: 533; E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889: 232–233; and J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, second edition, 1897: 150.

7. von Rad (1961a: 74) stated, "*Woher diese Lebensweise; vom Staube, in dem sie züngelt, scheint sie sich zu nähren (Jes. 65,25; Mi 7,17).*"

8. See note 5, above.

9. Compare L. E. Stager (1986: 225) who critiqued Craigie's translation (1971: 349–352) of פְּרָזוֹן in Jud 5:7 as "warrior." Stager noted in disagreement, "Craigie has gone fishing for etymologies in the vast reservoir of Arabic and hooked a root (*baraza*, 'going forth to battle'). . . ."

10. *Babylonian Talmud*: *Megillah* 18[a–b] (Epstein 1938: 111–112) and *Rosh Hashanah* 26[a–b] (Epstein 1938: 118–119). For other examples, see Barr (1968: 56–58, 268), noting especially his statement that

> . . . the ancient translators did their task remarkably well, considering the circumstances. Their grasp of Hebrew, however, was very often a grasp of that which is *average* and *customary* in Hebrew. . . . there was a strong tendency towards the levelling of the vocabulary and the interpretation of that which was rare as if it was that which was more normal.

Barr's words are true for many more recent interpretations and translations. For other examples of using Arabic cognates to resolve long-standing cruces in the Biblical text, see McDaniel 1983: 262–264 and 397–398; McDaniel 2002: 236–237 and 339–341, and the following chapters in this volume.

11. Sáenz-Badillos (1993: 69) noted that the date of the neutralization of velar and pharyngeal phonemes, including ʿ*ayin* (ع) and *ġayin* (غ), is unclear since the difference between these phonemes was still felt at the time of the Septuagint translation.

12. The possible cognates are not exhausted by the definitions cited here. See Lane 1877: 2089 for عفر (ʿipr) "a boar, a swine" and عفر (ʿipir) "wicked, crafty, evil" and 1874: 2274 for غفر (ǵifr) "the young of a cow" and مغافير / مغفر (miǵfir / maǵâfir) "mellon, manna, honey," with the latter meanings being attractive alternatives for Isa 65:25.

II

"HE SHALL BE LIKE YOU"

GENESIS 3:16

אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אָמַר הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ
בְּעֶצֶב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים
וְאֶל־אִישֵׁךְ תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ׃

Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply your sorrow
and your conception;
in sorrow you shall bring forth children;
and your desire shall be to your husband,
and he shall be just like you.
(McDaniel)

AN ALTERNATIVE READING OF A VERB

The verb יִמְשָׁל in Gen 3:16 is from מָשַׁל stem I, "to be like,
to be similar," rather than מָשַׁל stem II, "to rule, to reign," as
traditionally interpreted and translated. As noted in the
Hebrew lexicons (BDB 605), מָשַׁל stem I, "to be like" is not
attested in the simple *Qal* form. However, in light of the the
Aramaic מְתַל "to be comparable,"[1] which is well attested in
the simple *Pĕ'al* form and corresponds to the Hebrew *Qal*
form (Jastrow 862), there is good reason to assume that the
Hebrew verb מָשַׁל stem I was also used in the simple *Qal*
form, meaning "to be like, to be comparable." This would
mean that lexicographers, along with translators and com-
mentators, erred in assigning the *Qal* יִמְשָׁל in Gen 3:16 to
stem II, rather than to stem I. Recognition of a *Qal* for מָשַׁל
stem I would permit the retention of יִמְשָׁל as the correct

vocalization. But this would require giving מָשַׁל in 3:16 a different definition than the one found in Rabbinic and Christian tradition.

It is also possible that the scribes mis-vocalized ימשל as יִמְשֹׁל , having wrongly assumed that the word was from מָשַׁל stem II "to rule" because it was so widely attested in the *Qal*. The ימשל could actually be an intensive *Pi^cel* form of the verb to be vocalized יְמַשֵּׁל meaning "he will be just like (you)."[2]

Were the original word ימשל in Gen 3:16 an intensive *Pi^cel* verb, confusion would not have occurred in the oral tradition since the intensive יְמַשֵּׁל and the simple form יִמְשֹׁל are clearly dissimilar in speech. Confusion would have come only with a written text where ימשל could have been read as either יְמַשֵּׁל or יִמְשֹׁל.[3]

The widespread use of the suffixed preposition בָּךְ with מָשַׁל stem II, is not decisive in support of the traditional translation of Gen 3:16 as "he shall rule over you." The Arabic cognate of מָשַׁל "to be like" also takes the preposition בְּ as, for example, تمثل بكذا (*tamaṯṯala bikaḏâ*) "he affected to be like such a thing" (Lane 1893: 3017c). Thus, בְּ was probably used in Hebrew with מָשַׁל stem I "to be like *unto*," as well as מָשַׁל stem II "to rule *over*."

SHARING THE SAME SORROW

The עִצָּבוֹן "sorrow" and עֶצֶב "sorrow" in 3:16 are balanced by the repetition of עִצָּבוֹן in 3:17, indicating that the curse for the man and the woman were similar, although not identical since the עִצָּבוֹן was gender specific.[4] The sorrow would come to the woman through the fruit of the womb when death could rob her of her joy over the new life. The sorrow of the man

would come through the fruit of the field which he would produce, for thorns and thistles could preclude adequate food to sustain the new life. The penalty for each was *essentially* the same. Consequently, it is not surprising that the woman was told יִמְשָׁל בָּךְ "he will be just like you!" rather than יִמְשֹׁל בָּךְ "he will rule over you!"

The עִצָּבוֹן "sorrow" common to the man and the woman was explicitly spelled out; but the mutual תְּשׁוּקָה "sexual desire," explicitly expressed in Song of Songs 7:11 ("for me is his desire"), was only implicitly addressed in Gen 3:16.

If the early Greek translation of the הֵרֹנֵךְ "your conceiving" in Gen 3:16 as "your moaning"[5] has any merit, it would well demonstrate another similarity in the gender specific curses. The women's lamentation would be matched by the man's grief evidenced by a "running nose" mentioned in 3:19. The בְּזֵעַת אַפֶּיךָ, commonly translated "sweat of your brow," is literally "the dripping of your nostrils."[6] The dripping nose could speak of crying due to the sorrow which comes when even hard work leaves one fruitless and one's progeny starving.

The man and the woman would have their equal share of grief. This shared grief was not to rob them of the blessing of labor itself, i.e., the blessing of a progeny and produce. The שַׁבָּת "Sabbath rest" would provide relief for them both from the fatigue and pain of labor, but there would be no respite for their aching hearts in a struggle with nature, a struggle for survival, and a struggle for life. The עִצָּבוֹן "sorrow" was the reality of human mortality. (The opportunity to eat of the tree of life in Eden was forever gone.) Birth would be overshadowed by death and the sorrow it produces.

GENDER EQUALITY

The equality of the man and the woman fashioned in creation survived the fall. Death and sorrow were not respecters of person or gender. Thus, it was well said to the woman concerning he man, "He will be just like you!" A hierarchy of men over women is not required by the Hebrew יִמְשָׁל בַּךְ of Gen 3:16, even though the pervasive patriarchal hierarchy insinuated itself into the translations of and traditions about this text. These traditions and translations added another dimension to the sorrow—the sorrow *of* the man and the woman became the grief *between* the man and the woman once a hierarchy was introduced when ימשל בך was misunderstood to mean "he will rule over you" rather than "he will be like you."

The Genesis creation accounts clearly affirm the equality of the man and the woman. The male אָדָם (Adam = "Earthling"), though created before the female חַוָּה (= Eve = "Life"), could not claim "first come, first served" since he was created from the feminine אֲדָמָה "earth" which was made before him and from which he received his name. As the *man* (אָדָם = "earthling") came from the *earth* (אֲדָמָה), the *woman* (אִשָּׁה) came from the *man* (אֱנוֹשׁ / אִישׁ). The narrator carefully balanced (1) the priority of the feminine before the masculine and (2) the priority of the male before the female to make a clear the gender equality.

The translations of עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ in Gen 2:18 as "an help meet for him"(KJV) or "a helper fit for him" (RSV) are misleading in that they suggests a subordinate role as a "helpmate." Actually, both words indicate an elevated role for the woman. The word עֵזֶר means a "savior" or a "rescuer" and was used to describe God's being the savior of Israel (Psa 20:3,

121:1–2, 124:8). When Adam was the lone human, he could not procreate by himself. He needed someone who could deliver him from his aloneness. The woman saved him not simply by her presence, but by their progeny—and in progeny there was a kind of immortality.

Moreover, the second word in the phrase, כְּנֶגְדּוֹ, is a composite of (1) the preposition כְּ "as," (2) the substantive נֶגֶד "front," *and* (3) the suffix וֹ "his," which together mean literally "as his front-one." For the theologians of Genesis, the woman was not *beneath* or *behind* the man; she was designed to be *ahead* of him. The noun of the stem נגד is נָגִיד meaning "the one in front" or "the leader," which was used as a title for Saul, David, Solomon, and other rulers of Israel and other nations.

NOTES

1. The ת appears in place of the שׁ as expected since the original phoneme was the inter-dental fricative *ṯ* which survives in the Arabic cognate مثل (*maṯala / miṯl*) "to resemble / a similar person or thing" (Lane 1893: 3017; Wehr 1979: 1046–1048). The *ṯ* shifted to a שׁ in Hebrew and to a ת in Aramaic.

2. Since the *Hithpaᶜel* (the reflexive of the intensive *Piᶜel*) or its equivalent is attested in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, the *Piᶜel* must also have been used in Hebrew, along with the other forms cited in the lexicons.

3. An original *Piᶜel* יְמַשֵּׁל—which is not attested for מָשַׁל stem II—would have avoided the ambiguity of the *Qal* יִמְשֹׁל which could have been from either stem I "to be like" or stem II "to rule."

4. It is important to note that עִצָּבוֹן is correctly translated by "sorrow" since it speaks of emotional rather than physical pain. See BDB 781–782 for all occurrences of עָצֵב in the Bible.

5. As noted by Katherine Bushnell (1923, ¶ 134–144) the majority of early Greek translations and other versions of Gen 3:16 have "turning" rather than "desire." These translations reflect a *Vorlage* with תְּשׁוּבָה or תְּשׁוּגָה (= תְּסוּגָה) rather than תְּשׁוּקָה—an error in which there was an misreading of the ק of תְּשׁוּקָה as a ב or the dialectal interchange of the ק and ג (comparable to the Hebrew שָׁקֵד "almond" and the Aramaic שִׁיגְדָא "almond"). Thus, the difference between "your turning" and "your desire" was not a matter of different ways in which תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ was translated. It was simply a misreading of the תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ "your desire" as תְּשׁוּבָתֵךְ "your turning" or equating the stems שׁוק and שׁוג. The Vulgate's *potestate* "power" reflects the stem שׁוּק which was the cognate of the Arabic سوق (*sawwaq*) "he made such a one to have the ruling of his affair" (Lane, 1872: 1471). In Walton's *London Polyglot* of 1657 the text has قيادك (*qayaʾduki*) "your submission," which reflects a similar derivation (Lane, 1885: 2573). The feminine תְּאוּבְתָּא "desire" in Targum Onkelos could be confused easily with the masculine תְּאוּבַיָּא "returning" (Jastrow, 1903: 1641).

6. Reading perhaps והגינך "and your moaning" for והרנך "and your conceiving."

7. Hebrew אַף "nose" and the dual אַפַּיִם "nostrils" can also be used for "face," as reflected in the Septuagintal ἐν ἱδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου "in the sweat of your face." The Hebrew word for "brow" or "forehead" is מֵצַח.

ISHMAEL: A PEACE MAKER

GENESIS 16:10–12

INTRODUCTION

וִילַדְתְּ בֵּן וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמָעֵאל ...
הוּא יִהְיֶה פֶּרֶא אָדָם
יָדוֹ בַכֹּל וְיַד כֹּל בּוֹ
וְעַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו יִשְׁכֹּן:

You shall bear a son and call his name Ishmael . . .
He shall be a wild ass of a man,
his hand against every man
and every man's hand against him;
and he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen.
(KJV, RSV)

The translations of Gen 16:10–12 and Gen 25:17–18, cited below, illustrate the widely divergent interpretations of the texts dealing with Ishmael's character and lifestyle. Traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations considered Ishmael to have been predestined to become an internecine fighter, as though he were some wild animal devouring his own kind. Ishmael's descendants were similarly destined to make raids against members of their extended family which would be scattered from the borders of Assyria to the borders of Egypt.

The translation presented in this study departs radically from these traditions. With the help of Arabic cognates a

number of Hebrew words can be recovered which permit (1) the angel's announcement to Hagar about Ishmael (16:10–12) to be read as absolutely good news for everyone, and permit (2) Ishmael's death-bed scene and family history (25:12–18) to speak of congenial family relationships, evidenced by Ishmael's embracing his brethren just before he died.

The attempt has been made by a number of commentators to turn Ishmael's label "a wild ass of a man" into some sort of a compliment. The Arabic cognate of פֶּרֶא "wild ass" is فَرَأ (fara²), about which is the saying "every kind a game is in the belly of the wild ass," meaning "every animal is inferior to the wild ass," as though the wild ass were a carnivore able to devour whatever it chooses (Lane 1877: 2357).

By making the wild ass the "king of the wastelands" it was supposedly equal to the lion's being the "king of the jungle." Skinner (1930: 287) suggested translating פֶּרֶא אָדָם as "the wild ass of humanity" and, in light of Job 39:5–8 ("who has let the wild ass go free . . .") and Jer 2:24 ("a wild ass used to the wilderness . . ."), commented: "It is a fine image of the free intractable Bedouin character which is to be manifest in Ishmael's descendants." Skinner conjectured that the עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו in 16:12 "seems to express the idea of defiance (as Jb 1:11 [עַל־פָּנֶיךָ יְבָרֲכֶךָּ "he will 'curse' thee to thy face"]), though it is not easy to connect this with the verb [יִשְׁכֹּן 'to dwell]'."

Similarly, von Rad (1961: 189) noted, "He will be a real Bedouin, a 'wild ass of a man' (pere', zebra), i.e., free and wild (cf. Job 39.5–8), eagerly spending his life in a war of all against all—a worthy son of his rebellious and proud

mother!" Speiser (1964: 117–118) translated "He shall be a wild colt of a man, His hands against everyone, And everyone's hand against him; And in the face of all his kin he shall camp." Speiser identified Ishmael's being a פֶּרֶא with Joseph's being a בֵּן פֹּרָת in Gen 49:22, which he translated as "wild colt."[1] Speiser called attention to the Akkadian *lullū-awēlu* "savage of a man" as being a parallel expression. Appealing to the עַל־פְּנֵי בֶּן־הַשְּׂנוּאָה הַבְּכֹר "in disregard of the (older) son of the unloved wife," in Deut 21:16, Speiser took the עַל־פְּנֵי (literally, "upon/against the face of") in 16:18 to be an idiom meaning "in defiance/disregard of."

However, the Hebrew פרא can also be from the stem פֵּירָא "fruit" which is the cognate of Syriac ܦܐܪܐ (*peʾraʾ*) "fruit." The usual spelling in Hebrew of "fruit" and "to bear fruit" is פְּרִי and פָּרָה. But in Hosea 13:15 יַפְרִיא "he will be fruitful, have progeny" appears, as though the stem could be פרא as well as פרה).[2] Instead of פרא אדם meaning "wild ass human being" it may simply be another way of stating what appears unambiguously in Gen 17:20, "I will make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous (with the MT וְהִפְרֵיתִי equal to וְהִפְרֵיאתִי). He will be the father of twelve chieftains; and I will make him a great nation."

THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION

καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ισμαηλ
...οὗτος ἔσται ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος
αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας
καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν

καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν
αὐτοῦ κατοικήσει

You shall bear a son and call his name Ishmael . . .
He shall be a countryman, his hands on all,
and the hands of all on him,
and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

This Greek translation reflects a slightly different reading of the Hebrew. The phrase ἔσται ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος, "he will be a countryman" (i.e. a rustic living in the wilderness) is obviously from a *Vorlage* reading ברא "country, forest, prairie" (BDB 141; Jastrow 188–189) for the MT פרא.[3] The Greek text made the land wild rather than Ishmael.

The option suggested by this variant in the Septuagint has generally gone unnoticed in the commentaries. If the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had ברא, instead of the MT פרא, and were ברא the preferred reading, two Arabic cognates are of great interest. The first is بر (*barra*) "he was pious [towards his father or parents, and towards God . . . and was kind, or good and affectionate and gentle in behaviour, towards his kindred; and kind, or good, in his dealings with strangers" (Lane 1863: 175). The angel's announcement to Hagar that her son would become בר/ברא may well have assured her that her son would show her due *filial piety* and manifest *godly devotion*. Such a prediction would have been a welcomed promise—compared to the bad news that her son would become a "wild ass" who would continually fight with his brothers.

Secondly, if the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had ברא and if it was the original reading, the Arabic cognate بر (*baraʾ*) "free, secure, safe, free from disease, distress or debt"

(Lane 1863: 178–179) could provide further insight into what may well have been a *double entendre* in the original tradition. For the slave woman to be promised that her son would be free would have been great news, helping her make her own bondage bearable.

The Septuagint translators can be faulted for reading their text in light of the reality in their time. Because the Ishmaelites occupied the eastern מדבר "desert" they simply read the בר/ברא as the well attested synonym of מדבר, rather than the more rare ברא/בר "filial piety" and "free."

INSIGHTS FROM ARABIC COGNATES

> You shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ishmael . . .
> He shall be a peacemaker, a reconciler—
> his hand in everyone's
> and the hand of everyone in his;
> and in the favor of all his brothers
> he will dwell (*in tranquility*).[4]
> (McDaniel)

The above translation recognizes the MT פרא as the cognate of the Arabic verb فرع (*fara^ca*) "he intervened, he made peace, or effected a reconciliation" and noun مفرع (*mifra^c*) "one who interposes as a restrainer between persons [at variance] and makes peace or effects a reconciliation between them" (Lane 1877: 2378, 2380; Hava 1915: 558). For the well attested interchange of the א and the ע (which suggests that the MT פרא could equal פרע "peacemaker"), the following examples are noteworthy:[5]

אָגַם	and	עָגַם	"to be sad"	
אוּד	and	עוּד	"to turn"	
גָּאַל	and	גָּעַל	"to pollute"	
תָּאַב	and	תָּעַב	"to abhor"	
גָּמָא	and	גָּמַע	"to suck"	
פִּתְאֹם	and	פֶּתַע	"a moment."[6]	
פֵּרוּעַ	and	פֶּרֶא	"wild growth, wild"[7]	

Moreover, given the interchange of א and ה, the Arabic فره (*faruha*) "he was skillful" and فاره (*fârih*) "skillful, beautiful, comely, agile, strong" (Lane 1877: 2390) would also be a contextually attractive alternative for the פרא "wild ass."

Support for reading the פרא as a by-form of פרע "peace-maker" comes from the Arabic أدم (*ᵓadama*) "he effected a reconciliation between them; brought them together, made them sociable, or familiar with one another . . . or to induce love and agreement between them" (Castell 1669: 41; Lane 1863: 35).[8] Were פרא "peacemaker" the intended meaning, the אדם "reconciler" could have been added as a clarifying gloss. Or the redundant פרא "peacemaker" and אדם "recon-ciler" could have been used together for emphasis.

Moreover, the Arabic أدام (*ᵓidâm*) "the aider, and manager of the affairs . . and right order of the affairs of his people," as well as أدمة (*ᵓadamat*) "the chief or provost of his people . . . the examplar, or object of imitation, of his people or family, by means of whom they are known" (Lane 1863: 36) could well be the cognate of the אדם in this passage.[9]

The phrase יָדוֹ בַכֹּל וְיַד כֹּל בּוֹ in Gen 16:12, when taken literally ("his [Ishmael's] hand *in* everyone's and the hand of everyone *in* his"), further supports the idea of Hagar's being given the good news that Ishmael would become a congenial person active in reconciliation. There is no need to interpret this phrase as evidence of widespread hostility in Ishmael's or Abraham's extended family[10]—unless the narrative is interpreted in order to accommodate later historical developments or legitimate current Near Eastern hostilities. Were the hand movement one of hostile intent, the preposition of choice would have been עַל "against," not בְּ "in." The "hand-in-hand" here may not be quite the same as a Western "handshake" or a "high-five," but it certainly can be the equivalent of תָּקַע כַּף, "to clap the hand" of someone as a ratifying gesture of agreement.

REARRANGING GENESIS 25:17–18

After naming the twelve sons of Ishmael in Gen 25:13–15, the MT of 25:16 provided a summary statement:

> *These are the sons of Ishmael*
> *and these are their names,*
> *by their villages and by their encampments,*
> *twelve princes according to their tribes.*

The next statement should be the one found in MT 25:18a:

> *They* [*the sons of Ishmael*] *dwelt from Havilah*
> (*as*) *you go to Assyria, as far as Shur*
> *which is just before Egypt.*

Having thus dealt with the Ishmaelites (in what is now 25: 12–16 and 25:18a), the narrator then focused on Ishmael himself in 25:17a, 18b, and 17b, as follows:

> *These are the years of the life of Ishmael,*
> *a hundred and thirty-seven years.*
> *He embraced all his brethren,*[11]
> *then breathed his last and died,*
> *and was gathered to his kindred.*

The phrase עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו נָפָל in 25:18b has been variously translated. Speiser (1964: 187) rendered it, "and each made forays against his various kinsmen." The *Torah* translation read the MT נָפָל "he fell" as a plural and settled for "they [the Ishmaelites] made raids against all their kinsmen." The NRSV kept the singular and opted for "he [Ishmael] settled down along side of all his people," with a footnote option for "down in opposition to" for the עַל־פְּנֵי.

The translation proposed here, "he *embraced* all his brothers," recognizes that נָפַל עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו, "he fell upon the face of all his brothers," is essentially the same idiom as that found in Gen 45:14, וַיִּפֹּל עַל־צַוְּארֵי בִנְיָמִן־אָחִיו "and he embraced Benjamin his brother," and exactly the same as that in Gen 50:1 וַיִּפֹּל יוֹסֵף עַל־פְּנֵי אָבִי "Joseph embraced his father." Were these phrases taken literally ("he fell upon the neck / face of his brother / father") it would mean that "Joseph assaulted his brother / father." Such a translation could be lexographically correct, but otherwise ridiculous. Ishmael can surely be extended the same courtesy given to Joseph when the עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו נָפָל of 25:18b is simply recognized as

the same idiom for an affectionate embrace— but with an inverted word order probably for emphasis.[12]

CONCLUSION

The angel's word to Hagar that Ishmael would be a פרא אדם may not have been understood by Hagar as meaning "an onager man" or "wild ass human being." It certainly did not mean that to the Septuagint translators. Serious exegesis of the Greek and Hebrew texts of Gen 16:10–12 requires careful consideration of a number Hebrew roots and definitions, most of which have survived as cognates in classical Arabic. These include:

- ברא   "forest, wilderness, country"
- בר   "filial piety, kind to strangers, devotion to God"
- ברא   "free, secure, safe"
- פרא   "to bear fruit, to have progeny"
- פרע   "a peacemaker"
- פרה   "beautiful, strong, comely, agile"
- אדם   "a reconciler, mediator"
- אדם   "a chief or provost of his people"
- שכן   "quiet, calm, tranquil, peaceful"

Eight of these nine words carry explicitly positive meanings and would have been well received by any expectant mother as a good omen for her child. Only ברא "wilderness" would be a neutral term; and only פרא "onager" would have had definite negative connotations. Setting aside the three definitions above which are suggested by the Septuagintal variant, it seems quite likely that the angel's words to Hagar included

a *double entendre* and carried multiple layers of meaning. Ishmael would be *prolific* (פרא) and become the *chief* and *provost* (אדם) of his tribe, setting the example as a p*eace-maker* (פרע = פרא) and *reconciler* (אדם).

As reconstructed (25:18b followed by 17:b), Ishmael "*embraced all his brethren, then breathed his last and died, and was gathered to his kindred*," which suggests that Ishmael had been able to maintain peace among his tribes during his lifetime, which, no doubt, required some conciliatory efforts.

What happened after Ishmael's death is a different story, and the post-Ishmael enmities which arose in Abraham's extended family contributed to those translations of Gen 16: 10–12 and 25:17–18 which were controlled by that history, so as to assert that the inter-tribal violence was mandated from heaven. Quite to the contrary, the brief excerpts about Ishmael may have been designed to reshape that history of violence by hailing Ishmael as the exemplar of peace and reconciliation.

By enlarging the lexicons of standard Biblical (Judean) Hebrew through a study of Arabic cognates, it becomes a little easier to understand just what the angel said to Hagar and what it was that the narrator actually said about Ishmael. Far from being negative, derogatory, or inflammatory, the words about Ishmael and the Ishmaelites in Genesis were laudatory and compatible with the divine promise to Abraham that, through his progeny, "all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen 12:3).[13]

NOTES

1. Speiser related "the whole verse to fauna and not, with tradition, to flora." Support for his argument comes from the Arabic بنات صعلة (banâtu ṣaʿdata) "wild asses" (Lane 1872: 1688) which is the exact equivalent of the בנות צָעֲדָה in Gen 49: 22.

2. The Septuagint of Hos 16:12 reads διαστελεῖ "division," which reflects a *Vorlage* with יפרדא for the MT יפריא (Wolfe 1974: 222). Compare the translation of Anderson and Freedman (1989: 625, 640), "He became the wild one among his brothers." They parsed יפריא "to be wild" as an elative *Hiphʿîl* denominative of פרא "ass," thereby disassociating it from פרי / פריא "progeny, fruit."

3. For the confusion of פ and ב, see Delitzsch 1920: 115, §118. The Arabic cognate of בר "wilderness" is بر (barr) "desert(s), waste(s), uncultivated land without herbage or water" (Lane 1863: 176–177). Assuming the *Vorlage* had ברא, it was read as a by-form of ברר, similar to the by-forms of ע"ע and ל"ה stems cited by Gesenius (GKC §77ᵉ). Note also the occurrence of בר in Psa 2:11, discussed below in Chapter XIV.

4. The יִשְׁכֹּן is the cognate of Arabic سكن (sakana) "he dwelt" and "he became calm, unruffled, peaceful" (Lane 1872: 1392–1393; Wehr 1979: 487–488). In Gen 33:10 seeing one's "face" is associated with being in one's "favor."

5. The quiescence and/or the assimilation of the ע is well attested in the name of the Phoenician goddess *Tanit / Tannit,* who was also known as ʿ*Anat* (ענת). The name *Tanit / Tannit* (תנת) was probably spelled originally תענת, from the stem עון "to save," to which was added a feminine ת suffix and a ת nominal prefix. Following the addition of the ת noun prefix, the ע was assimilated and **taʿnt*

became *ta(n)nt*, which, with the anaptyctic vowel, became *tannit* (like ***ba‘l > ba‘al > בל*). In the El Hofra texts באל appears for בעל "lord" (see Berthier and Charlier, 1955, text 13:2).

6. Examples of the interchange of א and ע in Arabic include (1) أرض (ʾaraḍa) "he asked for, or petitioned for, a thing he wanted" and عرض (ʿaraḍa) "he asked for, or petitioned for, a thing he wanted" (Lane 1863: 48; 1874: 2005) and (2) أفرة (ʾafurrat) and عفرة (ʿafurrat) "*the beginning,* or *first part* of the heat . . . or the *vehemence* thereof" (Lane 1877: 2356).

7. Jastrow 1213 and 1221, who cited *Midrash Rabbah* on Gen 16:12, "'a savage among men' in its literal sense, for all other plunder goods, but he (Edom-Rome) captures souls."

8. Even the title בן אדם, always rendered "the son of man," may well mean "a reconciler." In this case, the question which Jesus asked his disciples in Matt 16: 13 was originally not, "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" but "who do men say *the reconciler was?*" This makes the disciples response ("some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets") much more intelligible. Elijah was viewed in Mal 4:6 as the great reconciler "turning the hearts of the fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers." The prophets, as illustrated by Ezekiel who was called בן אדם repeatedly, were agents of reconciliation rather than messianic figures who were entitled "Son of Man," as the title was employed in the inter-testamental literature (for which see Klausner [1956]: 229–231, 291–292, 358–360).

9. The Hebrew אדם "provost, commander" can be found in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (from around 1400 A.D.) in 8:9 where the Roman centurion said to Jesus

ואני אדם חוטא ויש לי ממשלת
תחת ידי פירושים ופרשים ורוכבים

Although Howard (1995: 32–33) translated this as "I am a sin-
ful man and I have authority under the Pharisees and [I have]
horses and riders . . . ," the text really means, "I am a provost /
centurion (אדם), a nobleman (חוטא); and I have authority! Under
my power are mounted-horsemen (פירושים = *celeres*), equestrians
(פרשים = *equites*), charioteers (רוכבים = *currus*) . . . ."

The חוטא does not mean "sinner" but is the cognate of Arabic
حوط (*ḥawît / ḥayyiṭ*) "a man who guards, protects, or defends" and
the Aramaic חטי "nobleman, one who lives in luxury" (Castell
1669: 1156; Lane 1865: 671; Jastrow 448).

10. Contra Ringgren (1974: 190) who stated succinctly "Ishmael
will be an enemy to his brothers (i.e., other tribes) (Gen. 9:25)."

11. See Ringgren (1974: 190) for a discussion on the use of אח for
one's kinsmen or fellow tribesmen.

12. The Septuagint's κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ
κατῴκησεν, "he dwelt before all his brothers," reflects a *Vorlage*
with זבל "to dwell" (so translated in the KJV of Gen 30:20) for
the MT נָפַל "to fall."

13. The name Esau (עֵשָׂו) can also be clarified by Arabic. It is
probably a metathetic variant of שׂוע which would be the cognate
سوغ (*sawġ*), used in the phrases (1) هو اسوغ أخاه (*hû ʾaswaġa
ʾḫâhu*) which can mean either "*he was born with his brother*"
[which fits Esau] or "*he was born after his brother*" [in which case
it could only fit Jacob], and (2) سوغه مالًا (*sawwaġhu mâlin*) "he
made property allowable, lawful, or free to him" (Lane 1872:
1468), which fits well Esau's selling his birthright to Jacob.

IV

THE MEANING OF
ABRAM AND ABRAHAM
GENESIS 17:5

INTRODUCTION

וְלֹא־יִקָּרֵא עוֹד אֶת־שִׁמְךָ אַבְרָם
וְהָיָה שִׁמְךָ אַבְרָהָם
כִּי אַב־הֲמוֹן גּוֹיִם נְתַתִּיךָ

No longer shall your name be Abram,
but your name shall be Abraham;
for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations.

The name אַבְרָם is commonly recognized as a compound of אָב "father" and רָם "exalted," the latter of which is from רוּם "to be high, exalted" (BDB 4). Hollow verbs like רוּם often have a by-form in which a medial consonantal ה or א appears in lieu of the vowel letters ו or י, such as:[1]

בּוּשׁ	בְּהַת	"shame" (Aramaic)
דּוּר	דָּהַר	"long time, age" (Arabic)
לוּט	לָהַט	"secrecy" (Exo 7:11)
לוּט	לָאַט	"secrecy" (Jud 4:21)
מוּל	מָהַל	"to circumcise"
מוּר	מָהַר	"to exchange"
נוּר	נָהַר	"light, fire" and "to shine"
רוּם	רָאַם	"to rise" (Zech 14:10)
רוּץ	רְהַט	"to run" (Aramaic, Syriac)

Appreciation of these variants permits one to understand the commentators who *equate* the meaning of *Abram* and *Abraham*. For example, von Rad (1961: 194) concluded:

Here P [= Priestly writer] has certainly theologized a double
tradition of the first patriarch's name, for the name "Abra-
ham" is linguistically nothing else than a "lengthening" of
the simpler "Abram," which means "my father [the god] is
exalted."

About the same time Speiser (1964: 124) stated:

Linguistically, the medial -ha- is a secondary extension in a
manner which is common in Aramaic. The underlying form
Abram and its doublet *Abiram* [Num 16:1] are best ex-
plained as "the (not 'my') father is exalted . . . ."[2]

ABRAM / אַבְרָם

Although "exalted" is one meaning of the רָם of אַבְרָם, it
is not the only meaning. If the אָב of אַבְרָם is an epithet for
God, rather than a patronym, then "exalted" is probably the
preferred definition. But not every name with אָב refers to
God. Such names as אֲבִיאָסָף "my father gathered" and
אֲבִישַׁג "my father is a wanderer" or אֲבִישׁוּר "my father is a
wall" are unlikely references to God. There is a good chance
that the אָב of אַבְרָם referred to the patriarch himself, not to
his father or ancestor or to God.

The Arabic cognate of רוּם/רָם could well be رام (*râm*)
"he went away, or departed : and he quit a place : and he
ceased doing a thing" (Lane 1867: 1203–1204). If so, the
name would be practically synonymous with אֲבִישַׁג "my
father is a wanderer." If אַבְרָם does mean "father departed,"
it would be a very fitting name for someone who obeyed the
command in Gen 12:1 לֶךְ־לְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית
אָבִיךָ, "go from your country and your kindred and your
father's house." If "father departed" was the meaning of
אַבְרָם, the patriarch more than lived up to that name.

There is yet another possible derivation suggested by the Arabic cognate ريم (*raym*) "excess, superiority" (Lane 1867: 1204), which occurs in the expression لهذا ريم على هذا (*lihaḏâ raym ʿalay haḏâ*) "this has superiority over this." While Abraham may have been too modest to have appropriated the name "father is superior" for himself, his progeny certainly claimed this for him (and for themselves). But Israelites and Ishmaelites may not have been the only ones who laid claim to superiority through an ancestor. Skinner (1930: 292) noted, "The form אַבְרָם is an abbreviation of אֲבִירָם . . . which occurs as a personal name not only in Heb. but also as that of an Ass. official (*Abîrâmu*) under Esarhaddon, B.C. 667 . . . ." Similarly, Millard (1992) recognized, "The name 'Aburahana' [= Abraham] is found in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C. (*m* and *n* readily interchange in Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic names)."

ABRAHAM / אַבְרָהָם

Just as Speiser disagreed with Skinner, as noted above, Skinner (1930: 292) disagreed with Delitzsch (1887: 292; 1888: II: 34), making the following observations about the אַבְרָהָם of רָהָם:

> The nearest approach to P's explanation would be found in the Ar. *ruhām* = 'copious number' (from a √ descriptive of a fine drizzling rain: Lane, *s.v.*). De[litzsch] thinks this the best explanation; but the etymology is far-fetched, and apart from the probable accidental correspondence with P's interpretation the sense has no claim to be correct."

However, the etymology is not as far-fetched as Skinner thought. Long before Delitzsch, Castell (1669: 3537) cited in his massive lexicon رهام (*ruhâm*) "*numerus copiosus*" as the

cognate of רהם "a large number," a definition also noted by Lane (1867: 1171–1172). No commentator has yet to suggest that the רהם of אַבְרָהָם is related to the Arabic رهوم (*rahûm*) "a man weak in seeking, or searching, [to find what is best to be done;] who follows mere opinion." But there would be an element of truth to such a derivation when it comes to Abraham's indecisiveness in resolving the conflict between Sarah and Hagar.

Skinner's objection to identifying רהם with رهام (*ruhâm*) stems from the fact that the word has to do primarily with a "drizzling and lasting rain" (= رهمة [*rihmat*]), i.e., a lot of rain drops. However, opting for a "probable accidental corres- pondence" of רָהָם with رهام (*ruhâm*) was itself a far-fetched explanation. The innumerable drops of water in a drizzling rain are like the stars mentioned in Gen 15:5 ("look toward heaven, and number the stars, if you are able to number them . . . so shall your descendants be") or the sand mentioned in Gen 22:17 ("I will indeed bless you, and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the seashore"). Therefore, in my opinion, the identification by Castell and Delitzsch of רָהָם with رهام (*ruhâm*) appears to be correct.

CONCLUSIONS

Although some of the older commentators preferred to view *Abram* and *Abraham* as two different individuals whose traditions had been blended together—and more recent exegetes have argued that *Abram* and *Abraham* are simply dialectally different names for the same individual—the proposal in this study has been to treat the names as two distinctly different names for the same person. The meaning of *Abram* can have three different meanings: (1) "father is

exalted," (2) "father departed," and (3) "father is superior."

On the other hand, the name *Abraham* appears to have had two well-defined meanings—unless with some humor intended "father is a drip" is proffered as a third choice—namely, (1) "father is indecisive in making decisions," or (2) "father is prolific." When the names are interpreted as referring to the patriarch, there is an element of truth in all five. Although the name *Abram* ("father is exalted") could be a reference to the exaltedness of God, it could have simply meant "the patriarch departed," or "the patriarch was superior." The name *Abraham* made no reference to God since it meant "the patriarch was indecisive" and / or "the patriarch was prolific." The latter definition would have support from *Sarai*'s name having been changed to *Sarah*—if שרה were vocalized as שָׂרָה and read as the cognate of Arabic ثرو/ثرى (*ṯarrâ*/ *ṯarî*) "she became great in number or quantity / many, numerous" (Lane 1863:335), as suggested by Gen. 17:15, וְהָיְתָה לְגוֹיִם "she will become nations."

NOTES

1. See GKC 77[f] and BDB, *sub voce*.

2. Speiser also clarified the fact that רוּם "to exalt" and רָחַם "to love" must not be confuse when comparing Akkadian names. In disagreement with Skinner (cited below) Speiser noted:

> the supposed Akk. cognate *Abam-rāmā* is not to be adduced, since it is unrelated and means "love the father." [*rāmā* = רחם "to love"] . . . . The underlying concept was probably much the same as in a king's assumption of a special throne name. The event marked a new era. Such notices are not to be confused with frequent word plays on original names; or *P*'s own paronomasia on Isaac (1964: 124, 127).

V

THE INVIOLABLE RELATIONSHIP
OF MOSES AND ZIPPORAH
EXODUS 4:24-26

INTRODUCTION

וַיְהִי בַדֶּרֶךְ בַּמָּלוֹן וַיִּפְגְּשֵׁהוּ יְהוָה וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הֲמִיתוֹ׃
וַתִּקַּח צִפֹּרָה צֹר וַתִּכְרֹת אֶת־עָרְלַת בְּנָהּ וַתַּגַּע לְרַגְלָיו
וַתֹּאמֶר כִּי חֲתַן־דָּמִים אַתָּה לִי׃
וַיִּרֶף מִמֶּנּוּ אָז אָמְרָה חֲתַן דָּמִים לַמּוּלֹת׃

At a lodging place on the way the LORD met him and
sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off
her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it, and
said, "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me!" So he
let him alone. Then it was that she said, "You are a bride-
groom of blood," because of the circumcision. (RSV)

ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐν τῷ καταλύματι συνήντησεν
αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι
καὶ λαβοῦσα Σεπφωρα ψῆφον περιέτεμεν τὴν ἀκροβυ-
στίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς
πόδας καὶ εἶπεν ἔστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ
παιδίου μου

Then it happened on the way at the inn that the angel of
the Lord met him and sought to slay him; and Sepphora
having taken a stone cut off the foreskin of her son and fell
at his feet and said, "The blood of the circumcision of my
son is staunched."

Childs (1974: 95) rightly noted that "Few texts contain
more problems for the interpreter than these few verses [4:24–
26] which have continued to baffle throughout the centuries.

The difficulties cover the entire spectrum of possible problems." Although the name Moses appears in the translations, it is not in the Hebrew text. After noting the ambiguity of the pronominal elements in the verses, Childs raised the question, "How is one to account for the irrational, almost demonic atmosphere in which blood seems to play an apotropaic role?"

Hyatt (1980: 87) responded to this question by simply affirming, "It is a very ancient primitive story that pictures a 'demonic' Yahweh." He suggested, "The original story may have concerned a demon or deity of the boundary between Midianite territory and Egypt whom Moses failed to appease." If this were the case, although the name Yahweh appears in the Hebrew text, it may not have been in the original account.

Propp (1993: 505) theorized a bit more bluntly, "Yahweh's problem is that he has two irreconcilable plans for Moses: he wants both to dispatch him to Egypt to liberate Israel and to punish him for his old transgression [his killing the Egyptian]. . . . The result of this impasse is the quasi-schizophrenic behavior of the Deity."[1]

In the Septuagint (cited above) and in Jerahmeel (cited below) Yahweh is replace by ἄγγελος κυρίου "the angel of the Lord," before whose feet Zipporah fell and reported, "The blood of the circumcision of my son is staunched." By contrast, the 'demonic' Yahweh is replaced by Satan (Mastema) in Jubilees 48: 2–3, which reads:

> And thou [Moses] thyself knowest what He [God] spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastema desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt ⟨on the way when thou didst meet him in the lodging place⟩. Did he [Mastema] not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand?" (Charles, II: 78–79).

One alleged reason for Yahweh's attempt on Moses' life is given in the Book of Jerahmeel 47:1–2,

> They lodged at a certain place, and an angel came down
> and attacked him for his transgression of the covenant
> which God had made with Abraham His servant, in that he
> did not circumcise his eldest son, and he wanted to slay
> him. Zipporah then immediately took one of the sharp flint
> stones which she found there and circumcised her son, and
> she rescued her husband from the power of the angel
> (Gaster, 1971: 122).

In this tradition, as well as in the Targumin,[2] the blood flow
from circumcision served as atoning sacrificial blood. With
variations, this interpretation satisfied many Christian and
Jewish interpreters over the centuries.

Jacob (1992: 109), called attention to an alternative inter-
pretation which he found more convincing. He stated:

> The best explanation which we have yet found was given
> by Ibn Ezra [1089–1164] and Luzatto [*Commentary on the
> Pentateuch*, 1849], who stated that God was angry because
> Moses had taken his wife and children along when he
> should have devoted himself completely to his mission
> (compare Deut 33.8 f.) . . . [Zipporah] wishes to remain
> united with her husband during the long period of separa-
> tion through the blood of her son whom she has circum-
> cised.

The long term effect of this story, according to Jacob
(1992: 110), is that "each *b'rit mi-lah* [covenant of circumci-
sion] renews and reaffirms the marriage bond. In fulfilling
this command, the couple again celebrates their wedding . . . ."

Although Jacob made this claim for the close tie between
circumcision and marriage without supporting evidence, he
pointed the interpreter in the right direction. A fresh look at
Exodus 4:24–26, free from all the traditional speculation—as
though the text had just been excavated—permits a radically
different translation.

AN ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION

Simply by (1) relocating the MT מִמֶּנּוּ ("from him") to the preceding line, (2) repointing the verbs הֲמִיתוֹ ("to make him die") and וַיִּרֶף ("he sank, he withdrew"), (3) identifying these two verbs with Arabic cognates which have gone unnoticed in current Hebrew lexicons, and (4) adding one vowel letter, the verses can be translated

> At a lodging place on the way, the LORD met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship, whereupon Zipporah took a flint and cut off the prepuce of her son, touching it to Moses' groin while saying "Indeed, you are a blood relative to me!" (They became irrevocably bonded when she said "You are a blood relative by circumcision!")

The MT הֲמִיתוֹ, at first glance, appears to be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מות "to die," with a 3ms suffix. But המית (or המת = *scriptio defectiva*), sans suffix, could be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מתת, given the fact that ע"ע and ע"ו verbs share a number of identical forms (GKC § 77[a-b]). The proposed stem מתת would be analogous in form to the stem תם / תמם (BDB 1070), the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of which is הָתֵם (*scriptio plene* = הָתֵים). Thus, הָמֵית or הָמֵת could be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מתת, whereas הָמִית or הָמֵת would be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מות "to die." The consonantal texts would be the same.

The stem מתת is not cited in the current standard Hebrew lexicons, but it was cited in the two folio volumes of *Lexicon Heptaglotton* by Edmund Castell (1669) in column 2166. He considered the names Ammitai (אֲמִתַי /Αμαθι in Jonah 1:1) and Matthew (Μαθθαῖον / מתתיה in Matt 9:9) to be derived from this stem.[3] Castell cited cognates of this vocable in Ethiopic and Arabic. The semantic range of these cognates

includes "husband (*maritus*), fiancé / bride-groom (*sponsus*), fiancée / bride (*sponsa*), i.e., the betrothed (as in Matt 1:19), a mixed marriage (*miscuit*), an extended household (*familiam saturavit*), and a blood relative whom one cannot marry (*gradus consanguinitatis, ob quem connubium non potest iniri*). The Arabic cognate مت (*matta*), according to Lane (1885: 2687c–2688a) means "he sought to bring himself near [to another], or to approach [to him], or to gain access [to him], or to advance himself in [his] favour by relationship . . . by affection, or by love." The noun ماتـة (*mâttat*) means "anything that is sacred or inviolable . . . that which renders one entitled to respect and reverence . . . a thing whereby one seeks to bring himself near." The example Lane cited was بيننا رحم ماتة (*baynanâ raḥim mâttat*) "between us is a near / inviolable relationship."

These definitions survive down to the present in modern literary Arabic, as noted by Wehr (1979: 1045) who rendered مت (*matta*) as "to seek to establish a link to someone by marriage, become related by marriage, . . . to be associated, to be connected with, . . . to be most intimately connected with someone." Similarly, the noun ماتـة (*mâttat*) retains the meaning of "close ties, family ties, kinship."

In light of this evidence, it seems quite obvious the phrase ויבקש יהוה המיתו could be translated "*Yahweh sought to make inviolable his relationship*" [or "*his marriage*"]. The phrase need not be read as the equivalent of וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ הֲמִיתוֹ "the king sought to kill him" (in Jer 26:21). Given the fact that the Midianite Zipporah would be an outsider in Egypt—among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians —her relationship to Moses could have become very tenuous, like that of Moses' Ethiopian wife (see Num 12:1). Thus, far

from being a "primitive story that pictures a 'demonic' Yahweh" (see above), Yahweh was "angelic"— so to speak —insuring the marital status of Zipporah once she left her homeland.

The preposition מִמֶּנּוּ "from him," which in the MT modifies the verb וַיִּרֶף, ("he withdrew *from him*"), fits equally as well in the preceding line as the modifier of וַתִּכְרֹת "she cut," i.e., "she cut off *from him*." This relocation of the modifier makes it clear that Zipporah performed a preputiectomy rather than a preputiotomy; i.e., it was more than just an incision.

Once the מִמֶּנּוּ is removed from being the modifier of וַיִּרֶף, it becomes difficult to give וַיִּרֶף the nuanced meaning "to withdraw from, to let one alone" instead of its more basic meaning "to sink, to relax" (BDB 951–952, רפה). However, וַיִּרֶף is probably not from the verb רפה, but from רפא, stem II—not to be confused with רפא, stem I, "to heal" and its cognate رفو/رفا (*rafâ/rafû*) "to darn, to mend, to repair" (BDB 950; Lane 1867: 1129). The loss of the final א of the ל"א verb, resulting in וירף instead of וירפא, was quite common (see GKC § 74ᵏ).

The Arabic رفا (*rafâ*) also means "he effected a reconciliation, or made peace between them," and "he married, or took a wife." It is used in extending a felicitous greeting to those getting married, as in the expression "may the marriage be with close union (رفاء [*rifâ'un*]), etc., and constancy and the begetting of sons not daughters" (Lane 1867: 1117–1118, 1129). Wehr (1979: 403) renders the felicitation to newlyweds as "live in harmony and beget sons!" Lane also noted that the reflexive form VI of رفو/رفا (*rafâ/rafû*) means "they agreed together to do the thing, they aided or assisted one another, they were of one mind and opinion, . . . their stratagem and their affair being one."

Arabic has three words for in-laws: (1) أختان (ʾaḥtân) "the relations on the side of the wife"; (2) احمآء (ʾaḥmâʾ) "relations on the side of the husband"; and (3) أصهار (ʾaṣhâr) "relations on either side" (Lane 1865: 650, 704; 1872: 1737). The חֲתַן of חֲתַן דָּמִים is the cognate of the first of these. Whereas חָתָן means "bridegroom" or "daughter's husband," much like its Syriac cognate ܚܬܢܐ (ḥătan) "in-law, to marry or to intermarry" (J. Payne Smith 1957: 164), the Arabic cognate ختن (ḥatana) also means "to circumcise," suggesting that the bride's father circumcised the prospective bridegroom.

Zipporah's circumcision of her son guaranteed that her son would be recognized as a Hebrew when they (mother and son) joined their new Hebrew relatives in Moses' family in Egypt. At the same time, by touching the severed prepuce to Moses' groin, Zipporah vicariously circumcised her husband. This act was significant not only as a religious exercise on Moses' behalf, it was an act which also elevated her to being vicariously a "blood" relative to Moses as she ventured into Moses' Hebrew clan. Though Midianite, she was now symbolically a *blood* relative, perhaps in a way that Moses' Cushite wife was not. The circumcision provided her and her son with immunity from isolation, as well as *bonding* her relationship with Moses as a *blood* relative. Instead of interpreting Zipporah's actions as an effort to save Moses' life, her actions were aimed at saving her marriage and her family.

In light of the Arabic form VI, noted above, Moses and Zipporah were on a *joint* mission. Far from there being a רפה "a withdrawal" of anyone, it was a רפא "a bonding together, a close union, a harmonious marriage," with shared visions, opinions, and stratagem. Such an understanding makes Zipporah's exclamation, כִּי חֲתַן־דָּמִים אַתָּה לִי "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me," reasonable. The redactor's

gloss in 4:26, וַיִּרְפּוּ אָז אָמְרָה חֲתַן דָּמִים לַמּוּלֹת *"they became irrevocably bonded when she said 'You are a blood relative by circumcision,'"* likewise, becomes intelligible. The shift to the plural "they" for the singular "he" in the MT and the versions (be it for the deity, or an angel, or for Mastema) is a simple case of *scriptio defectiva*, suggesting perhaps an early date for this tradition since final vowel letters were customarily omitted in the oldest orthography.

CONCLUSION

Childs (1974: 98), in a critique of the proposal of Kosmala (1962: 14–28), asked the question, "What circle within Israel would have treasured a 'Zipporah cycle'?" with "its original Midianite—that is Arabic—meaning." The answer seems very obvious: the children and grandchildren of Moses by Zipporah, namely, Gershom, Eliezer, and Jonathan ben Gershom ben Mosheh. It is noted in Judges that "Jonathan and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land" (Exo 2:22; 18:3; Judges 18:30–31). A priest with the stature of Jonathan ben Gershom ben Mosheh could easily have introduced a tradition about his grandmother's inviolable relationship with his grandfather—even in the dialect of his grandmother![4]

One need not anticipate that a tradition perpetuated at Shiloh and Dan would have been in the Judean / Jerusalem Hebrew dialect, which has provided the base for standard Hebrew lexicons. Dialectal fragments survive in the Hebrew Scriptures, with the *Song of Deborah* in Judges 5 (in a Kenite dialect) being a lengthy one, and the *Words of Agur* in Pro 30: 1–5 (in the dialect of Massa, a tribe in Arabia) being a shorter one. This writer would add Exodus 4:24–26 to the list of dialectal fragments, necessitating a careful examination and application of Arabic cognates in the interpretation and translation of the text—as offered in this study.

"Why did Yahweh want to cause Moses to die?" and "How could Zipporah's actions have saved Moses?" are not the first questions to be asked. Prior to those questions must be this question: "What are the options for identifying all the roots / stems in this narrative?" When the standard lexicons offer very limited options resulting in incredulous statements and interpretations which strain the imagination (such as those briefly summarized and critiqued by Childs [1974: 96–98]), comparative philology may provide more reasonable solutions. Such is the case, I believe, in the interpretation of Exodus 4:24–26, resulting in this translation, repeated here by way of summary:

> At a lodging place on the way, Yahweh met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship, whereupon Zipporah took a flint and cut off the prepuce of her son, touching it to Moses' groin while saying "Indeed, you are a blood relative to me!" (They became irrevocably bonded when she said "You are a blood relative by circumcision!")

This interpretation of Exo 4:24–26 provides the requisite support for Jacob's contention (1992: 110, noted above) that the long term effect of this story is that "each *b'rit mi-lah* renews and reaffirms the marriage bond. In fulfilling this command, the couple again celebrates their wedding . . . ." As Propp noted, "In its current context, Exod. iv 24–6 describes an awesome rite of family solidarity performed on the eve of the Exodus. It simultaneously marks a boy's initiation into the people of Israel and his parents' passage into the state of parenthood."[5]

NOTES

1. Propp further noted (1993: 505), "The logical inference is that Moses' attempt to return home [to Egypt] with un-expiated blood-guilt upon him elicits Yahweh's attack." But it seems a bit illogical

for the Deity to hold Moses' under a death penalty for slaying *one* Egyptian in the past when Moses' mission to free the Israelites will eventuate shortly in the death of *every* firstborn in Egypt (Exo 12:30), not to mention the destruction of Pharaoh's army at the Sea of Reeds.

2. Targum Neophyti (Macho 1970), for example, reads as follows:

> And it happened on the way, in the resting-house, that an angel from before the Lord overtook him and sought to kill him. And Zipporah took a flint and cut of the foreskin of her son and brought it near the feet (Margin = "and cast it beneath the feet of") the Destroyer and said: 'In truth the bridegroom sought to circumcise but the father-in-law did not permit him, and now may the blood of this circumcision atone for the sins of this (his? her? its?) bridegroom.' And the angel (Margin = the destroying angel; behold then [s]he gave praise) let him alone. Then Zipporah gave praise and said: 'How beloved is the blood of this (circumcision) that delivered this (his?) bridegroom from the hand(s) of the angel of death.

3. Other lexicographers have generally derived אֲמִתַּי "Amitai" from אמן "to confirm, to support" (which is related to the exclamatory "Amen!") and its noun form אמת "truth" (BDB 54); and מתתיה "Mattathiah/Matthew" has been derived from the verb נתן "to give" and the noun מַתַּת "gift" (BDB 682).

4. Kosmala (1962:14), like most other scholars, never challenged the traditional meaning of the text. He commented

> However, it must be pointed out the Hebrew of the three verses appears grammatically simple and clear, nothing is wrong with it, nothing is wanting. The actual difficulties come from the context in which the verses are embedded.

But he is forced to recognize the difficulty of the Hebrew, when (on page 26) he raised the questions:

> What does the expression *ḥᵃtan-damim* mean? It is unique in Hebrew usage, it does not occur elsewhere. . . . What, then, is the *ḥᵃtan-damim*? Is he a bridegroom after all, or, if not, how shall we understand that double expression?

5. See Propp's article (1993: 515–516) for examples of the blending of circumcision and marriage rites and festivities in Arab lands and in Islam. I cannot concur with Propp's final conclusion that ". . . Zipporah performs an act that implicitly equates father and child, binding the generations through the bloodied organ of generation." This is unnecessary speculation.

ENDING THE ENIGMA OF AZAZEL
LEVITICUS 16: 8, 10, 26

INTRODUCTION

Noth (1965: 125) conceded that "the figure of Azazel [in Leviticus 16] remains an enigma," and Levine (1989: 102) concurred stating, "The precise meaning of Hebrew *ᶜazaᵓzel*, found nowhere else in the Bible, has been disputed since antiquity and remains uncertain even to the present time." However, appeal to several Arabic cognates heretofore ignored when attempting to interpret Lev 16:8–26, may resolve many of the difficult problems related to the etymology of *Azazel*.

In the Septuagint *Azazel* was not read as a name but as a common noun translated ἀποπομπαίῳ (16:8), ἀποπομπαίου (16:10), and ἀποπομπήν (16:10), meaning "sending away, carrying away" (Liddell and Scott 213).[1] Similarly, in 16:26, *Azazel* was read as a compound of עזל "to separate" and אזל "to go away" and rendered τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν "the goat separated for release." Nor did the Vulgate read *Azazel* as a name but as עֵז "goat" and אזל "departing," which became *capro emissario* (16:8) and *caprum emissarium* (16:10) "a goat [that] departs."

The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Clark 1984: 138) took *Azazel* to be the place name of the scapegoat's destination:

וצפירא דסליק עלוי עדבא ² לעזאזל יתוקם
בחיין קדם ייי לכפרא על סורחנות עמא בית
ישראל לשדרא יתיה ליממת באתר תקיף

וקשי דבמדברא דצוק דהוא בית הדורי ⁴
(Lev 16:10)
למדברא דצוק ויסוק צפירא על טווריא
דבית הדורי ⁴ וידחיניה רוח זיקא
מן קדם ייי וימות ³
(Lev 16:22)

And the goat on which came up the lot for *Azazel* he shall
make to stand | alive before the Lord, to expiate for the sins
of the people of the house | of Israel, by sending him to die
in a place rough | and hard in the rocky desert which is Beth-
hadurey (Lev 16:10). . . . to a rocky desert; and the goat will
go up on the mountains of | *Beth-hadurey*, and a tempes-
tuous wind from the presence of the Lord will carry him
away and he will die (Lev 16:22).⁴

The *Beth-hadurey* / בית הדורא "the place of a steep hill,
spiral road" (Jastrow 1903: 332–333) is a place name analo-
gous to the בית הרן (= *Tel er-Râm*) in Num 32:36, with the
הדורא being the singular of the הדורים "hills, swelling
places, land swells" mentioned in Isa 45:2, which the Septu-
agint translated simply as ὄρη "mountains," whereas the KJV
opted for "crooked places."⁵ It would be a synonym of צוק
"peak, precipice" (Jastrow 1270). The בית הדורא need not
mean a particular precipice, but any precipice, just as עזאזל
was considered to be any hard, rough, rocky, desert mountain
or height.

References to *Azazel* in the Talmud (*Yoma* 67ᵇ) and Mid-
rash (*Sifra*, Aḥare 2:8.) treated it as a compound noun rather
than as a name. Two phrases are quite clear: עזאזל שיהא
קשה שבהרים עזאזל and עז וקשה which were translated
by (1) Jung (1938: 316) as "Azazel – it should be hard and

rough" and "Azazel, i.e., the hardest of mountains" and (2) by Goldschmidt (1933: 946–947) as *"Âzazel, er muss fest und hart sein"* and *"Âzazel ist der höchste unter den Bergen."* Goldschmift and Jung read the עז of עזאזל as עַז "strong, firm, rough," clarified by its synonym קשה "hard, severe, strong" (Jastrow 1060, 1429), which required them to dismiss the אזל element of עזאזל.

<div style="text-align:center">

CLUES FROM ARABIC COGNATES

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The Arabic cognates أزل (*ʾazala*) and عنز (*ʿanz*), not mentioned in other studies of *Azazel*, permit the following translation of the phrases from *Yoma* 67ᵇ: (1) עזאזל שיהא עז וקשה, "*Azazel* which must be a *rugged height* and *harsh*" and (2) עזאזל קשה שבהרים, "*Azazel* is any *harsh place* which is in the *mountains*." These two cognates permit the interpreter to account for *Azazel* being described in the MT, the Targum and the Talmud as מדבר "wilderness," הדורא "rugged land, hill, precipice," and גְּזֵרָה "precipice," along with the modifiers קשה and תקיף "hard, harsh, rough, and rocky."

Castell (1669: 73) included in his citation of Hebrew/Aramaic אזל these Arabic cognates: أزل (*ʾazala*) *"in angustia statûs, vel anni inopia verstatus fuit"*; أزل (*ʾazil*) *"angustia summa, penuria & sterilitas"*; and مازل (*maʾzil*) *"locus arctus & angustus."* Lane (1863: 53–54) cited أزل (*ʾazala*) "he became in the state of straitness, or narrowness, and suffering from dearth, or drought or sterility," and the nouns (1) أزل (*ʾazl*) "straitness, distress, difficulty, drought, or want of rain," (2) أزل (*ʾizl*) "a calamity," (3) أزل (*ʾazil*) "straitness, severe, or vehement stress, distress, or great difficulty," and (4) مازل (*mâʾzil*) "the place where the means of subsistence are strait,

or narrow."[6] The אזל of עזאזל could be the cognate of this
Arabic stem (used as a modifier of the עז of עזאזל), as well
as the אזל which was a by-form עזל (= عزل [ʿazala]) "he
removed, he separated," as understood by the Septuagint
translators. Thus, עזאזל could have had multiple meanings.

The עז of עזאזל has yet to be accurately identified. It
could be derived from עֹז (עוז) "strength, fortitude," or עַז
(עזז) "strong, firm," or עֵז (ענז) "goat." Lane (1874: 2173)
cited عنز (ʿanz) "she-goat"[7] (which with the ن assimilated is
the cognate of עֵז "she-goat") and the homograph and homo-
phone "an eminence, or hill, such as is termed أكمة (ʾakamat)
. . . land having in it ruggedness and sand and stones . . . ."[8]
Both Arabic cognates may clarify the עז of עזאזל. The first
عنز (ʿanz) (= עז) is the synonym of باطل (bâṭil) "bad, worth-
less, useless; applied to a man and to anything."[9] It is this עז
(= עַז) which was recognized in the Targum and Talmud as a
מדבר "desert, wilderness" or as a הדורא "rugged land, hill,
precipice."[10] The Vulgate, as noted, read the עז as עֵז "goat."

Elsewhere, עַז appears in Jer 51:53 as a synonym of תֵּל
"hill, city-mound." The MT וְכִי תְבַצֵּר מְרוֹם עֻזָּהּ "though
she [Babylon] fortify the height of her strength" (KJV) would
be better translated as "though she make inaccessible the top
of her tel (i.e., עֻזָּהּ)."

Moreover, the עִתִּי "timely" of Lev 16:21 (paraphrased
variously as "fit" [KJV], "who is in readiness" [RSV], "desig-
nated for the task" [NRS]) could well be the cognate of
Arabic عتى (ʿitîy) / أعتى (ʾaʿtay) "a man who transgressed the
commandment of God," as used in the Qurʾan (Sura 51:44),
"they *rebelled* against their Lord's decree" and عات (ʿâti)
"inordinately proud or corrupt" (Lane 1874: 1951). Taking the

scapegoat into the wilderness would have contaminated any-
one who was righteous or purified previously. Therefore the
goat would be dispatched בְּיַד־אִישׁ עִתִּי / עָתִי "by the hand of
an *extremely corrupt* man" (Lev 16:21) who would have to
"wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water" (Lev 16:26)
as an act of purification before he could enter the community
upon his return from the harsh rugged mountain terrain.

ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Some have proposed that *Azazel* can be derived from עזז,
the cognate of Arabic عزاز (ʿazâz) "hard rugged ground . . .
and the acclivities of mountains and [hills or eminences such
as are termed] اكام (ʾakâm)" (Lane1874: 2032). This deriva-
tion requires (1) the ל of עזאזל to be a formative addition
(like the ל of בַּרְזֶל "iron" and כַּרְמֶל "garden")[11] and (2) the
א in עזאזל to be a disposable "*unessential aleph*," thus
reducing עזאזל to עזז, which could be identified with the
גְּזֵרָה אֶרֶץ "barren region" of Lev 16:22. But the elimination
of two of the five letters of עזאזל is very problematic. A
better option would be to restore עזאזל to עָזַז אָזַל, i.e., אָזַל
"hard, harsh, difficult, distressful" and עָזַז "rugged sloping
terrain."

Others have proposed that *Azazel* resulted from the meta-
thesis of the א and the ז in the name which must have been
written originally as עזזאל "fierce god," a spelling which ap-
pears in the Qumran texts. This "fierce god" became iden-
tified with the name Azmaveth (עַזְמָוֶת) of 2 Sam 23:31,
which was thought to mean "*Mot* [= *Death*] is fierce" (עַז
מוֹת). Subsequently, the god Mot (= "*Death is fierce*") be-

came identified with the name of *Azazel* (= "God is fierce"), resulting in the demotion of Mot from being a deity to being just a demon which became known as *Azazel*.

In the intertestamental literature *Azazel* was recognized as one of the "sons of God" who, according to Genesis 6 and Enoch 6, abandoned their heavenly *habitation* for the their *cohabitation* with earthly women.[12]

Milgrom (1991: 44, 1020–1024) argued for *Azazel* being the name of an "eviscerated" demon who lost his personality and became transformed simply into the name of the place to which the scapegoat carried Israel's sins and impurities— similar to Wright's conclusion (1992) that the demon's name was "a place-holder representing the geographical goal of the scapegoat's dispatch." Levine (1991: 102), by contrast, preferred to promote *Azazel* to the rank of a demonic ruler of the wilderness, much like the שְׂעִירִים "goat-demons, satyrs" mentioned in Lev 17:7.

The claim by Levine (1989: 102) and Milgrom (1991: 1020) that the initial ל of לעזאזל is the *lamed auctoris*, rather than the equivalent of the locative ה of the following modifier הַמִּדְבָּרָה, would have one goat "belonging to *Azazel* and one "belonging to the Yahweh," supposedly providing a kind of parity of possession by two unequal supernatural beings. But both goats were "earmarked" for Yahweh and both were marked for death. One was to die upon the altar as a sin offering to Yahweh (לַיהוָה וְעָשָׂהוּ חַטָּאת); the other was to make atonement before Yahweh (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו)[13] as a scapegoat to be dispatched in due time to the wilderness where it would die of straits and distress or perish —falling or thrown—from a precipice, thereby taking all the sins of Israel into oblivion.[14]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Contrary to the opinion of a number of commentators past and present[15] that the *Azazel* in Leviticus 16 refers to a demon to which a scapegoat was dispatched, there is sound philological evidence for interpreting it—as in the Targum and Talmud—as a topographical term having nothing to do with demons. Hebrew עזאזל can be recognized as a compound of עז "rugged peak" and אזל "difficult, distressful, dearth," with the אזל being the modifer of the עז. At one time, as suggested by the translations in the Septuagint and Vulgate, the text may well have been עז אזל, with a space between the noun and its modifier.[16] Once the space disappeared in the textual tradition, the topographical designation עז אזל became easily confused with names like עֲזָאֵל (*Azaʾel*), עֲזָזֵיל (*Azazêl*), and עזזאל (*Azazʾel*) (4Q 180; 11QTemple 26:13), which triggered an easy association with the names of the rebellious angels listed in Enoch 6, which, in turn, made it easy to identify the *Azazel* with the world of demons and demoted deities.

The enigma of *Azazel* in Leviticus 16 can thus be resolved by philology rather than by demonology. A careful examination of Arabic cognates can help in the recovery of meanings of words which have yet to be included in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew—words which were clearly understood by the contributors to the Targum and the Talmud, though unknown to most of the interpreters of these texts. In the case of the *Azazel* tradition in Leviticus 16 (both the MT and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint), the following Hebrew terms need to be added to the lexicon:

אזל   "straits, distress, hard, harsh, severe, calamity"
דוד   "to remove, to repel (from sacred territory)"
זל   "slippery ground"
חדר   "slope, declivity, descent"
עז   "rugged height, stony hill, precipice, mound, tel"
עזז   "hard rugged ground, mountain slope"
עזל   "to remove, to separate"
עתי   "corrupt, rebellious, unbeliving, disobedient."

NOTES

1. Given the interchange of the ע and the א of the nouns אִיזְלָא and עִיזְלָא, both of which mean a "web" or "net" (Jastrow 1903: 46, 1062), the אזל of עזאזל was probably read by the Greek translator as the by-form עזל, the cognate of عزل (ᶜazala) "he removed, he separated" and its derivative عزلة (ᶜuzlat) "a going apart, away, or aside; a removal or separation" (Lane 1874: 2036–2037). The Greek translation could reflect both אזל *and* עזל, with its *Vorlage* having what appeared to be a redundant לעזל אזל "for separation removal," rather than the MT לעזאזל.

2. The Targum Onkelos rendered the name as עֲזָזֵיל.

3. Compare Ryder's Hebrew translation of the Targum:

> . . . אל מקום תהו ושלח את השעיר למדבר צוק
> ויעלה השעיר על ההרים של בית הדורי
> וידחנו רוח סופה מלפני ה׳ וימות

. . . unto a wasteland, and he sent the goat to a wilderness peak | and the goat went up upon the mountains which are Beth Hadurey | and a consuming wind of the Lord cause it to slip, and it died.

4. In addition to the הדורי cited by Jastrow (1903: 332–333) and Clarke (1984: 138) meaning "hill, spiral road" are these several variants:

(1) חדורי, cited by Sokoloff (1992: 216), which would be the cognate of Arabic حدر (*ḥadara*) "he made to descend," and its derivatives حدور (*ḥadûr*) "declivity, slope, a place of descent" and حيدرة (*ḥaydarat*) "destruction, perdition" (Lane 1865: 530), which would support the tradition that the goat was thrown down from the mountain to its death.

(2) חרורי "set free," (Jastrow 1903: 506) suggesting that the animal was released / set free in the barren terrain where it—and the sins transferred to it—would surely perish.

(3) חדודא (= Dûdâêl in Enoch 10:4, for which see Charles 1913: 193, n. 4). The Arabic cognate for the דוד of דודאל is probably ذاد / ذود (*ḍûd / ḍâd*) "he repelled, he drove away," used for example for removing someone or something from sacred territory (Lane 1867: 987).

5. The Vulgate reads *gloriosos terrae*, as though the text were אַדִּירִים.

6. The Arabic أزل (*ʾazal*) also means "eternity with respect to past time, or considered retrospectively; existence from eternity; or ancientness . . . or ever in all past times" (Lane 1863: 54), which precludes it from being used for the idea of everlasting, which is expressed by أبد (*ʾabad*) "time, or duration or continuance, or existence, without end; endless time, etc.; prospective eternity" (Lane 1863: 4). Thus, *Azazel* could *not* have been an "eternal goat" (עֵז אָזֵל) which carried away the sins of Israel forever.

7. The Arabic عنز (ʿanz) was also used for the female eagle, the female vulture, the female bustard, and the female hawk. This suggests that the עֵז definitely means a "she-goat," which would require the feminine אָזְלָה for עזאזל to mean "the she-goat went away," as in the Vulgate's *capro emissario.* The MT of Lev 16:10, לַעֲזָאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה, could readily be divided to read לְעֵז אָזְלָה מִדְבָּרָה, which would provide the requisite feminine adjective.

8. Lane (1863: 73) defined اكمة (ʾakamat) as "a hill, or a mound, a synonym of تل (tel) . . . a place that is more elevated than what is around it, and is rugged, not to the degree of being stone; or an isolated mountain . . . rising into the sky, abounding in stones."

9. The fact that the plural of the synonym باطل (bâṭil) signifies "devils" (Lane 1863: 219) may have contributed, directly or indirectly, to עֲזָאזֵל being interpreted as a demon.

10. The Arabic زل (zil) "smooth stone" and زل (zul) "slippery ground" (Lane 1867: 1242; Hava 1915: 293) may be relevant by-forms of זל / אזל which could explain *Azazel* appearing in Targum Onkelos as עֲזָזֵיל which could also be read as a "slippery (stony) precipice" (*עַז זוּל or *עַז זִיל).

11. See GKC 85ˢ.

12. See especially Enoch 6:1–11:22; 13:1ff; 54:5–6; 55:4; and 69:2. Ginzberg (1938: 7: 52–53) has sixteen references to *Azazel* in his index.

13. *Yoma* 67ᵇ includes the statement that עזאזל שמכפר על מעשה עוזא ועזאל, "Azazel atones for the sin of Uza and Azael."

14. Note Milgrom's statement,

> . . . the text takes pains to state that both animals were placed 'before the Lord' . . . and that the goat of Azazel will be placed alone 'before the Lord' (v 10). Here is clear evidence of the Priestly efforts to alter what was most likely in its original form a pagan rite.

15. See KBS II: 806 where eight scholars are cited in support of identifying *Azazel* as a demon in the wilderness, while acknowledging that its etymology is uncertain. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1925, II: 365) had similarly noted:

> After Satan, for whom he was in some degree a preparation, Azazel enjoys the distinction of being the most mysterious extrahuman character in sacred literature. Unlike other Hebrew proper names, the name itself is obscure.

16. For another example of how the loss of spaces between words —coupled with the presence of rare words—affects translations, note Pro 30:1, which reads as follows in the MT and KJV:

דִּבְרֵי אָגוּר בִּן־יָקֶה הַמַּשָּׂא

נְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל

The words of Agur the son of Jakeh,
even the prophecy the man spake unto Ithiel,
even unto Ithiel and Ucal

But the text, in my opinion, should be properly translated as:

The words of a pious person
rewarded for righteousness,
the declaration of one restored to health:
'Surely God exists! Surely God exists!
I will be kept healthy!'

For a full discussion of this text see below, Chapter XV.

"MOSES WAS MADE TO DESPAIR"
NUMBERS 12:3

THE PROBLEMS IN 12:3

The rule is that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, but there are exceptions, especially when it comes to Hebrew homographs. In Num. 12:3, the MT הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה appears as the equivalent of the MT הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה "the man Moses" in Exo 11:3. But the *pre-Masoretic* האיש in Num. 12:3 was probably not the same as the האיש of Exo 11:3.

הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה עָנָו מְאֹד (Noth (1968: 95) pointed out that מִכֹּל הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה "Now the man Moses *was* very meek, above all the men which *were* upon the face of the earth" (KJV) in Num. 12:3 ". . . is a latter addition which disrupts the close connection between v. 2b and 4." Moreover, Noth (1968: 95) recognized that "it is not easy to ascertain what is meant by the unusual phrase [וְהָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה] 'the man Moses.'" He concluded, ". . . perhaps the 'humanity' of Moses is meant to be brought out and given explicit expression, so that the unique distinction accorded to this 'man' should be traced back exclusively to Yahweh's freewill and be regarded as a divine gift." Noth, thereby, transforms "the obliqueness of the reference to Moses" (Gray 1903: 123) into a even more oblique theological reference to divine free-will. Olson (1996: 71) and others continued to view Num. 12:3 as a parenthetical insertion by a narrator who, in the words of Ashley (1993: 224) "wishes the reader to know that

Moses *himself* (italics mine) would probably have let the challenge [by Aaron and Miriam] go unanswered."

However, once the *pre-Masoretic* האיש משה of Num. 12:3 is exegeted independently of the MT הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה of Exo 11:3, all of Num. 12:3 can be read as an original and integral non-parenthetical part of the narrative dealing with Aaron's and Miriam's challenge to Moses' leadership.

Most studies on Num. 12:3 have focused on the interpretation of עָנָו (which occurs in the singular only here in the Bible) and its Qere,[1] עָנָיו, debating the merits of translating עָנָו as "meek" or "humble" or "devout." Rogers (1986: 257–263) revived (apparently unknowingly) the suggestion of Sellers (1941, cited in Evans, 1969: 439–440) to abandon both "meek" and "humble."[2] But, whereas Sellers opted to translate עָנָו as "vexed, bad-tempered, or irritable," Rogers argued from etymology and context for "miserable."

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS

The real clue to the meaning of עָנָו is in the meaning of the האיש משה which precedes it. There is no problem with the proper name מֹשֶׁה; but what appears to be the noun אִישׁ and the definite article הָ is in reality the verb אָיַשׁ "to despair" with the prefixed הָ of the *Hophᶜal*, meaning "he was brought to despair." Thus, the האיש משה "the man Moses" of Exo 11:3 is not the equivalent of the האיש משה in Num. 12:3. This latter verse should have been vocalized as הָאֱיַשׁ מֹשֶׁה meaning "Moses was made to despair." The Hebrew verb אָיַשׁ "to despair," which would be a *hapax legomenon*

here, has gone unrecognized to date by commentators and lexicographers; but it is the cognate of Arabic ايس (ʾayisa) and اياس (ʾiyâs) (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47), with its synonym being قنط (qaniṭa) "to despair most vehemently of a thing, to become disheartened, to be without hope" (Lane, 1885: 2568; Wehr, 1979: 927). The metathetic by-form of ايس (ʾayisa) is يئس (yaʾisa) "to give up all hope," and (4) "to deprive someone of hope" (Lane, 1893: 2973-2974; Wehr, 1979: 1294), which is the cognate of the well attested Hebrew יָאַשׁ "to despair, to give up hope" (BDB: 384 [with no reference to ايس (ʾayisa), although يئس (yaʾisa) is noted]; Jastrow, 1903: 560).

Consequently, הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה is not a simple predicate clause meaning "the man is Moses," nor the inversion of a proper noun and its modifier, "Moses the man." Rather, הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה is a typical verbal clause with the verb (here a *Hophᶜal*) followed by its subject: "Moses was brought to despair." Given the intensity of the despair suggested by the synonym قنط (qaniṭa), the adverbial modifier "most vehemently" may be necessary in English to reflect accurately the author's intent to show how deeply distressed Moses was by the challenge of Aaron and Miriam to his authority.

The depth of Moses' despair is stressed by the adverbial modifiers which follow הָאֲיַשׁ מֹשֶׁה, namely, עָנָו/עֲנָיו מְאֹד and מִכֹּל הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה "more than anyone upon the face of the earth." The meaning of עָנָו/עֲנָיו מְאֹד will most likely be synonymous with יָאַשׁ "to despair." Thus, the עָנָו/עֲנָיו in 12:3 has nothing to do with: (1) עָנָה "to answer," or (2) עָנָה "to afflict, to do violence, to be afflicted,

to be bowed down," a cognate of عنا / عنو (ʿanâ) and its derivatives ענה and ענו "poor, humble, meek," or (3) עָנָה "to sing," a cognate of غنّى (ġannaya); or (4) עָנָה "to be free from want, to be wealthy or competent," a cognate of غنى (ġaniya) (Lane 1877: 2301–2303).

But the עָנָו / עֲנִיו here may have something to do with עָנָה (stem II) "to be occupied, busied with" in the sense of "being *preoccupied* with a matter" (BDB: 775). This is suggested by the Arabic cognate عنى (ʿanaya) "to be disquieted, to suffer difficulty, distress, trouble, fatigue, or weariness," which is a synonym of هام / هيم (haim / hâma) "to be perplexed, mystified, baffled, puzzled, confused, to be robbed of one's senses" (Lane, 1874: 2180; 1885: 3047; Wehr, 1979: 762, 1224), which is the cognate of Hebrew הום "to murmur, to discomfit" (BDB: 223).

The vocalization of the *Kethib* ענו or the *Qere*ʾ עניו (which is also the *Kethib* in 17 manuscripts cited by Kennicott [1780: 250]) can be resolved by (1) paying attention to the intensity of emotion and despair (אִיֹּשׁ) experienced by Moses when challenged by Aaron and Miriam, and (2) reading עניו (*plene*) or ענו (*defectiva*) as a *qaṭṭil* form used "almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an *intense* manner" (GKC: 234 [§84f, italics mine]; Moscati, 1964: 78 [§12.9]). Contra Gray (1903: 123), who vocalized the words as עָנָו / עֲנָיו (taking his clue from דְּבָרָיו), the variants should be vocalized as עַנִּיו and עַנּוּ, indicating that Moses was *intensely* perplexed and preoccupied by the challenge from siblings Miriam and Aaron. The prepositional modifier, "more than anyone upon the face of the earth," could modify

either הָאִישׁ "he was brought to despair" or עָנָיו מְאֹד "[he was] extremely distressed."

CONCLUSION

The lapse in oral tradition which permitted האיש in Num. 12:3 to be misunderstood as הָאִישׁ —rather than הָאֱיַשׁ—was also sufficient to obscure in the tradition the proper nuance and vocalization of ענו / עניו. The Masoretic reading of Num. 12:3 unintentionally transformed the verse from a statement of high drama about Moses' emotional and mental depression due to the crisis created by Aaron and Miriam, into a parenthetically intrusive accolade. While the parenthetical intrusion elevated Moses to a plateau of "humility" or "meekness" beyond the reach of other human beings, the intent of the narrator was to show how the conflict with sister and brother brought Moses to the depths of despair—"a deeper distress (עָנִיו) than that of anyone else on earth."

Rogers' proposal to render ענו / עניו as "miserable" was a step in the right direction, and a major improvement over Sellers' "bad-tempered or irritable," which hints at a permanent personality trait rather than a passing mood associated with a crisis situation in the family. While "miserable" rightly removed the unintended accolade from the narrative, it failed to focus on Moses disturbed emotional and mental faculties. When, contra Rogers, the etymological base is shifted away *from* ענה (= عنو / عنا [ʿanâ]) "to afflict, to do violence, to be afflicted, to be bowed down" *to* ענה (= عنى [ʿanaya]) "to be disquieted, to suffer difficulty and distress," the depression of Moses due to the sibling rivalry becomes transparent.

Although Milgrom (1990: 94) appealed to what he considered the "synonymous parallel" in Psa 22:27 (i.e., עֲנָוִים

"the devout" and הֹרְשָׁיו "those who seek Him") to clarify ענו in Num. 12:3, the synonyms in this latter verse itself are mutually informative — once they are correctly vocalized as הָאֵיַשׁ "he was brought to despair" and עַנִּו or עֻנּוּ "[he was] distressed." Far from being adulatory, הָאֵיַשׁ מֹשֶׁה עֻנִּיו מְאֹד was the narrators way of showing just how human Moses was when challenged unfairly by Miriam and Aaron. The adulation of Moses was delayed in the narrative until verses 7–8, when from God — not from Moses nor from a later narrator — this accolade was given: פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה אֲדַבֶּר־בּוֹ וּמַרְאֶה "mouth to mouth I speak to him very clearly."

NOTES

1. Rogers (1986: 257 n. 6), followed by Allen (1990: 799), indirectly quote Gray (1903: 124) that the י of the Qere עָנָיו "is a *mater lectionis* to indicate that the last syllable is to be pronounced as in דְּבָרָיו." Surprisingly, both Rogers and Allen omit Gray's concluding comparison, "as in דְּבָרָיו," indicating that they misunderstood Gray's statement. Gray's point was not *whether* the second syllable should be pronounced, but rather *how* it should be pronounced.

2. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Parker Thompson of North Fork, Virginia, for this reference to O. R. Sellers' 1941 proposal.

VIII

THE POOR MUST NOT BE DENIED ASSISTANCE
DEUTERONOMY 15:4 AND 15:11

INTRODUCTION

Expectations expressed in Deu 15:4 and 15:11 concerning the poor appear to be in disagreement. The former verse states clearly אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה־בְּךָ אֶבְיוֹן "but there will be no poor among you."[1] But the latter verse seems, at first glance, to state with equal clarity כִּי לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן מִקֶּרֶב הָאָרֶץ "for the poor will never cease out of the land."[2] The Septuagint reads with equal clarity *and* ambivalence: ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ ἐνδεής "for there shall not be a poor person in you" (15:4); and οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἐνδεὴς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς "for the poor shall not cease from the land" (15:11).

Commentators have been of little help in resolving this tension. Driver (1902: 181) basically reversed the sequencing of the verses stating, "[15:11 is] the ground of the preceding injunction [in 15:4]: the poor will never cease out of the land, and hence it [the injunction] will never become superfluous."

On the other hand, von Rad (1966: 106–107) appealed to a two source theory—one tradition from the legislator (15:4) and the other tradition from the preacher (15:11)—stating:

> This preacher has realistic ideas about poverty; he knows that Israel will always have to deal with it (v. 11). This conception seems to have provoked a contrary opinion, namely, that complete obedience will be answered by a complete divine blessing, and hence by the end of all poverty (vv. 4–6). In both conceptions, but more clearly in the second one, there is expressed the negative and quite unascetic estimate of poverty characteristic of the earlier Israel. It is an evil out of which nothing of value can be extracted.

Such literary and theological discussions have only high-lighted the tension between these verses. A careful philo-logical inquiry about the cognates of חדל will provide better options for addressing the textual tensions, irrespective of whether the tradition is from a single author or from a legis-lator and a preacher.

PHILOLOGICAL ALTERNATIVES

A fresh interpretation was offered by Freedman and Lund-bom (1980: 221) who argued that the verb חָדֵל in 15:11 was not from חָדֵל stem I, "to cease," but from חָדֵל stem II, "to grow fat."[3] They concluded, "The preacher is not saying, 'The poor will never cease out of the land,' but 'The poor from the land will never grow fat.'" They concluded

> This [verse 15:11] caps a rhetorical argument that seeks to move the people to charity. After telling his audience to remember the poor (15:1ff.), he then says they need not fear that the poor will grow rich, at least not on what they have given them. The poor will never grow fat on that!

Their reasoning was that this verse gave assurance to those of the upper class who gave to charity (in accordance to the legislation of 15:5–10) that they could relax because their gifts would be insufficient for the poor to make their way out of poverty. Even with charity, poverty "will not cease from the midst of the land." Such an interpretation means that Deu 15:4, "there will be no poor in the land," cannot be taken seriously, and certainly not literally. This interpretation *assumes* the traditional understanding of 15:11 that "the poor will never cease in the land" even though the text is translated quite differently as "the poor will never get fat."

On philological grounds this interpretation is seriously flawed. A careful look at Lane's (1865: 711) definition of خدل (*ḥadala*) reveals that this cognate means, "he was, or became, large, and full [or plump], in the shank and fore arm." The words "shank, fore arm, and ankle" actually appear twenty-two times in the thirty-nine line definition of خدل (*ḥadala*) and its by-form خدلج (*ḥadallaj*)—with *never* a mention of "fat" anywhere in the definitions, although "juice" was one of the definitions.[4] In medical jargon خدل (*ḥadl*) would mean "peripheral edema," *not* "obesity." It is a referent to excessive "juice" (= fluid) in the limbs, not excessive fat of the torso.[5]

In light of this evidence, there is good reason to concur with Lewis (1985:108), followed by Schloen (1993: 23), that it is best "to resist the entry of *ḥdl*–II ["to become fat"] into our Hebrew lexicons," even though the NRSV (1989) used "grew fat" in Jud 5:7. While خدل (*ḥadl*) "peripheral edema" is of no real help in resolving the tensions between Deu 15:4 and 15:11, two other cognates need to be considered, namely, حدل (*ḥadala*) "to treat unjustly" and خذل (*ḥaḏala*) "to refuse to help someone."

The former cognate is not cited in Lane's lexicon but it was noted by Castell (1669: 1137) "iniquus fuit" and is cited by Wehr (1979: 192). If חדל is the cognate of حدل (*ḥadala*), the MT כִּי לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן מִקֶּרֶב הָאָרֶץ would need to be read as a *Niphᶜal* passive (יֵחָדֵל), "for the poor from the midst of the land must not be treated unjustly." The implication would be that poverty perpetuates itself through injustice. Were justice to prevail poverty would cease in the midst of the land.

The equation of חָדַל with the Arabic خذل (*ḥaḏala*), "to leave, to abandon, to forsake" (Lane 1865: 713–714) is a bit problematic,[6] but Winton Thomas (1957: 9) rightly asserted,

> The equation of חדל = Arabic خذل [*ḥaḏala*] can be accepted without hesitation, and a consideration of the meanings of the Arabic root forms the best starting point for our observations on the root as it is found in the Hebrew Bible.

Winton Thomas correctly cited Lane's definition of خذل (*ḥaḏala*) as "abstained from, neglected, *aiding* [italics mine]; held back from (as a gazelle holds back from going after the herd); left, forsook, deserted." But in his discussion of חדל the *aiding* element is omitted and חדל is redefined as (1) "held back from, left, forsook"[7] or (2) "held oneself back, refrained from," or (3) "ceased, come to an end." But in Lane's one-hundred line definition the words "assistance" and "aid" occur twenty-five times, which is to say that the basic meaning of خذل (*ḥaḏala*) is "to fail to render aid" or "to neglect giving assistance." Thus, the חדל which is a cognate of خذل (*ḥaḏala*) does not mean just "to refrain" or "to hold back". It specifically means "to refrain *from giving aid*" and "to fail *to assist*," with the italicized English words belonging to the root meaning of the Arabic/Hebrew word itself.[8]

Castell (1669: 1137) defined خذل (*ḥaḏala*) as "*frustratus fuit, ope, et auxilio destituit*" and listed the following verses where خذل (*ḥaḏala*) appeared in Arabic translations for Hebrew רָפָה or נָטַשׁ or עָזַב, all of which can mean "to forsake, to abandon": (1) Jos 1:5, לֹא אַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא אֶעֶזְבֶךָ = ولا اخذلك ولا اتركك (*walaʾ ʾaḥḏuluka walaʾ ʾatrukka*) "I will not fail you or forsake you"; (2) Jud 6:13, נְטָשָׁנוּ = خذلنا (*ḥaḏalanaʾ*) "he deserted us"; (3) I Kings 6:13, וְלֹא אֶעֱזֹב =

ولا اخذل (walaʾ ʾaḫḏuluʾ) "I will not forsake"; and (4) I Kings 8:57, וְאַל־יִטְּשֵׁנוּ = ولا يخذلنا (walaʾ taḫḏulanaʾ) "may he not forsake us."

CONCLUSION

In light of this evidence, Hebrew חדל, in addition to meaning "to cease" could be a cognate of (1) حدل (ḥadala) "to flatten, to treat unjustly," and (2) خذل (ḫaḏala) "to refuse to help (someone), to desert (someone)," as well as (3) خدل (ḫadala) "peripheral edema," i.e., to have an enlarged fore arm, or shank, or ankle (Lane 1873: 711, 713; Wehr 1979: 192, 267, 268). To refer to *the* root חדל in the singular, as did Freedman and Lundbom (1980: 216), is very misleading. There are four independent roots spelled חדל, with three different Arabic cognates—rather than one root with its semantic range going in four different directions. The חדל which means "to cease, to come to an end" has no Arabic cognate; and, as Winton Thomas (1957: 10) noted, "The meaning 'cease', in the sense of 'come to an end', is comparatively rare in the O. T., being found perhaps in eight passages only."

When it comes to Deu 15:11, the חדל which best fits the context and removes the tension with Deu 15:4 is either (1) حدل (ḥadala) "to treat unjustly," requiring the MT of 15:11 כִּי לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן to be translated "Indeed, the poor *must not be treated unjustly*"[9] or (2) خذل (ḫaḏala) "to refuse to help (someone)," in which case לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן could also be revocalized as a passive and translated, "the poor *must not be denied assistance*!" If the active voice is retained the verse would mean, "Indeed, one *must not abstain from aiding* the poor in the land!" The aspect of necessity is reinforced by the imperative which follows: "Therefore I command you, 'you

shall open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy and the poor in the land.'"

With these options available for translating Deu 15:11, there is no longer any reason to insist on maintaining the traditional translation "the poor will never cease from the midst of the land." Nor is there any wisdom in opting for "the poor will not become 'fat' (= 'have swollen limbs' or 'have peripheral edema')." The vision statement of Deu 15:4, "But there will be no poor among you," is followed in 15:11 with the operational directive: "the poor must not be denied aid."

Any appeal to John 12:8 (τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, "you will always have the poor with you"), which seems to have Jesus' quoting Deu 15:11 as traditionally understood,[10] must recognize Jesus' immediate context. He made this statement while he was in "Poor Town," which is to say that Jesus made this statement in Bethany, a name which means literally "House of the Poor," being a composite of בֵית "house" and עָנִי "poor, afflicted" (BDB 776).[11] To state while in "Poor Town" that "you will always have the poor with you" is as logical as saying in a hospital, "there will always be sick people here." Neither statement suggests eternal inevitability. For Jesus it was a contextually logical statement which hardly required his appealing to one of several ways of reading a verse in Deuteronomy.

NOTES

1. The rest of Deu 14:4 reads: לְרִשְׁתָּהּ כִּי־בָרֵךְ יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן־לְךָ נַחֲלָה, "for Yahweh will bless you in the land which Yahweh your God gives you for an inheritance to possess."

2. The balance of Deu 15:11 reads: עַל־כֵּן אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ לֵאמֹר פָּתֹחַ תִּפְתַּח אֶת־יָדְךָ לְאָחִיךָ לַעֲנִיֶּךָ וּלְאֶבְיֹנְךָ בְּאַרְצֶךָ, "therefore I

command you, you shall open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy and to the poor, in the land."

3. Following Chaney (1976), who also argued for חָדַל-II "to be fat" in Jud 5:7 and I Sam 2:5. For a critique of Chaney and those who followed him, see Schloen 1993: 22–23 and McDaniel 2002: 117–119. As for I Sam 2:5, it should be noted here that the MT וּרְעֵבִים חָדֵלּוּ עַד can be rendered "and the hungry were never a-gain denied aid." The unusual *dagesh* of the לּוּ of חָדֵלּוּ indicates that the לּוּ of this word does double duty as the negative particle לוּ, like (1) the לוֹ (= לֹא) "not" in the *Kethib* of I Sam 2:16, וְאָמַר לוֹ כִּי עַתָּה תִתֵּן "he said, 'No, you must give it now!'" and (2) in the *Kethib* of I Sam 20:2, הִנֵּה לוֹ עָשָׂה אָבִי אָבִי דָּבָר "lo, my father will not do anything." The restored לוּ עד (= לוֹא עוֹד) in I Sam 2:5 would be the equivalent of the אֵין עוֹד in Isa 45: 5, 6, 18, and 21.

4. Compare Calderone (1961: 451; 1962: 413) who cited Lane and erroneously included "fat" in Lane's definition. Consequently, his extension of the semantic range "fat" to mean "to be prosperous" is untenable. His application of this definition to (1) I Sam 2:5 (חָדֵלּוּ = "grew fat"), (2) Pro 19:27 (חֲדַל "grow prosperous"), and (3) Pro 23:4 (חֲדַל = "grow prosperous") was gratuitous. The same criticism applies also to Winton Thomas (1957: 14–15) who, several years before Calderone, translated I Sam 2:5 as "have grown plump," and following Noth, interpreted the name חֶדְלָי in II Chron 28:12 as "Fatty."

5.Freedman and Lundbom (1980: 221) concluded their article on חדל with this statement: "In both the Song of Deborah and the Song of Hannah, *growing fat* (italics mine) is a mark of Yahweh's favor. He has elevated those of low estate." However, once "fat" is corrected to "edema" their statement does *not* 'hold water,' so to speak. See McDaniel 2003: 115–119.

6.Ordinarily the Arabic ذ became a ז in Hebrew and a ד in Aramaic and Ugaritic, like (1) Ugaritic *dᶜ* "to sweat," (*UT* 386 # 686) which was cognate to זעה, Syriac ܕܘܥܬܐ (*dûᶜataʾ*), and the Arabic ودع (*waḍaᶜa*) "to flow"; and (2) Ugaritic *dry* "to winnow" which was cognate to זרה, Syriac ܕܪܐ (*děraᶜ*), and Arabic ذرا (*ḍarraʾ*) (*UT* 387 # 702). For the Arabic خذل (*ḥaḍala*) to be the cognate of Hebrew חדל it must be assumed that חדל follows the Ugaritic pattern rather than the usual Hebrew pattern, otherwise the cognate would have been חזל.

7. Winton Thomas (1957: 11), citing Gesenius-Buhl and G. R. Driver, argued for an active participle in Isa 53:3 (MT וַחֲדַל אִישִׁים) "renouncing men," rather than the traditional passive meaning "rejected of men." Apparently unnoticed by Winton Thomas was Lane's notice that خذلت (*ḥaḍalat*) was "said by some to be inverted [as to meaning], because she [a wild animal] is [not the one that leaves, but] the one that is left." This notice supports the traditional interpretation "rejected of men." Another option is to translate 53:3 as "rejected by the despairing," assuming that אִישִׁים = אישים, the plural participle of the cognate of Arabic ايس (*ʾayisa*) and اياس (*ᶜiyâs*) (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47).

8. Nowhere in the presentation of Freedman and Lundbom does this significant component—found in lexicons of Castell, Lane, and Wehr—receive any attention.

9. The כי is to be read as an emphatic particle (see Blommerde 1969: 30 for a bibliography on the emphatic כי). The verb has the modal force of necessity like the לא plus imperfect found in the Decalogue.

10. See Brown (1966: 449) who cited Deu 15:11, without any comment.

11. Note Brown 1966: 45, 422.

THE REHAB OF RAHAB
JOSHUA 2:1, 6:17, 6:25

INTRODUCTION

In the Greek texts of the Bible there is no ambiguity about the vocation of Rahab of Jericho. In Joshua 2:1, 6:17, 6:25, Hebrews 11:31, and James 2:25 she is identified as ἡ πόρνη "the harlot." But in the Hebrew text there is ambiguity about the meaning of אִשָׁה זוֹנָה since זוֹנָה can be derived from the ל״ה verb זָנָה "to fornicate" (a cognate of Arabic زنى [*zana-ya*]) or from the ע״ו verb זוּן "to feed" (BDB 275, 266), as well as a number of other derivations proposed in this study.

Although all the Greek texts opted for זוֹנָה "harlot," the Targum Jonathan understood it to be זוּנָה "hostess," from the root זון. However, the Targumist did not use the readily available Aramaic cognate זון in his translation (see Sperber, 1959: 2). Instead, the Greek loanword πανδοκεύς "innkeeper," *transliterated* as פּוּנְדְּקִי (Jastrow 1903: 1143), was used to *translate* the זונה (or just זנה, the *scriptio defectiva* spelling in manuscripts 8, 16, and 111 cited by Kennicott [1780: 446]). Obviously, the Targumist did not want the ambiguity of זונה (= זוּנָה or זוֹנָה) carried over into the Aramaic translation.

The care taken by the Targumist to make sure Rahab was recognized for having been a זוּנָה "innkeeper" rather than a זוֹנָה "harlot" has not been fully appreciated, even by translators of Targum Jonathan. Harrington and Saldarini (1987: 20) actually translated ואזלו ועלו לבית איתתא פנדקיתא as "and they went and they entered the house of the *harlot woman*." To translate the פנדקיתא as "harlot"—as though it were synonymous with נפקת ברא "harlot" (Jastrow, 926a)

—is analogous to making the English "bed and breakfast," a synonym of "brothel." Even if someone participates in commercial sex at a "bed and breakfast," the inn itself does not thereby become a brothel, nor do the proprietors thereby become prostitutes or pimps. In light of the Targumist's choice of a Greek loanword to describe Rahab—so as to avoid ambiguity about the meaning of זנה—a literal translation of פנדקיתא "innkeeper, hostess" seems obligatory, even if it disagrees with the ἡ πόρνη in canonical traditions (Hebrews 11:31 and James 2:25). Any suggestion that Targum Jonathan was "cleaning up" the Rahab story would need to account for the embarrassing presence of the נפקת ברא "prostitute" in Targum Jonathan's story of Judah in Gen 38:15 (Sperber, 1959: I: 64).

Josephus (*Antiquities* V: 2, 1) followed the same tradition as the Targum, referring to Rahab's καταγώγιον "inn, lodging, resting place" rather than to her πορνεῖον or her χαμαι–τυπεῖον, the common Greek words for "brothel."[1]

ARABIC COGNATES

When one turns to Arabic cognates of Hebrew זנה and זון (and the ע″י by-form זין, like שׂום/שׂים) the ambiguity of אשה זונה (originally *scriptio defectiva* אשה זנה) in Jos 2:1 becomes very apparent. The following is a list of possible cognates of זנה:

(1) زنى (*zanaya*) "he fornicated, he committed adultery" (Lane, 1867: 1260), noted above and followed by many commentators.

(2) زينه (*zinat*) "a beauty, a comely quality, an intellectual, a grace, an adornment" (Lane, 1867: 1279). This is an especially noteworthy cognate in light of Jewish traditions

that Rahab, along with Sarah, Abigail, and Esther, were the four most beautiful women in the world. (Ginzberg, 1968: 4: 117). Although this cognate is not cited in Hebrew lexicons, it would seem that the meaning was known in earlier Jewish tradition. The significance of "intellectual" is noted below in paragraph (8).

(3) زونة (*ziwannat*) "short," when applied to a woman; زون (*ziwann*) when applied to a man (Lane, 1867: 1273). If this were the derivation of זונה, the ו would have been an original consonant rather than a later vowel letter.

(4) زنأ (*zanâ'*) "short," possibly a by-form of the above (Lane, 1867: 1255c)

(5) زنأ (*zanâ'*) "to have recourse for refuge, protection, preservation, concealment, covert, or lodging" (Lane, 1867: 1255b). This cognate preserves the meaning which was known to Josephus and to Targum Jonathan. Even though καταγώγιον and פנדקיתא address the "lodging" element of زنأ (*zanâ'*), they do not touch on the fact that Rahab as אִשָּׁה זָנָה was by anticipation the woman who would provide refuge and concealment for the spies, not just routine lodging. If زنأ (*zanâ'*) is the cognate of MT זוֹנָה, the ו of זוֹנָה is a mis-vocalization.

(6) زنأ (*zanâ'*) "he was, or became, affected with a lively emotion of joy or grief; syn طرب (*ṭaraba*) ["he was or became affected with emotion, or a lively emotion, or excitement, agitation, or unsteadiness . . . . yearning or longing of the soul . . . . with the emotion of him who is bereft of offspring or friends or like him who is insane in mind . . .]" (Lane, 1867: 1255c; 1893: 1835–1 836).[2]

(7) زنأ (*zanâ'*) "to ascend." The LXX B-text of Jud. 19:2 has nothing corresponding to the תִּזְנֶה (see note 2, below), perhaps due to a erroneous assumption that תִּזְנֶה was nothing more than a variant for the וַתֵּלֶךְ "she went [up]" which follows it.

(8) ذهن (*ḏahin*) "one was or became intelligent, possessed of understanding, sagacious, acute, skillful" (Lane, 1867: 984). Arabic ذ appears as a ז in Hebrew, and the זהן* would be to זון what נהר is to נור (BDB, 626 and 632). The "intellectual" dimension may be reflected in the tradition that Rahab was the ancestress of seven kings, eight prophets, and the prophetess Huldah (Ginzberg, 1968: 6: 171). (See item [2] زينه [*zinat*]), above.)

(9) ظنون (*zanûn*) "one in whose goodness no trust, or con-fidence is to be placed, someone possessing little good or goodness," and ظنين (*zanîn*) "[one who is] suspected, to be under suspicion." Arabic ظ usually becomes a צ in Hebrew but ظ and צ may appear closely related to ז, as with ظهيرة (*zahîrat*) "midday" and צֹהַר "midday"; زاهر (*zâhir*) "shining, bright" and זֹהַר "shining brightness" (Lane, 1867, 1262; 1874: 1925; and BDB, 263 [with no reference to ظهر] and 843 [which notes ظهر]). Support for this association comes from Jewish traditions that Rahab lived an immoral life from age ten to fifty—which is to say Rahab was held under suspicion for a very long time even though, according to these same traditions, she had become Joshua's wife (Ginzberg, 1968: 4: 5; 6: 171). Needless to say, Rahab's fellow citizens in Jericho may have considered her as "one in whose goodness no trust or confidence is to be placed." Since ظنون (*zanûn*) is an ע״ע stem, זנה would be a ל״ה by-form.[3]

(10) زون (*zûn*) "an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God, . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up," as also زور (*zûr*) "anything that is worshiped in place of God'] (Lane, 1867: 1273 and 1268). Although it is unlikely that زون is the cognate of זוּן in Jos. 2:1, it may well be the cognate and by-form of זנה used in prophetic literature when Israel and Judah are castigated for their idolatry and worship of other gods. Instead of understanding an expression like זָנֹה תִזְנֶה in Hosea 1:2 strictly as a metaphorical use of זנה "to fornicate," it may be better understood as a verb meaning literally "to worship other gods or idols." A *double entendre* may well have been intended.

IMPLICATIONS

In view of these Arabic cognates, אשׁה זנה — in good Lucianic or *Amplified Bible* style—indicates that Rahab was an "*intelligent, beautiful, short* woman *emotionally upset* and *suspected* of *little-good* as a *harlot* and as a *covert idol worshiper*." Such a statement, while not to be taken seriously, amply illustrates the point that the interpretation of זנה will always present a *problem*, but not necessarily a *prostitute*. The interpretation of זנה may tell more about the *preoccupation* of the interpreter than the *occupation* of the character.

Boling (1982: 145), who made no reference to פנדקיתא "innkeeper" in Targum Jonathan or to Josephus' καταγώγιον "inn," commented

Probably the narrator intends to titillate by reminding readers of an immemorial symbiosis between military service and bawdy house. It is reliably reported that at the height of the 1948 warfare, morale in the desperately besieged Jewish quarter of Jerusalem was considerably bolstered by the arrival of a barber and a prostitute . . . .

It is difficult to see, however, how a prostitute in Jerusalem in 1948 C.E. can be used as evidence that Rahab was a harlot in Jericho 3,000^{+} years earlier. Stereotypic generalizations and anecdotal hearsay are poor substitutes for philological inquiry into all lexicographic options. Castell's (1669: I: 234) citing of Jos 2:1 under the root זון, rather than זנה, has gone unnoticed or unappreciated by subsequent lexicographers, including the most recent revision of Koehler, Baumgartner, and Stamm's *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon* (1994: I: 267).

The use of הזן in the Jewish prayer after meals

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם
הַזָּן אֶת הָעוֹלָם כֻּלּוֹ בְּטוּבוֹ. . . .

"Blessed art thou, the Eternal, our God, king of the universe who *sustaineth* the whole universe in his goodness."[4]

may well retain a use of the *Hebrew* stem זון, a stem attested —although not widely attested—since the time of Joseph and Joshua, precluding the necessity of making the מָזוֹן "food, sustenance" of Gen 45:23 a late Aramaic gloss (BDB, 266).

RAHAB IN MATTHEW'S GENEALOGY

The appearance of Rahab in the genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:5) is in line with Jewish traditions, already noted, which made Rahab the ancestress of numerous kings, prophets, and a prophetess. Quinn (1981: 225–228) attempted to distinguish between the Rahab (ʿΡαχάβ) of Matthew from the Rahab (LXX = Ρααβ) of Joshua since the Rahab of Jericho is, according to Quinn, always known in Greek as Ρααβ and consequently, "the ʿΡαχάβ of Mt 1,5 ought not to be associated with Rahab, the name of the harlot of Jericho." Brown (1982: 79–80) rightly faulted Quinn's conclusion, but neither Quinn

nor Brown noticed that in Josephus both spellings, Ῥαχάβης and Ῥααβης, are used for Rahab of Jericho, depending on which manuscript tradition was being followed for the printed editions of Josephus. Naber's edition (see note 1) seems to have gone unnoticed.

The Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (Howard, 1987: 2–3), interestingly, has מרחב הזונה, which Howard rendered traditionally "from Rahab the harlot," assuming the vocalization should be הַזּוֹנָה with the MT of Jos 2:1, rather than הַזּוּנָה with Targum Jonathan and the Josepus tradition.[5] Either way, the Shem Tob text mitigates against Quinn's proposal to make the Rahab of Matthew someone other than the Rahab of Jericho.

CONCLUSIONS

Hebrew זנה in certain contexts surely means a "harlot," but it does not have this meaning in all contexts. זנה is a homograph for several distinctly different words. In prophetic literature it may literally—not metaphorically—mean "to worship other gods" as suggested by the Arabic زون (*zûn*) "idol, place of idols." The זנן in Hos 1:2 need not be a by-form of זנה "harlot," but may be related to the Arabic ظنون (*zanûn*) "being of little good, being suspect." The concubine in Jud 19:2 was more likely to have been just plain "home-sick" (= زنأ [*zanâ'*] = זנה) rather than her having acted against the Levite by becoming a harlot or an idolater.

When it comes to Rahab she could have been a זנה and a virgin at the same time. She could have been زنأ (*zanâ'*) "short," زنأ (*zanâ'*) "hyper-emotional," دهن (*ḏahin*) "smart and skillful," or just plain زينه (*zînat*) "beautiful." However,

the adjective which best fits the context of providing the spies with "bed and breakfast" is زنأ (*zanâ'*) "having the ability to offer lodging, refuge, and concealment." For the spies, Rahab was הזונה "the sustainer (feminine)," which corresponds to the masculine הזן "the sustainer," mentioned in the Jewish prayer above. Rahab gave her guests more than "bed and breakfast," for by giving them cover and concealment—at risk to herself—she give them life. Rahab's brief encounter with the Israelite spies ended in covenant of life-for-life.

The multiple nuances of זנה are sacrificed unnecessarily when the אשה זונה is treated simply as a titillating tidbit about a harlot. The narrator's choice of זנה, with all of its layers of meaning, to describe Rahab was probably intentional. Unfortunately, in this case the erudition of many lexicographers and commentators has not matched the artistry of the narrator.

NOTES

1. See Naber, 1888: 268, ἐς τῷ τῆς Ῥαχάβης καταγωγίῳ and ἡ Ῥαχάβης καταγαγοῦσα; and Thackeray, 1926: 5: 4–5, where Rahab is spelled Ῥαάβης rather than Ῥαχάβης.

2. This cognate provides a clue for the LXX A-text translating the תִּזְנֶה עָלָיו פִּילַגְשׁוֹ in Jud 19:2 as καὶ ὠργίσθη αὐτῷ "and she became angry with him" (followed by the RSV and NRS). Given the emotional range of زنأ (*zanâ'*)—which is greater than that of the Akkadian cognates *zenû* "to be angry" and *zinûtu* "anger"(*CAD* 1961: 85, 124)—the concubine may have been guilty of nothing more than an extreme case of "homesickness" which led her to return to her father. To interpret uncritically זנה as "harlot" in Jud 19:2, used in reference to an abused and murdered woman, further impugns the integrity of the woman, as well as the reputation of the interpreter.

3. The Arabic ظنون (*zanûn*) must be considered as the cognate of זְנוּנִים in Hos 1:2. Lane (1872: 1925b) included the following in his definition of ظنون (*zanûn*): "a woman suspected in relation to her grounds of pretension to respect, or honour, on account of lineage etc. . . . and a woman of noble rank or quality, who is taken in marriage . . . from a desire of obtaining offspring by her, when she is advanced age. In addition ظن (*zann^un*) "in all these exs. the verb denotes a state of mind between doubt and certainty . . ." (1924c), and "a preponderating wavering between two extremes in indecisive belief" (1925a). Aside from the matter of age, this definition matches the situation in Hosea — so well exemplified by the children, who in 1:6–8 are named לֹא רֻחָמָה "Not Pitied" and לֹא עַמִּי "Not My People," but in 2:3 they are called רֻחָמָה "Pitied" and עַמִּי "My People." The ambivalence and wavering between punishment and forgiveness throughout Hosea is more than hinted at in זְנוּנִים when the word is related to ظن (*zann^un*). Thus, by disassociating the זְנוּנִים in 1:2c from the זָנֹה תִזְנֶה in 1:2d, simple repetition is removed and a striking paranomasia is recovered.

4. סדור עבדות ישׂראל. Tel Aviv: Sinai Publishing, 1969, 424–425.

5. The vocalization of זוֹנָה is patterned after דוּם and דוּמָה "silence," and בּוּשׁ and בּוּשָׁה "shame" (BDB 101 and 189).

X

THE CALL FOR A 'BLACKOUT' AND THE SOLAR ECLIPSE IN JOSHUA 10:7–15

INTRODUCTION

The brief quotation from *The Book of Jasher* in Jos 10:13b and the related text of Jos 10:12b–13a read:

שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעוֹן דּוֹם
וְיָרֵחַ בְּעֵמֶק אַיָּלוֹן
וַיִּדֹּם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ עָמָד . . . .
וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם
וְלֹא־אָץ לָבוֹא כְּיוֹם תָּמִים

"Sun, over Gibeon be still,
Moon too, over Aijalon Valley."
Sun was stilled, And Moon stood fixed . . . .
The sun stayed in the center of the heavens
and did not hurry to set for almost a whole day!
(Boling 1982: 274)

The nouns and names in these lines are not problematic, but the verbs דּוֹם and עָמָד are open to different interpretations. Tradition has identified the former with דָּמַם "to be or grow dumb, to be silent, to be still or motionless" (BDB 198),[1] like the LXX στήτω ὁ ἥλιος "let the sun stand (still)." The latter has been identified with עָמַד " to stand, to stop, to cease," the cognate of Arabic عمل (ᶜamada) "to prop up, support" (BDB 763), like the LXX καὶ ἔστη ὁ ἥλιος "and the sun stood."

Everything from myths[2] to meteorites[3] have been appealed to by commentators to clarify the claim that the sun and moon actually stood still—long enough for the phenomenon to make it into Israelite tradition, but too brief for it to be referenced in any other world literature[4]—assuming the sun orbited the earth, rather than the earth's orbiting the sun. Soggin (1972: 122–123) made the following comments which illustrates the possibility of a mythological origin of the tradition,

> For the sun not to have set is directly related to the continuance of the battle until victory was achieved, but then the mention of the moon makes no sense . . . The theme in itself is also found in the *Iliad*, II, 412ff., in almost identical circumstances: Agamemnon prays Zeus not to let the sun go down before the Achaeans have been victorious, and this is what happens.

Holladay (1968: 175–176) added an astrological component to the mythological interpretation in light of Akkadian omens which deemed it favorable "when the great lunar and solar orbs 'stood' in the 'balance' [on the fourteenth of the month]," expressed in Jos 10:13 by references to the sun at Gibeon on the east and the moon over the valley of Ajalon to the west, as if Joshua was encamped between Gibeon and Ajalon.[5]

However, Gilgal near Jericho was Joshua's base of operation (Jos 10:6), with Gibeon and Ajalon lying about twenty and twenty-two miles due west of Joshua's encampment. For Joshua to have asked for an 'Akkadian style' omen, the sun should have "stood in balance" over Heshbon to the east of Gilgal, and the moon should have "stood in balance" over Gibeon and Ajalon, to the west of Gilgal.

The key to the interpretation of Jos 10:12–13 comes not from mythology or astrology but from lexicography. A full

review of the Arabic, Aramaic/Syriac cognates of דוֹם and עָמַד offered this interpreter options which had yet to be considered. Once all options are in focus the logical sequence of events and the nature of those events become transparent.

THE COGNATES OF דוֹם AND עָמַד

The Arabic عمد (ʿamada) is of interest because it was used with reference to the dawning of the day, as in the following expression: عمود الصبح (ʿamûduʾaṣṣubḥi) "the bright gleam of dawn, the dawn that rises and spreads, filling the horizon with brightness" (Lane 1874: 2153).[6] If Hebrew עָמַד parallels this Arabic usage it would suggests routine sunrises or lunar appearances. However, it is unlikely that any reference to routine sunrises or other ordinary solar and lunar appearances would be recorded in and quoted from *The Book of Jasher*.

The Arabic دوم (dûm) as a cognate of the דוֹם of Jos 10:13 also deserves attention. Comparable to the דוֹם . . . שֶׁמֶשׁ is the Arabic expression دومت الشمس فى السماء (dawwamaṯʾaššams fîʾaššamâʾi) "'the sun spun in the sky' . . . meaning as though it were spinning or was as though it were motionless . . . when the sun is [apparently] stationary in the summer midday," (Lane 1867: 936; Lane's brackets). Moreover, دام/دوم (dûm/dâma) can also mean "it continued, lasted, remained, or endured," which would seem to be the natural parallel for the traditional understanding of דוֹם . . . שֶׁמֶשׁ, "sun remain (at Gibeon)."[7] However, it is unlikely that the common visual illusions produced by the midday summer sun would be noteworthy enough to be recorded in *The Book of Jasher* or a

phenomenon of much help to Joshua and the Israelites.[8] Consequently these two cognates, عمد (ᶜamada) and دوم (dûm), can be disregarded as being germane to the interpretation of Jos 10:12–13.

However, two other cognates from Arabic provide clues to the original meaning of MT וַיִּדֹּם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ עָמָד. They are غمد (ġamada) "to conceal" (= עמד) and دهم (dahama) "it became black" (= דום = דהם), and the related لون مدمى (lûn mudammiy) "a color in which is blackness and redness" (Lane 1867: 917, 925; 1877: 2291).

The Arabic غمد (ġamada) was used (1) for *sheathing* a sword, (2) for thorns being *concealed* by leaves, (3) for wells having their water *covered* by dirt, (4) for the sky being obscured by clouds, (5) for a cloth put over something to *conceal* it from the eyes of another, (6) for concealing something with a veil, and (7) in expressions like اغتمد الليل ('iġtamada 'allayla) "he entered into [the darkness] of the night." In light of this evidence it is reasonable to conclude that עמד, stem II, could mean "to cover, to conceal, to be engulfed in darkness."

This conclusion is supported by the Syriac ܥܡܕ (ᶜămad) "to set, to go down," the cognate of غمد (ġamada) and עמד stem II. The כְּבוֹא־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ "about sunset" in II Sam 3:35 and I Kings 22:36, appears in the Syriac as ܟܕ ܕܥܡܕ ܫܡܫܐ (kad di'ᶜĕmad šemša'). The basic meaning of the Syriac root is "to plunge, to sink, to set (used with the sun or stars), to immerse, and to baptize" (R. Payne Smith 1901: 666; J. Payne Smith 1957: 416) (see below note 6).

The Arabic دهم (dahama) (in forms 2 and 9) means "it blackened, it became black," with the derivative nouns دهمة

(*duhmat*) "blackness," الدهمان (*ʾaddahmânu*) "the night," الدهيم (*ʾadduhaimu*) "a dark trial or a calamity," and أدهم (*ʾadhamu*) "black." This last noun was used for "the twenty-ninth night of the [lunar] month because of its blackness," just as الدهم (*ʾadduhmu*) meant the "three nights of the [lunar] month [during which is the change of the moon] because they are black" (Lane 1867: 925–926; Wehr 1979: 342).

In Gen 15:17 the MT וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה וַעֲלָטָה הָיָה "when the sun had gone down and it was dark," became in the Arabic column of Brian Walton's *London Polyglot* (1657: 59) فلما غابت الشمس وكانت الدهم (*falammâ ʿâbat ʾaššamsu wakânat ʾadduhma*), with the Hebrew עֲלָטָה "darkness" having been rendered by دهم (*duhmu*). Similarly, Castell (1669: 661) noted the use of دهم (*duhmu*) in the Arabic translations for the "black horses" mentioned in Zech 6:2, 6, and Rev 6:5. The Akkadian cognate of دهم (*duhmu*) was *daʾā mu*, as in the expressions: *id-ḫi-im šamšum* "the sun became darkened" and [*ūm*] *ūšu utekkilu šamu id-da*[*ʾu-mu*] "the day darkened for him." (*CAD* 3: 1; KBS I: 214).

In light of the cognates مدمـى (*mudammiy*) "blackness" and دهم (*duhmu*) "to be black or dark," the דוֹם and וַיִּדֹּם in Jos 10:12–13 can well mean "to become dark or black" and can be derived from דוּם, a by-form of דָּהַם "to be dark." Other similar by-forms include (1) נֵר "lamp" and מְנוֹרָה "lamp stand" which are related to נָהַר "to shine," (2) מוּל and מָהַל "to circumcise"; and (3) the רָם of אַבְרָם "Abram" which, as traditionally interpreted, is related to the רָהָם of אַבְרָהָם "Abraham."

When the subject of a clause is the *sun* and *moon,* and the verbs are דום "to be dark" and עמד "to conceal," the statements can be referring to a lunar and solar *eclipse.*[9] Here, then, is the philological support for the proposal made more than a hundred years ago by Conder (1899: 161–162) that the poetic fragment in Jos 10:12–13 speaks of a total eclipse of the sun. Here, also, is the philological support for the astronomical evidence presented by Sawyer (1972: 140–142) and Stephenson (1975: 119) that the complete solar eclipse of September 30, 1131 B.C. at 12:35 PM (lasting for 4.5 minutes at an altitude of 58°)—which darkened the area between Sidon and Jerusalem—accounts for the solar and lunar phenomena in *The Book of Jasher* cited in Joshua.

Margalit's (1992: 480–483) more recent contention that neither Habakkuk 3:11 nor Joshua 10:12–13 spoke about "the arrested movement of either the sun or the moon, but rather of the interrupted incandescence of both . . . ." is also noteworthy:[10]

> Though one should never attempt to "explain" such matters in pure naturalistic terms . . . one may nevertheless state with confidence that this motif is the imaginative response to, and literary development of, the relatively rare complete solar-eclipse whose psychological effect on peoples ancient and modern is well known.

By repointing the verb of וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם (Jos 10:13) as a *Niph'al,* the line can be translated "the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky." Similarly, by reading the לֹא of the next line, וְלֹא־אָץ לָבוֹא כְּיוֹם תָּמִים, as the emphatic לְא "indeed, surely, actually" this line can be translated "and [the sun] *actually* hasten to set as though it were a whole day."[11]

The Greek text of Sirach 46:2 (Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) lends support to this interpretation. It reads, ἀνεποδίσεν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ μία ἡμέρα ἐγενήθη πρὸς δύο "the sun changed routine and one day became two."[12] Ἀνεποδίζω was used regularly for the retrograde or reversal of a planet's motion (Liddell and Scott 1966: 117). In this verse it suggests that there were two sunrises and two sunsets in a twenty-four hour period, a very logical way to describe what happens as a result of a total solar eclipse when μία became δύο.

REARRANGING THE VERSES

As commonly interpreted, Jos 10:7–15, provides the following sequence of events:

- Joshua's troops initiated an overnight surprise attack from Gilgal against Gibeon which was held by the anti-Gibeonite coalition.

- Yahweh put the anti-Gibeonite coalition forces to flight, permitting the Israelites to kill many of their enemies in Gibeon.

- *Yahweh finalized* the defeat of the anti-Gibeonite coalition by hurling down hailstones from Beth Horon to Azekah upon those who fled Gibeon, causing heavy casualties.

- *After the victory* against the Amorites, Joshua called for the sun and moon to 'stand still' until the Israelites took vengeance on their enemies.

- A quotation from the *Book of Jashar* was cited as the source for the tradition about Joshua's command to the sun and moon, which resulted in a unique day in history when Yahweh fought for Israel.

- *Then* Joshua returned to Gilgal for a very brief stay before returning to the battle ground.

One would expect Joshua to have made his petition to Yahweh (articulated as a command to the sun and moon) at the beginning of his attack upon Gibeon, not at the conclusion of the attack. The mop-up operation described in 10:20 hardly required extra-terrestrial coordination or cooperation.

One possible solution for correcting this unlikely sequence of events would be to recognize that the אז of Jos 10:12 could be the cognate of Arabic إِذ (ʾid), an adverbial noun denoting past time, meaning "when" (Lane 1863: 38–39). This is apparently the basis for the NRS paraphrase of אז as "on the day when." This interpretation would permit 10:12–13 to be read as a short digressionary flashback of what took place just prior to Joshua's assault on Gibeon, meaning: "*earlier when* Joshua was speaking with Yahweh he said, "Sun, be dark over Gibeon! Moon over the valley of Aijalon!"

An alternative solution is simply to reorder the sequence of several verses / phrases in Jos 10:7–15, along with translating the דום as "be dark" and the עמד as "be concealed / engulfed in darkness."[13] The following translation may well reflect the original sequence of phrases in this text:

(7) Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valor. (12) *Thereupon* Joshua spoke to Yahweh—at the time when Yahweh was to give the Amorites over to the Israelites—and said[14] in the sight of Israel: "*Sun, be dark over Gibeon*! *Moon* [*be dark*] *over the valley of Aijalon*!"

(8) Then Yahweh said to Joshua: "Do not fear them, for I have given them into your hands; there shall not a man of them to stand before you."

(9) So Joshua came upon them suddenly—all night long he went up from Gilgal.

(10a) Yahweh threw them [the Amorites] into a panic before Israel.

(13a) *The sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed*,[15] *whereupon*[16] the people took vengeance on their enemies

(10b) and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth Horon, and smote them as far as Azekah and Makkedah.

(11) Then as the [Amorites] fled before Israel, while they were going down the ascent of Beth Horon, Yahweh threw down large stones from the sky upon them as far as Azekah, and they died. There were more who died because of the hailstones than those the Israelites killed with the sword.

(13b) Is it not written in *The Book of Jashar*: "the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hasten to set as though it were a whole day."

(14) There has been no day like it before or since. Yea![17] Yahweh hearkened to the voice of a man. Yes![18] Yahweh fought for Israel.

(15) Then Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal.

COMMENTARY ON VERSES 7–15

In this sequence of verses it becomes clear that Joshua intended to attack Gibeon directly from Gilgal, requiring a twenty-two mile march for him and his troops. Prior to departure Joshua address Yahweh and provided a hint of his strategy. He commanded (10:12a) *the sun and moon to remain dark* over the area of combat to the west, namely from Gibeon to Ajalon. This hint, hidden in the imperatives "Be

dark over Gibeon . . . Be [dark] over Ajalon," appears also in the indicative in verse 10:9 (which, in this scheme, followed verse 10:12a): "all night long he went up from Gilgal for a surprise attack."

Darkness was essential for the success of Joshua's attack against the anti-Gibeonite coalition. Joshua wanted no moonlight or morning sunlight; he wanted a blackout as he approached Gibeon. So intense was Joshua's plea for darkness he used a directed imperative—rather than intercessory jussives—in his appeal to Yahweh: "O sun, O moon, stay dark!" He was not asking for a *prolonged day* but for a *prolonged night*. He wanted his fighters to travel undetected in the dark as they approached Gibeon some twenty-two miles distant. A shield of darkness would guarantee his success.

The intensity of Joshua's petition was matched in Yahweh's response in *word* ("there shall not a man of them stand before you.") and *deed* ("and Yahweh threw them [the Amorites] into a panic before Israel").

The moonless overnight march was obviously successful for Joshua; and the opposing forces, no doubt, prepared for a day-long battle. But the Amorites' panicked when suddenly "*the sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed . . . the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hastened to set as though it were a whole day*!"

The solar eclipse, which brought panic to the Amorites, brought inspiration to the Israelites who took advantage of the chaos precipitated by a 'premature nightfall' to inflict heavy casualties upon the anti-Gibeonite forces. Following the brief total eclipse (which would have lasted for only several minutes) and the ensuing slaughter at Gibeon which followed the eclipse (which could have lasted for many hours), the fleeing Amorites were further felled in a storm of hailstones from the sky along their route of retreat.

Reports of such divine activity on Israel's behalf were recorded in *The Book of Jasher*, and the narrator/redactor of Joshua 10 injected a quotation from the book as a kind of 'endnote' to corroborate this account of the solar eclipse and to validate his assertion that the day the anti-Gibeonite coalition was defeated was a unique day in history. Hail storms come and go, but a solar eclipse turning the sky dark above Gibeon and Ajalon at noontime was a different matter. Joshua wanted only a blackout, a prolonged dark night for safely moving his troops into position around Gibeon. But as recounted in *The Book of Jasher* and in Jos 10:7–13a, he was given not only a moonless night but a solar eclipse during the day, as well—with hailstones from heaven thrown in for good measure. For the deuteronomic historian, Yahweh had responded to Joshua not only with assuring words but also with astrological and meteorological force.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Arabic cognates إِذْ (ʾiḏ) "earlier when" and عند (ʿinda) "whereupon" provide helpful insights for alternative translations of the אז and the עד in Jos 10:12–13. Because the verb עמד can be a homograph for the Hebrew cognates of Arabic عمل (ʿamada) "to prop up" and غمد (ǵamada) "to conceal," as well as being the cognate of Syriac ܥܡܕ (ʿămad) which was used for the setting of the sun or a star, there is no reason to insist that עמד in Jos 10:13 be translated "to stand."

The MT phrases וְיָרֵחַ עָמָד . . . וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ can be read with passives verbs: וְיָרֵחַ עָמַד . . . וַיֵּעָמֶד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ "the moon was concealed . . . the sun was concealed." Because דּוֹם and וַיִּדֹּם can be from an ע״ו stem (rather than the ע״ע stem

דָּמַם) and can be derived from the by-form דָּהַם (which is the cognate of Arabic دهم [*duhmu*] "to be black or dark" and the Akkadian *daʾā mu* "to be dark"), the דוֹם . . . וַיִּדֹּם of Jos 10:12b–13a can be repointed and translated "Be dark . . . and it became dark."[19]

Despite the ambiguity of Hebrew by-forms and homographs, as well as the limitations of the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew, there is compelling lexical evidence for interpreting Jos 10:12–13 as references to the darkened skies associated with a total solar eclipse,[20] rather than insisting that the text speaks of the earth doing a cataclysmic and catastrophic quick stop in its orbit around the sun (which is what would have been the reality since, relative to the earth, the sun has never moved).

Setting aside the need to modify the sequence of several phrases and verses in Jos 10:7–13, the MT of Jos 10:12b–13a should be repointed and translated as follows:

שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעוֹן דּוֹם
וְיָרֵחַ בְּעֵמֶק אַיָּלוֹן
וַיִּדֹּם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ עָמַד ....
וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם
וְלֹא אָץ לָבוֹא כְּיוֹם תָּמִים

"Sun, be dark over Gibeon!"
"Moon over the valley of Aijalon!"
The sun became darkened,
and the moon stayed concealed . . . .
The sun concealed itself
while in the middle of the sky,
and actually hastened to set
as though it were a whole day!"

NOTES

1. The translations of דֹּמּוּ "Wait!" in I Sam 14:9, דֹּמִי "Stay still!" in Jer 47:6, and לֹא־דָרְמוּ "they never stop" in Job 30: 27 are not without question. While it is true that men, swords, and bowels do "move"—so that in all three of these verses דָּמַם could mean a cessation of motion— men, swords, and bowels also make noise, and the דָּמַם could just as readily mean "to be silent." Texts like Jer 8:14, 48:2 and Lam 2:18, which speak of cessation of life and someone's perishing, are best derived from דָּמָה "to cease" rather than דָּמַם "to be dumb, to be still."

2. Note the study of Heller (1966: 73–78) who denied that these verses were about an astronomical miracle. In his view they tell of Yahweh's silencing the gods Sun and Moon, after which they were powerless to withstand the Israelites. Only after the worship of the sun god and the moon god was forgotten was this tradition re-shaped as an astronomical event. See also Nelson (1995: 3–10) who concluded that these verses reflect a demythologizing of tradition, resulting in the sun and the moon becoming only chronological markers instead of deities.

3. Soggin (1972:123) also cited the proposal of J. Phythian-Adams and F. Ceuppens to link the events of Joshua and *The Book of Jasher* to the fall of a meteorite in Asia Minor in the fourteenth century B.C., which, as Soggins noted, was an event at the wrong time and the wrong place to be relevant for understanding these verses.

4. Note Herodotus (II: 142) quotation of Egyptian records which speak of unusual solar events:

> Four times in this period [of 11,340 years] (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where he now rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river

and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death. (Godley 1920, I: 448–449)

A total solar eclipse in the eastern hemisphere could appear to be a sun setting in the east; and a similar eclipse in the western hemisphere could appear to be the sun rising in the west.

5. Holladay summarized his position as follows:

Within this context, the meaning of Josh 10:12c–13b could hardly be more clear. The first stitch is a prayer (or an incantation) that the sun and moon will "stand" (*dmm* = *izuzzum*) in opposition (= *šitqulu*; hence the very necessary reference to Gibeon on the east and the valley of Ajalon to the west) on a day favorable to "the nation" (most probably the fourteenth of the month) rather than to her enemies (the result if the moon were to "flee" from the approaching sun, thus delaying the conjunction until the unfavorable fifteenth of the month).

6. Lane noted that Arabic makes reference to a "false dawn that rises without extending laterally, which appears black, presenting itself like an obstacle [on the horizon]" and a "true dawn" which arises after the first, or false فجر (*fajr*) has disappeared, and with its rising the day commences." Other meanings of عمد (ʿ*amad*) which are contextually inappropriate include: (1) "to intend, to purpose," (2) "to oppress," (3) "to moisten," (4) "to be angry," and (5) the Syriac loanword "to baptize" (= معمدان [*muʿmidânu*] "Baptist" with the ع rather than the غ (Lane 1874: 2151–2153; Wehr 1979: 751ff.). (Arabic مغمدان [*muġmidânu*] is unattested.)

7. Boling (1982: 284) dismissed this identification as proposed by Gaster (1969: 528), stating, "Usage in this passage is not much clarified by pointing to the Arabic root *dwm*, used specifically of the sun's turning in its course. . . . [דוֹם] means simply 'stay put,' to 'hold a position,' or 'strike a pose.'" But these latter meanings also fit دوم (*dûm*), as indicated again in the next note.

8. The Arabic دوم (*dûm*) "still, motionless" is also used with reference to water, such as the water left in a pool by a torrent or the whirlpool of the sea and the middle of the sea upon which the waves circle. The idea of spinning—yet being motionless—comes from a toy, the دوامة (*duwwâmat*) "a top which spins on the ground by means of a string" (Lane 1867: 937). Note the Rabbinic Hebrew דִּמְדּוּמֵי חַמָּה "the time in the morning and the evening when the sun appears to stand still or be silent, . . . dawn or sunset" (Jastrow 1903: 312).

9. Stephenson (1975: 118) identified, along with Soggin, the eclipse of June 15, 763 B.C. with Amos 8:9; he also suggested that Joel 2:31 speaks about any one of the three solar eclipses between 356 and 303 B.C. which were total in Judah. Sawyer (1972: 140–144; 1981: 87–89) identified the stellar phenomenon of the stars fighting against Sisera (Jud 5:20) with the 1131 B.C. eclipse since, "Venus was prominent and the bright stars Vega, Spica, Arcturus, and Antares were high in the sky." If the battle with Sisera was around 1190, as I have argued elsewhere, a reference to the eclipse was not a part of the Deborah tradition originally.

10. Lacking any real lexical support, aside from Rabbinic Hebrew דִּמְדּוּם "dusk / twilight" (though he failed to mention that דִּמְדּוּם is also used for "dawn," as mentioned above in note 8), Margalit argued his case as follows:

> It is easily shown that one of the most frequent motifs in the "Day-of-the-Lord" tradition is that of "daytime darkness". The motif underlies the ironic taunt of the prophet in Amos v 8, and the pronouncements of doom by the same prophet in viii 9ff. In neither of these texts is the "darkness" merely metaphoric for doom. Together in such texts as Isa. xiii and xxxiv; Joel iii-iv; and Zeph. i, they point to "darkness" as a standard fixture of storm-god theophany and divine warfare.

11. The literature on the emphatic ל continues to grow. Note especially Blommerde (1969: 31, with a list of thirteen references), Richardson (1966: 89), McDaniel (1968: 206–208); Dahood (1975: 341–342); Whitley (1975: 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983: 569–593, especially 591). Soggin (1972: 76–77) identified its presence also in Jos 5:14.

12. Codex Alexandrinus has ἐνεποδίσθη ὁ ἥλιος "the sun was foot-cuffed," which reflects a mistake of an initial ἐ for an initial ἀ. (Note the B-text of Jud 5:22 where it is used with horses being foot-cuffed.)

13. Other texts which require major changes in the sequence of phrases/verses include, for example, Ezek 13:17–23; 28: 2–23; and Zech 4:1–10. (See Chapters XXI and XXII below.)

14. Boling (1982: 283) would make Yahweh the subject of this verb. Were the phrase "he spoke in the hearing of Israel" rather than "he said in the sight of Israel," this suggestion may have some merit. But to have Yahweh being *seen* while speaking to Israel adds an unnecessary difficulty to the text since seeing Yahweh could be fatal. The Greek text has Joshua by name as the subject here.

15. A solar eclipse occurs when the moon passes between the earth and the sun. Consequently, the reflected light from the moon would then face the sun, not the earth. On earth the moon would be concealed somewhere in the darkness.

16. The עד in this case is not the common preposition meaning "as far as, up to, until," but the cognate of Arabic عند (ʿinda) used as an adverbial noun of time meaning "at, upon, thereupon, whereupon" (Lane 1874: 2171). The medial נ of ענד was assimilated creating a homograph, though not a homophone, of עַד "until."

17. Reading the ל here as an emphatic particle (= לוֹ). See note 11.

18. Reading the כִּי here as an asseverative particle. For other examples and bibliography, see McDaniel 1968: 210.

19. This reading of the text also frees the interpreter of Joel 2:31 from having to find evidence that the moon turned into blood or into the color of blood (see Chapter XXIII). While Stephenson cited numerous witnesses over the centuries who reported that the moon turned red during a solar eclipse, reports of the August 11, 1999, solar eclipse speak of a wide variety of colors, including ruby-red. Were the color *red* the intent of the authors of *The Books of Jasher* and Joshua, אָדֹם rather than דָּם would have been the word of choice, and if "like (the color of) blood" had been intended, בְּדָם, rather than the MT לְדָם, would have been the prepositional phrase of choice.

20. Reading the MT of Jos 10:12–13 as poetic lines speaking of a moonless night and a total solar eclipse raise the possibility of dating the eclipse. With 3,190 total solar eclipses having occurred *or* having been predicted to occur between 2000 B.C. to 3000 C.E., the only one that approximates the time of Joshua is the eclipse of September 30, 1131 B.C. at 12:35 PM. Whether Joshua's activities are compatible with this time frame is a separate issue and needs further study.

XI

HULDAH:
THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION
II KINGS 22:14 AND II CHR 34:22

INTRODUCTION

According to the record of II Kings 22:14 and II Chr 34:22 the prophetess Huldah was consulted on behalf of King Josiah by the court's most distinguished dignitaries (Hilkiah the high priest, Shaphan the royal secretary, and the royal officials Ahikam, Achbor, and Asahiah) in order for her to evaluate the scroll found in the Temple renovation of 621 B.C. Swidler (1978: 1783), celebrated Huldah's interview with the dignitaries as the initial step in developing the canon, stating

> The authority to pass judgment on this initial entry into the canon was given to a woman. At the beginning of the Bible we find Huldah; in her we discover the first scripture authority, the founder of biblical studies.

Huldah's praise was also sounded by Phipps (1990: 14) who quoted Swidler's admiration and added his own observation.

> Modern readers might be amazed that a male high priest and a male secretary of state would be part of a group seeking expert knowledge from a woman, but the ancient historian does not express surprise at the situation

Phipps concluded his article with this appeal:

> It is time to restore Huldah to her rightful place. She was the first to place a seal of approval on a scroll. . . . She deserves to be honored as the patron saint of textual critics across the ages who seek to validate what is divinely inspired.

Tradition, however, has not dealt kindly with Huldah. Ginzberg (1938, VI: 377), citing *Megillah* 14[b], noted

Eminence is not for women; two eminent women are mentioned in the Bible, Deborah and Huldah, and both are proved to be of a proud disposition. Deborah was haughty towards Barak . . . and the prophetess Huldah spoke of Josiah as the "man" (comp. 2 Kings 22:15), without giving him the title king. This "unpleasant" feature of their character is indicated by their "ugly" names. The former was called Deborah "bee", and the latter Huldah "weasel".

This derivation of Huldah's name as "weasel" was the only thing Curtis (1910: 510) felt compelled to note about Huldah in his commentary on Chronicles; and Montgomery (1951: 527) in his commentary on Kings did little more to honor her than to suggest that her name really meant "snail." Myers (1965: 207) limited his comments on Huldah to one sentence: "The prophecy delivered by Huldah was an uncomfortable one as may be seen from the substitution of 'all the crises' for 'all the words'; this may be more a specific application of Deut xxvii, xxix 20."

A bit more generous statement about Huldah came from Gray (1970: 726), who paraphrased the king's command to the dignitaries, לְכוּ דִרְשׁוּ אֶת־יְהוָה, as "go consult *the oracle of* Yahweh," [italics mine] and concluded,

> The status of the prophetess Huldah is interesting in view of the fact that both canonical prophets Jeremiah and Zephaniah were already active at that time. It was probably felt that such independent spirits would give an answer which the priests considered *ultra vires*, whereas Huldah, the wife of a minor Temple official, would give the divine authority to what they sought without embarrassing them.

HULDAH'S REAL NAME

Although it is possible to derive Huldah's name from חָלַד, stem II, "to dig, to hollow out" or from חֹלֶד "weasel" (= خلد

[ḫald / ḫuld / ḫild] "a mole, a blind rat" [Lane 1865: 784])
there is no reason to ignore—as have the commentators of the
past—stem I חֶלֶד which is a cognate of خلد (ḫalada) "to
abide, to continue," often used in the *Qurᶜan* of the righteous
in Paradise, meaning (as cited in BDB 317) "duration, world
(αἰών, not κόσμος)."[1]

A more careful look at this Arabic cognate is warranted.
Lane (1865: 784) provided a lengthy definition, including the
fact that خلد (ḫalada) can mean "he was slow in becoming
hoary when advanced in years; as though he were created to
continue for ever." The derivative مخلد (muḫallad) appears
in the *Qurᶜan* in *Suras* 56:17 and 76:19 ("they will be waited
on by the *ageless*"). The word may be used for those whose
hair remains black after they have aged or whose teeth remain
despite the years. Lane (1865: 784) defined it as "always of
the same age: never altering in age: or endowed with per-
petual vigour; that never become decrepit; or that never
exceeds the fit age for service." Also of interest is خالد (ḫâlid)
meaning "everlasting, perpetual, immortal, undying, unforget-
table, glorious" (Wehr 1979: 294). Lane and Wehr also cite
خلد (ḫalad) "mind, heart, spirit, temper."

There are obviously multiple layers of meaning for the
name Huldah. Were she *ageless* it would suggest that she was
mature enough to deserve the compliment. Combine the age
factor with the mind / heart element and "Huldah" designates
a "matronly sage." Or she may have been blessed with perpet-
ual youthfulness, though obviously not immortality.

HULDAH'S TITLES

Huldah clearly has the title נְבִיאָה "prophetess," but hidden
in the MT of II Kings 24:14 and II Chr 34:22 is another title

which was given—except in the Greek text of Chronicles—
to her husband. Another look at the text is in order.

חֻלְדָּה הַנְּבִיאָה
אֵשֶׁת שַׁלֻּם בֶּן־תִּקְוָה בֶּן־חַרְחַס
שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים
וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם בַּמִּשְׁנֶה

Huldah, the prophetess
wife of Shallum ben Tiqwah, ben Ḥarḥas,
keeper of the clothes
and she was dwelling in Jerusalem in the Mišneh.
(II Kings 22:14)[2]

Commentators have puzzled over Josiah's requesting the
help of an unknown prophetess whose one credential is that
she is the wife of the "keeper of the garments" (which were
probably vestments of the court and/or the cult). Being the
wife of a valet of the high priest or the king hardly qualified
her to function as an advisor to the throne and temple. With
prophets like Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Nahum being avail-
able why go to Huldah? Speculation suggests that they may
have been out of town or that they would not have spoken
favorably to the royal and religious authorities.

A better answer can be found by looking more closely at
the MT שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים "keeper of the clothes." Standard lexi-
cons recognize two meanings of בֶּגֶד: "treachery" (which can
be ruled out in this context since Shallum was hardly the
guardian of court conspiracies) and "clothing, raiment." But
a third definition needs to be added, a definition which is
perfect for this context. It would be stem III and the cognate
of Arabic بجلة (bajdat / bujudat) "the true, or real, state and
circumstances thereof; the positive, or established, truth there-

of," as in the expression هو عالم ببجذة أمرك (*hû ʿâlmun bibaj-dati ʾamrika*) "he is acquainted with the inward, or intrinsic, state or circumstances of thy affair : or with the true, or real, state or circumstances thereof; with the positive or established, truth thereof " (Lane 1863: 153).

Lane called attention to the synonym of بجذة (*bajdat*), namely, أصل (*ʾaṣl*) which has three meanings relevant for understanding بجذة (*bajdat*): (1) "the fundamental or essential part of a thing . . . the fundamental articles or dogmas, principles, elements or rudiments, of a science etc."; (2) "an original copy of a book : and a copy of a book from which one quotes, or transcribes, any portion"; and (3) "the prime of a thing; the principal, purest, best, choicest, part thereof; what is, or constitutes, the most essential part thereof; its very essence" (Lane 1863: 65).

With these definitions of בֶּגֶד in mind, שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים takes on quite a different meaning. Shallum would have been "the guardian of the essential truth," the "guardian of the traditions," or even the "guardian of the original texts." But was he? If *he* was the guardian of texts or traditions, why was he not consulted by King Josiah and the high priest Hilkiah? Why would they have dealt with his wife rather than with him?

The answer to these questions is in the repointing and redivision of the MT שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים. By shifting the space between the two words by one letter, שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים becomes שֹׁמְרָה בְּגָדִים, a feminine participle with its direct object, "she-who-guards the texts / traditions" or "she-who-guards the essential truths." By the shifting of one letter, Huldah's title emerges from the MT, a title which was always there in the Septuagint with its feminine participle φυλάσσουσαν "the woman guardian" (Liddell and Scott 1966: 1961). Moreover,

the Septusgint manuscripts have her guarding the ἐντόλας, the "commandments/ordinances."[3]

Since the feminine participle יֹשֶׁבֶת "dwelling" in the next phrase has the usual form ending with a ת, the *Vorlage* could have been שמרת בגדים, reflecting a confusion of a ת and a ה, a common error well documented by Delitzsch (1920: 107 §105[ab]) like the *Qere* and the *Kethib* of Jer 52:21 קוֹמַת / קוֹמָה הָעַמֻּד הָאֶחָד "the height of one pillar," which reads in the parallel text of I Kings 7:15 as קוֹמַת הָעַמּוּד הָאֶחָד.

HULDAH'S RESIDENCE

The מִשְׁנֶה of the MT וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלִַים בַּמִּשְׁנֶה, "she was dwelling in Jerusalem inמִשְׁנֶה," has been variously interpreted. The Septuagint simply transliterated it as μασανα. The KJV rendered it as "college"; but most other translations have settled for the "Second District" or "Second Quarter," although the NJB ventured "the new town."

It just may be thatבמשנה in the *Vorlage* did not reference a place, but a condition, namely "in her old age" (= בְּמִשְׁנָה). The noun משן would be the cognate of Arabic مسن (*musinn*) "old age, advanced in years." The stem would be שׁן (= سن (*sanna*), as in the expression ذوى اسنان (*ḏawiya ʾasnân*) "the advanced in age or extent, of life; [the age attained;] used in relation to human beings and others" (Lane 1872: 1437–1439; noted also by Wehr 1979: 506). If חֻלְדָּה meant "one who is perpetually youthful," *Huldah* would by definition be "in her old age" (= בְּמִשְׁנָה). Her seniority may well have made her the prime candidate for consultation by the king and high priest, even though younger prophets were on the scene.

The "college" in the KJV was derived from the Aramaic תַּנָּא "teacher" and מַתְנִיתָא "college" (Jastrow 864, 1679; BDB 1040). On the other hand, משנה, as a noun of place, need not be from תָּנָה/שָׁנָה "to repeat, to teach." It may be related to the Arabic سن (*sanna*) as the place where the commandments of God are disclosed, as in the expressions: (1) سنة الله سن للناس (*sanna' llahu sunnathu lilanâs*) "God manifested, or made known, his statutes, or ordinances, and commands and prohibitions, [i.e. his laws,] to men," and (2) سن الامر (*sanna' l'amra*) "he manifested, or made known, the thing, affair or case" (Lane 1872: 1436). Either derivation supports the tradition in the Targum (on II Kings 22:14 and II Chron 24:22) that Huldah had an "academy" in Jerusalem.

CONCLUSION

Far from being an "ugly" name meaning "Weasel" or "Mole," Huldah is the feminine equivalent of خالد (*ḥâlid*) "glorious" or the very complimentary way of saying that someone is "perpetually young" or "ageless." True to her name, as interpreted above, Huldah remains an unforgettable prophrtess and matronly sage in the annals of Israelite tradition, giving her a kind of immortality. Philological evidence has been offered in support of the Greek text of Chronicles which identified her as "the guardian of the commandments." She may well have been the guardian of "texts, traditions, and truth," in light of the semantic range of the Arabic feminine cognate بجدة (*bajdat*) (= בְּגָדִים "traditions").

Although the MT משׁנה could refer to (1) Huldah's residence in the "Second Quarter" of Jerusalem, or (2) to her being "advanced in years," or (3) to her "college / academy," it is impossible to disassociate מִשְׁנֶה from מִשְׁנָה "verbal

teaching by repeated recitation." Even though the Mishnah, as a collection of oral laws compiled after 200 C.E., is irrelevant to Huldah's moment in history, there may be more than a hint here that מִשְׁנֶה referred to oral tradition. It is not likely that Huldah compared scrolls like a textual critic. Were she in possession of scrolls, it would be difficult to account for the royal surprise when the temple scroll appeared. It seems more likely that Huldah was "the guardian of the oral tradition."

Her title "guardian of the commandments" (with the Septuagint of II Chronicles) or "guardian of the (oral) traditions," as I prefer, supports Handy's (1994:53) conclusion that

> Huldah's purpose as a character in the narrative is exactly what the omen priests in the Mesopotamian traditions had been. Through her the deity is allowed to confirm what previously had been revealed to the ruler by other means.

NOTES

1. See http://daniel.eastern.edu/seminary/tmcdaniel/huldah.html for viewing the lexical items cited in this study.

2. II Chron 34:22 has בֶּן־תּוֹקְהַת בֶּן־חַסְרָה for the בֶּן־תִּקְוָה בֶּן־חַרְחַס in II Kings 22:14. Chronicles also has φυλάσσουσαν τὰς ἐντόλας "the (woman) guarding the commandments," whereas II Kings has τοῦ ἱματιοφύλακος "the (male) keeper of the wardrobe."

3. The printed editions of the Septuagint read στολάς "clothes," assuming ἐντόλας "commandments" was a scribal error. Most commentators have ignored this variant in the Septuagint, though some, like Curtis (1910: 510), BHK, and BHS, would emend the MT וַאֲשֶׁר אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ to וַאֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ in light of the Septuagint's καὶ οἷς εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς "whom the king commanded."

THE GOOD SAMARITAN
NAMED *ODED* IN
II CHRONICLES 28: 5–15

INTRODUCTION

According to Isa 7:1–17, the Syro-Ephramite war against Judah created terror in the royal house of David, precipitating Isaiah's pronouncement to King Ahaz of the sign of Immanuel: "God is with us." But nothing in Isa 7:1–8:15 hinted at the heavy casualties suffered in Judah at the hands of King Rezin of Syria and King Pekah of Israel.[1] They were simply dismissed by Isaiah as "two smoldering stumps of firebrands" (7:4) who would shortly be snuffed out. Similarly, II Kings 16:5 spoke only of Jerusalem's having been besieged by Pekah and Rezin, neither of whom could conquer Judah or Jerusalem—with no reference to the heavy casualties inflicted upon Ahaz' family and kingdom.

But in II Chron 28:6–8 it is stated that following Rezin's defeat of Ahaz (with no casualty figures given), Pekah killed 120,000 (מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים אֶלֶף) men in Judah in one day and captured 200,000 (מָאתַיִם אֶלֶף)[2] men, women, and children who were taken to Samaria to be enslaved by their victorious northern kinfolk.[3] The Ephraimite hero Zichri killed Ahaz' son, Maaseiah, as well as the governor (נְגִיד הַבָּיִת) Azrikam and Elkanah who was "second to the king" (מִשְׁנֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ).[4]

However, the אלף in these verses need not mean "thousand" but could be a singular masculine *collective* noun[5] like

the *collective* שִׁבְיָה "captives, a body of captives," found in verses 5, 11, 13, 14, and 15, and the בִּזָּה "spoil, spoils," found in verse 14. The אלף here could mean "units" or "contingents," and could be related to the Arabic الف (ʾilf) "a constant companion or associate; a mate, a fellow, a yoke-fellow, a comrade" (Lane 1863: 80; Wehr 1979: 28–29).[6] Because the fallen defenders were identified in II Chron 28:6 as בְּנֵי־חָיִל "men of valor," the collective noun אלף could have been a synonym of גְדוּדִים used elsewhere for military units of unspecified size. The narrator's choice of the collective אֶלֶף "unit" may well have been due to its approximation in sound to אֶלֶף "thousand," the overtones of which could have suggested an unbelievably large number of casualties sustained by the 120 military *units* defending Judah and Jerusalem, as well as countless women and children—presumably surviving family members of Judah's and Benjamin's slain defenders—who had been divided into 200 *bands* of captives and taken to Samaria to become the slaves.[7]

Oded, the Samaritan prophet of Yahweh, confronted the victorious Samaritans and Ephraimites upon their return from Judah and Jerusalem with a *command*, "Return the captives you took from your brothers!" and a *threat*, "Otherwise the violent wrath of God will fall upon you!" (28:11). Four Ephraimite leaders reiterated Oded's *imperative*, "You must not bring the captives here!" followed by the *accusation*, "You propose to multiply our sin and our guilt although our guilt is now sufficient to bring violent wrath upon Israel."

Faced with this opposition of Oded and his colleagues, the Ephraimite army officers—who killed and captured at will in Judah—acceded to the demands of Oded, Amasa, Azariah,

Berechiah, and Jehizkiah: "so the soldiers[8] left the captives and the booty before the officials and all the assembly" (הַשָּׂרִים וְכָל־הַקָּהָל) (II Chron 28:14, NRS).

According to Josephus, the confrontation of Oded with the booty-laden soldiers occurred before the city walls. This reflects Josephus' reading the השרים of 28:14 as הַשֻּׁרִים "the walls"[9] (rather than as הַשָּׂרִים "the princes"), which he transposed to the start of Oded's confrontation to indicate Oded's location. In light of the collocation of "people" congregated at the "wall" when Rabshakeh confronted Eliakim and his colleagues (II Kings 18: 26; Isa 36:11), reading the השרים as הַשֻּׁרִים, in agreement with Josephus, remains an attractive option: "the captives were released outside the city-walls in front of all the assembled (townsmen)."

The phrase הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת, meaning literally "the men who were pricked off by names,"[10] is thought to mean "the men who were designated/mentioned by name," a reference to Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah, appearing in 28:12. Having only these four men responsible for the repatriation of 200,00 captives (or 200 bands of captives) reinforces the conclusion of some readers that this narrative is a midrashic fiction rather than a historical recollection.

However, two Arabic cognates permit a more realistic reading of 28:15a. First, the נקבו of אֲשֶׁר־נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת, though commonly derived from נקב "to pierce, to prick off" (BDB 666), is more likely a *Niphᶜal* denominative of קבב, the cognate of Arabic قب (*qabb*) "a head, chief, ruler . . . or elder upon [the control of] whom the affairs of the people, or

party, turn" (Lane 1885: 2478). With this cognate in mind, נִקְּבוּ would mean "they were designated to be in charge."[11]

Secondly, the plural שֵׁמוֹת "names" may well be a homograph of another noun which would be the cognate of Arabic سومة (*sûmat*) and سيمة (*sîmat*) "a mark, sign, token, or badge, by which a thing/person is known . . . such as is used in war or battle," and تسوم (*tasawim*) "he set a mark, badge, upon himself, whereby he might be known [in war etc.]" (Lane 1872: 1475–1476). With these two definitions in focus, the MT וַיָּקֻמוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְּבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת can be translated "the men, who were designated by badges to be in charge, arose." These clearly identifiable relief workers appropriated the booty for distribution to the victims, precluding any cheating by combatants pretending to have legitimate access to the spoils. In a remarkable act of charity inspired by Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah, and Oded the relief workers took their kinsfolk down to Jericho and then returned to Samaria.

THE PROPHET ODED

Jewish and Christian traditions have generally ignored this Samaritan prophet of Yahweh, for Oded goes virtually unnoticed in the literature of the church and synagogue.[12] In the 515 page index volume of Louis Ginzberg's *The Legends of the Jews*, Oded is not even listed among the approximately 25,000 entries of names, places, and topics. Commentators have paid him scant attention. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 458–459), for example, covered II Chron 28:9–15 with just twenty lines of general commentary, and Myers (1965: 162–163)

covered the Oded passage in seventeen lines of text. Spencer (1984: 317–349) provided, by contrast, an excellent study of the Oded tradition and has convinced this writer that Jesus' parable of the good Samaritan recorded in Luke 10: 30–35 was no doubt grounded in this story of the Samaritan Oded.

MEANINGS OF THE NAME ODED

The Ugaritic ʿdd "to narrate, to repeat" or ġdd "to rejoice, to surge" (KBS II: 789; UT 463: 1947) and the Phoenician עדד "envoyer, quelque sorte devin," used as a synonym of חזין "seer, prophet" (Jean and Hoftijzer 1965: 204; Donner and Röllig 1962: 208) could be cognates of עוֹדֵד. However, in light of the close relationship of ע"ע and ע"ו stems, like מוּךְ and מָכַךְ "to be low," מוּשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ "to feel, to grope," and נוּד and נָדַד "to flee" (GKC § 77ᵇ), the following Arabic roots are also likely to be the cognates of Hebrew עוּד / עָדַד and relevant for our understanding the multiple nuances of Oded's name which underlie this narrative.

The first cognate is عود (ʿawd) and عادى (ʿâdiy) "old, ancient," as in the phrases زاحم بعود أودع (zâḥim biʿawdi ʾawdaʿ) "ask thou aid of a person of age and knowledge" and عود على عود على عود خلق (ʿawd ʿlay ʿawd ʿlay ʿawd ḫalaq) "an old man upon an old camel upon an old worn road" (Lane 1874: 2190).

This cognate of עָדַד (= Oded "the elder") suggests that "Oded" may have been a title for the prophet rather than the name given at birth.[13] As an elder prophet his authority would have been at its maximum. Along with Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah (the רָאשֵׁי בְנֵי אֶפְרַיִם "the chiefs of the Ephraimites") Oded was among Samaria's elders who

had enough political clout to demand obedience from general officers, conscripts, and volunteers.[14] This interpretation finds some support from Josephus (*Antiquities* 9: 250; Naber 1889, II: 310) who recognized Berechiah as εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ "one of high reputation in the government [of Samaria]."

The second cognate, noted in BDB (728–729) and KBS (II: 795–796), is عود (ʿawd) "he returned, restored," a synonym of رد (radda) "he made, or caused, to return, go back, or revert; sent, turned, or put, back, or away . . . anything returned after it has been taken," corresponding exactly to أعاده (ʾaʿâdhu) "he returned it; he restored it," form IV of عود (ʿawd) (Lane 1874: 2189). This cognate of עֹדֵד (= "Oded" = "Restorer") suggests that *Oded*, as a *Pōlēl* infinitive of עוד or the *Qal* participle of עדד, was comparable to the *Pōlēl* participle מְשׁוֹבֵב "restorer" appearing as a name in I Chron 4:34.

As Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) noted, "One Hebrew might hold another in bondage for a limited period, but such wholesale slavery of fellow-countrymen by reprisal in war was never contemplated."[15] The innovative violation of the Torah at the expense of fellow Israelites (which included Judah and Benjamin) was more than Oded and his colleagues could tolerate. Their demand was absolute and non-negotiable. Noah may well have initiated slavery in his family with his curse upon Canaan, but Oded would not sanction slavery in his extended family which included Benjamin and Judah. Oded's "brethren" (with אָחִים including women and children) had to be set free to avoid the wrath of God. Moreover, the *Elder* (עדד / עוד) Oded lived up to the second nuance of his name (*Restorer*) when he *caused* the captives from Jerusalem and Judah *to be sent home* (עדד / עוד).

The third cognate of עדד is Arabic عائد (ʿâʾid) "a visitor of one who is sick" along with its feminine عائدة (ʿâʾidat) "kindness, pity, compassion, or mercy, a benefit, an act of beneficence or kindness" (Lane 1874: 2191), which suggests that עדד could also be a synonym of חסד "mercy, kindness." With this cognate in focus—and paraphrasing the text—the prophet Oded can be recognized as (1) the "*senior seer*" (העדד העדד) of Samaria who became (2) the "*merciful emancipator*" (העדד העדד) of Jews consigned to slavery.

CONCLUSION

It is a bit ironic that the fictional good Samaritan of Jesus' parable, who rescued one Jewish victim of highway robbery, has become proverbial, whereas the historical good Samaritans Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, Jehizkiah, and Oded—who rescued 200 אלף (= "thousand"/"bands") of Jewish victims of war—remain virtually unknown. It would be equally ironic if the mere misreading of אלף as אֶלֶף "a thousand" rather than as אַלֻף "a unit, band, group, contingent" precipitated the transformation of II Chron 28: 9–15 from a short but memorable historical notice into an exaggerated and incredulous midrashic fiction.

Once אלף is read as אַלֻף "unit" rather than אֶלֶף "thousand," the exaggerated midrashic features of the Oded narrative disappear. The one hundred twenty military *units* and two hundred *bands* of captives fall well within historical and logical boundaries. Oded appears only in verses 9–11, but his presence is felt throughout the entire story. What the narrative lacks in length is compensated for by high drama. Led by Oded and his four colleagues, a goodly number of godly Samaritans and Ephraimites fulfilled the commandment:

"You shall love your kin (רֵעֲ) as yourself . . . and not incur guilt on account of him" (Lev 19:18).

NOTES

1. Compare Josephus, *Antiquities* 9: 245 (Whiston, 1974, III: 42; Naber 1889, II: 309):

> when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighborhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus . . . .

2. The Greek text reads τριακοσίας χιλιάδας "300,000," perhaps due to a partial dittography in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint in which the MT מאתים appeared as מאת מאתים (100 + 200) which were then added together for a total of 300,000. The dittography of the מאת could have come from an error involving the מאת of מאחיהם "from their brethren" in which the ת and ח were confused. For the confusion of ת and ח, see Delitzsch, 1920: 110 §106^{d-e}. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) noted this Greek variant, but offered no explanation; Myers (1965: 162–163) made no reference to the Greek text or the variants in Josephus.

3. The Hittite and Egyptian combatants in the famed Battle of Kadesh numbered only 40,000 (Breasted, 1906, III: 130). When it is realized that Yankee Stadium in New York has a seating capacity of just under 58,000 and Veterans Stadium in Philadelphia can hold just under 63,000, it is obvious that the numbers in II Chron 28:6–8 are either exaggerated or mean something other than "thousands." The אלף could be an acronym rather than a number per se, in which (1) the א = אלוף or איל "chief" (the ראש אלף), (2) the ל = לחמים = אנשי המלחמה "the fighting men" (Ps 35:1) or the ל = 30 = שלשים = "the officers," and (3) the פ = פקידים "the officers" (2 Kgs 25:19) or the פ = פלני "unnamed others" =

"rank-and-file." Note also BDB (48–49) for references to אָלַף "to learn, אֶלֶף "cattle," אַלּוּף "tame," אַלּוּף "friend," and אַלּוּף "chief."

4. Josephus (*Antiquities,* 9: 246–247; Whiston, 1974 III: 42; Naber 1889, II: 309) has several variations with respect to what happened to whom. His account reads as follows.

> Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son, in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

5. See GKC §123[a b].

6. Note the ambiguity of ألوف (ʾulûf) (=אלף) in the *Qurʾan* (*Sura* 2: 244) which has been interpreted as "thousands" or as "united bands" (Lane 1863: 80; Bell 1937, I: 35, note 1).

7. Compare I Kings 20:28–30, where it is alleged that the Israelites killed 100,000 foot soldiers of the Syrians in one day, followed by 27,000 other soldiers being crushed when the wall of Aphek fell upon them. Following the figures cited above in footnote 3, it would take fewer than 29,000 people to half-fill Yankee Stadium in New York, suggesting that the אלף "thousand" in this narrative requires an alternative definition, such as the one proposed here.

8. The term חָלוּץ "equipped for war" is used here, suggesting that Oded and his colleagues had bravely approached soldiers who were more ready for battle than for a victory parade.

9. In Arabic سور (*sûr*) is used exclusively for the wall of a city or town (Lane 1872: 1464).

10. The phrase appears also in Num 1:17; I Chron 12:31; 16:41; and II Chron 31:19. For its derivation, see BDB 666.

11. The stems קבב, קוב, and נקב may be interrelated like their Arabic counterparts: (1) قب (*qabb*) "a head, chief, ruler; (2) أقتابه (*ʾaqtâbahu*) "he chose, selected, elected, or preferred him"; and (3) نـقيب (*naqîb*) "the intendant, superintendent, overseer, inspector" (Lane 1885: 2478, 2570; 1893: 2834).

12. In forty five years of ministry as a pastor, an educational missionary, and a seminary professor, the author found few students, fellow pastors, or faculty colleagues who had ever heard of Oded.

13. The prophetess Huldah may also have been called upon by King Josiah, rather than Jeremiah, because of her age. (See Chapter XI above.)

14. Conrad (1980: 127) wrote concerning those who were recognized as elders

> City elders exercised extensive authority well into the early period of the Israelite state. They are the guardians of the internal order of their community, and therefore exercised local jurisdiction. . . . . During the course of the monarchy, the elders of the two capitals, Jerusalem and Samaria, became part of the upper stratum in the increasingly centralized government, so that they now appear alongside other dignitaries, especially royal officials (2 K. 10:1, 5; Lam 1:19; 2:9f.; 4:16; 5:12). They have thus been divested of their original autonomy; but their power has probably increased significantly, to the extent that in their new role they influence the entire body politic.

15. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) cited Exo 21:2ff, Lev 25:39–43, and Deut 15:12–18 as relevant texts dealing with slavery.

THE MEANINGS OF *KARPAS*: MULTI-COLORED, COTTON, AND CELERY[1]

ETYMOLOGIES

In Esther 1:6 the MT חוּר כַּרְפַּס, used with reference to the decor of the Shushan palace, is translated in the Septuagint as βυσσίνοις καὶ καρπασίνοις "linen and made-of-cotton." Hebrew כַּרְפַּס and Greek καρπάσινος are loanwords taken from Persian كرباس/كرپاس (*kirbâs*/*kirpâs*) and Sanskrit/Indo-Aryan कर्पास (*karpāsa*) "cotton."[2] This loanword appears in Arabic as كرسف/كرفس (*kurfus*/*kursuf*) and as كرباس (*kirbâs* and *karbâs*).[3] The interchange of *f* and *b* (i.e., Hebrew פ and ב) is evident in Greek κάρπασος "cotton," but Latin *carbasus* "cotton" (= κάρβασος "fine linen, flax") and Syriac ܟܪܒܣܐ (*karbasâ³*) "cambric, muslin, lawn." (The Greek also registers κάλπασος as well as κάρπασος and κάρβασος, with the interchange of the liquids λ and ρ.)

This quadriliteral (consonantal) कर्पास (*karpāsa*) (where the *s* is a part of the stem) is unrelated to the Greek triliteral (consonantal) stem καρπός "fruit" (which is used in the Septuagint for nine different Hebrew words) or καρπός "wrist" (use in the Septuagint for יד and כף).[4] The ς of καρπός (with either meaning) is a case ending, analogous to the final *s* of Sanskrit *karpāsas* as cited in Liddell and Scott.[5]

Moreover, this quadriliteral (consonantal) कर्पास (*karpāsa*) "cotton" is unrelated to the Persian كرفس (*karfas*) and the Aramaic-Hebrew כַּרְפַּס "celery, parsley," which appears in

Syriac as ܟܪܦܣܐ *kĕrapsâ*ʾ and in Arabic as كرفس (*karafs*)—
with no interchange in the Persian, Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew,
and Syriac of the פ and ב, as with כַּרְפַּס = κάρπασος, κάρ-
βασος, and the Latin *carbasus* "cotton, linen, flax" (Castell
1669: [*Persico-Latinum*] 444, 449; BDB 502; Jastrow 673).

JOSEPH'S TUNIC

In 2 Samuel 13:18–19 the MT כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים, used with refe-
rence to Tamar's royal robe,[6] was translated χιτὼν καρπωτός
"a tunic (reaching) the wrist." If the καρπωτός were un-
critically associated with κάρπασ(ος)—instead of καρπός
"wrist"—and, secondarily, κάρπασ(ος) was taken to be a vari-
ant of *karbu* (कंबु) "variegated-color," it would be easy to ac-
count for Joseph's כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים in Genesis 37:3 becoming in
the Septuagint χιτῶνα ποικίλον "tunic of variegated-color."[7]

In an unidentified tradition καρπωτός—or just καρπωτ—
was equated with the Persian, Sanskrit, and Indo-Aryan
karbiś (as בת מצוה became *bas miṣvah*, with the ת becoming
a sibilant). It could also account for how, in popular ety-
mology and folk usage (in contrast to a historical etymology),
כַּרְפַּס "celery, parsley" became symbolically associated with
Joseph's כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים, since the tunic became ποικίλον "multi-
color" in the Septuagint, with ποικίλον equaling *karbu* (कंबु)
which, with a case ending became *karbus* = καρβός = καρπός.

Rashi did not associate the פַּסִּים in Gen 37:3 with *karpāsa*
"cotton" or καρπός "fruit" or כַּרְפַּס "celery, parsley." He
identified the פַּסִּים as מֵלִית "fine wool" rather than, for
example, with צמר גפן "wool of the vine" (= "cotton," simi-
lar to Greek καρπός εὐανθὴς μήλων "downy fruit of sheep"
= "wool"). Rashi's comparison with the כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים in II Sam

13:18 and the כַּרְפַּס in Est 1:6 probably referred to the appearance (color or shape) of Joseph's tunic rather than the fabric of the tunic—be it wool, flax, or cotton.

CONCLUSION

The use of celery or parsley in the Seder as a symbolic reminder of Joseph's tunic would be a good example of the logic that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Since פַּסִּים—on the analogy of Est 1:6 and II Sam 13:18—equals כַּרְפַּס/κάρπας or כַּרְבַּס/κάρβας, and since כַּרְפַּס equals celery/parsley, then celery/parsley could have something to do with פַּסִּים, or vice versa. The analogy and equation provided an excellent base for didactic and haggadic expansion.

The various meanings of כַּרְפַּס in Semitic need not be limited to "cotton, flax, linen" or to "celery and parsley" or to "variegated color." In Syriac, in addition to ܟܰܪܒܳܣܐ (*karbasâʾ*) "cotton,"there is also Syriac ܟܪܒܣܐ (*krbsʾ*) meaning *res qua ligatur* and *clavus* ["things which are joined together"[8] and "nail"][9] and *proxeneta* ["broker, negotiator"], as well as Syriac ܟܰܪܦܰܣܐ (*karpasâʾ*) "celery." There is no basis for assuming that these varied meanings of כרפס/כרבס in Semitic come from a single Persian or Sanskrit loanword.

NOTES

1. This short study is an extended footnote to the article by G. J. Gevaryahu and M. L. Wise (1999) entitled, "Why Does the Seder Begin with Karpas," in which it was stated that Hebrew *karpas* was borrowed from the Persian *kirpas* "linen" and *karafs* "parsley" and the Greek *karpos* "fruit." It is intended to provide a more detailed etymological analysis in light of comparative lexicography than that which was given by the authors.

2. Steingass 1892: 1021–1023; Monier, Monier-Willaims 1899: 275–276; Macdonell 1924: 64; and Turner, 1971: 146, 156. Note also the פִּטְדָה "topaz" in Exo 28:17, 39:10; Ezek 28:13, 17; and Job 28:19, which is the Sanskrit loanword पीत (*pîta*) "yellow" (Macdonnell 1924: 163).

3. Lane 1885: 2603c, 2607c; Hava 1915: 649, 651; and Wehr 1979: 959, 961.

4. Hatch and Redpath 1954: 723–724.

5. Liddell and Scott 1940: 879–880.

6. McCarter 1984: 325–326.

7. Note that Aquila rendered פַּסִּים as στραγαλων "knotted, orna-mented," whereas Symmachus has χειριδον η καρπωτον "sleeved [to the] the wrist." See Brooke and McLean 1906: 105. The Arabic بنش (*bannaš*) "a cloth upper-garment with very full sleves," cited by Hava (1915: 47) as a Turkish loanword used in Syria is of interest, given the interchange of ב / פ and שׂ / שׁ and the frequent assimilation of the נ in Hebrew. A masculine plural בנשים (> בשים > פשים) could easily become פסים. But the provenance of بنش (*bannaš*) needs further study. Speiser (1964: 290) suggested that פסים was an adaptation of Akkadian *pišannu* which "was a ceremonial robe which could be draped about statues of goddesses, and had various gold ornaments sewed onto it."

8. Aquila's στραγαλων appears as στραγγαλίδων "chains" in the Septuagint of Jud 8:26.

9. While *clavus* may mean "a purple stripe on the *tunica* worn by knights (narrow) or senators and their sons (broad) . . . as one of the insignia of senatorial rank," which could support the translation of כברס as being "striped," the context of the citation requires *clavus* to mean the nail or rivet which holds things together.

XIV

"ADORE WITHOUT RESTRAINT, WORSHIP WITH FIDELITY" PSALM 2:11–12a

INTRODUCTION

The MT נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר "kiss a son" has yet to receive a contextually satisfying explanation. Uncertainties about the phrase—which contains the Aramaic בַּר "son" rather than the Hebrew בֵּן—are apparent in the early translations.[1] Although Aquila translated נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר as καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς "kiss the chosen,"[2] the Septuagint rendered it as δράξασθε παιδείας[3] "grasp instruction," which is reflected in the Vulgate's *apprehendite disciplinam* and in the Targum's קבילו אולפנא "receive instruction."[4] But Jerome translated it *adorate pure* "worship in purity," which may correspond to Symmachus' προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς.[5] The Syriac ܢܫܩܘ ܒܪܐ (*našqû běraʾ*) "kiss the son" matches the MT, but makes בַּר definite.

When it comes to the English translations, KJV, NKJ, NIV and NIB ("kiss the Son") followed the MT and Syriac—but with a Christological twist having "the Son" for "a son." The NAS ("do homage to the Son") followed Symmachus and Jerome, as did the NLT paraphrase ("submit to God's royal son"). But the YLT followed Aquila ("kiss the Chosen One"). The RSV, NRSV, and NJB have "kiss his feet," adopting the emendation of Bertholet (1908: 59) who combined בַּר "son" and וְגִילוּ "and rejoice" to create בְרַגְלָיו "on his feet" in order to create a motif of homage: "kiss on his [God's] feet."[6]

More recent scholars have suggested other changes. Dahood (1966: 13), revocalized the MT to נְשֵׁי קָבֶר "men of

the grave" and translated "O mortal men!" Mackintosh (1976: 14) proposed deleting בַּר and translated נַשְּׁקוּ as "order your- selves (properly)/be (properly) governed." Oloffson (1995: 199) opted for בַּר "field" instead of בַּר "son," since "kissing a field" was yet another way to pay homage.

ASSISTANCE FROM ARABIC

Oloffson (1976: 5) summarized the theories how Arabic جول (jûl) "to circulate, to roam" and وجل (wajila) "to fear" were related to גִּיל "to rejoice." He argued unconvincingly that following the *Aḍḍād* phenomena in Arabic, where a word may have opposite meanings, גִּיל "to rejoice" could also mean "to fear," thus harmonizing the verb and adverb in order to translate the וְגִילוּ בִּרְעָדָה of 2:11 as "and shew fear with trembling." But missing from his discussion was any refer- ence to the Arabic جل (jalla) "to honor, to dignify, and to exalt the majesty of God," with جلال (jalâl) "extreme great- ness" being an attribute of God (Lane 1865: 436; Wehr 1979: 152). By simply removing the vowel letter, MT וְגִילוּ can be read as the imperative וְגִלוּ "and magnify [Him]," which logically follows the עִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיִרְאָה "serve/worship Yahweh with reverence" in 2:11a (BDB 432, *sub voce* 3).

The MT בִּרְעָדָה has usually been translated as "trembling" (= τρόμῳ in the Septuagint and *tremore* in the Vulgate), with רעד being the cognate of Arabic رعد (raʿada) "to thunder, to terrify" (BDB 944). But in this context רעד is probably the cognate of رغد (raġada) "it became ample and unrestrained" and رغد (raġd) "plentiful, pleasant, easy" (Lane 1867: 1105; 1112). With these cognates in focus, 2:11a can be translated "worship Yahweh in reverence, adore with unrestraint!"

The Septuagint's δράχασθε "seize" comes from a *Vorlage* having נכשו or נקשו "seize!" for the Masoretic נַשְּׁקוּ "kiss!" (Jastrow 1903: 912, 935). The interchange of ק and כ is attested not only with נכשׁ and נקשׁ, but in a number of other words like בִּשְׁבֵּשׁ and קִשְׁקֵשׁ "to knock, to shake" and דָּקַק and דָּכַך "to crush." In light of this well attested interchange, it is reasonable to assume that נַשְּׁקוּ could be a variant for נַשְּׁכוּ; and if so, נשׁך / נשׁק would be the cognate of نسك (*nasaka*) "he worshiped" (Lane 1893: 3032; Wehr 1979: 1129).[7]

Were בר the direct object of נשׁק / נשׁך, one would expect it to have the אֶת particle, as in the preceding עִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה "worship Yahweh.[8] Without the אֶת, the בר can function as an adverbial accusative, which precludes reading it as "son" or "field." But other possibilities for בר include "pure, pious, honest" which is a cognate of (1) بِر (*birr* / *barr*) "fidelity, piety towards God or parents, obedience" or (2) برى (*bariy*) "free, clear, . . . pure in heart from associating any [other] with God" (Lane 1863: 179). Were برى the cognate, however, בר should be ברי, which suggests that the י deleted from וְגִילוּ (> וְגֹלוּ) could be added to בר to restore an original ברי.

CONCLUSION

Simply by reading וְגִילוּ as וְגֹלוּ, the MT of Psa 2:10–12a can be translated

> Now therefore, O kings, be wise,
> be warned, O rulers of the earth;
> worship Yahweh in awe,
> and *adore without restraint*,
> *worship with fidelity.*

This understanding of the Hebrew supports Jerome's *adorate pure* and Symmachus' προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς "worship in purity."

Cloaked in a psalm speaking of Israel's imperial aspirations is an invitation to the earthly kings to share in Israel's faith—though not necessarily in Israel's religion and cultus. Even though the invitation was extended in the shadow of derision and threats, it was an invitation, nonetheless, for all kings (and presumably their kingdoms) to find refuge in Yahweh. As much as there are hints of "forced conversions," like "lest they perish" (in 2:11b), there is a vision of earthly peace made possible by having a shared faith. Unfortunately, the invitation to share a faith was commingled with an ultimatum to submit to Israelite hegemony.

NOTES

1. In 2:7b בֵן, not בר, was used: בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךְ "you are my son, this day I have begotten you."

2. Note Ezek 21:19 (MT 21:24) where ברא "choose" appears twice in the KJV and I Sam 17:8 where בְּרוּ־לָכֶם אִישׁ was rendered in the Septuagint as ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρα "choose for yourselves a man."

3. The Septuagint παιδείας "instruction" may reflect an internal Greek corruption of παιδίον, which ordinarily translated בֵן or יֶלֶד or טַף, all words for young children, and it would be the most likely word to translate בר "son." If not an internal corruption, παιδείας may be the fruit of a syllogism: בין = בֵן and בֵן = בר, therefore בר = בִּין "instruction." It is, therefore, unnecessary to posit a different *Vorlage* for the Septuagint.

4. The Vulgate, following the Septuagint, did not give בר any Christological significance. The Targumist may have associated the בר with the בְּרַיְתָא, the term for those traditions and opinions not embodied in the Mishnah. (See Jastrow 1903: 189.)

5. Although προσκυνέω means "to make obeisance to the gods or their images" or "prostrating oneself before kings and superiors" κυνέω means "to kiss," leading Liddell and Scott (1966: 1518) to comment that perhaps originally προσκυνέω meant "*throw a kiss to the god . . . (and) the gesture is probably represented in Sumerian and Babylonian art monuments.*"

6. Mackintosh (1976: 13) convincingly noted

. . . considerable difficulty attaches to the view that the dissident rulers are exhorted to kiss the feet of Yahweh; to introduce so gross an anthropomorphism is implausible and the attempt to interpret the words metaphorically is unlikely.

7. Mackintosh (1976: 11, 14) interpreted נשק in light of Arabic نسق (*nasaqa*) "to arrange, to set (pearls) in order" (Wehr 1979: 1129).

8. The absence of the emphatic א suffix (=ברא) on this Aramaic loanword or the Hebrew definite article (=הבר), like the הַיּוֹם in 2:7b, as well as the absence of the אֶת prefixed to a definite noun, indicate that the translation of בר as the definite "the Son" is a purely subjective rendering.

"SURELY THERE IS A GOD!"
PROVERBS 30:1–5

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered in the interpretation of Prov 30:1 can readily be illustrated by the presence or absence of proper names in the varied translations of the verse. The RSV and the NIV have five different names; the KJV, NKJV, and NAS have four distinct names; the Syriac text has three; but the Vulgate, NRSV, and the NLT have only two, whereas the Septuagint has none (although the Codex Venetus, like the Targum, takes Agur and Yakeh as names). The difficulties encountered here led McKane (1970:644) to say despairingly, "In such a verse, where there is hardly a glimmer of light, one feels powerless to make even the first move towards its elucidation."

But illumination of the verse comes once it is recognized that 30:1–5 preserves a dialectal fragment for which the traditional lexicons of Jerusalem Hebrew will be inadequate, necessitating a greater use of Arabic lexicography to reconstruct the meaning. The poetic lines to be reviewed include:

דִּבְרֵי אָגוּר בֶּן־יָקֶה הַמַּשָּׂא

נְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל

The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, *even* the prophecy the man spake unto Ithiel, even unto Ithiel and Ucal
(KJV)
The words of Agur son of Jakeh[1] of Massa.
The man says to Ithiel, to Ithiel and Ucal.
(RSV)

τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους υἱέ φοβήθητι
καὶ δεχάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει τάδε[2]
λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῷ καὶ παύομαι

"reverence my words, Son, and receiving them, repent,"
says the man to them that trust in God; and I cease.
(Septuagint)

If the names are original, one must concur with Whybray
(1994: 407) that the names here are not Hebrew names, at
least not widely attested names. Each alleged name in the MT
warrants some explanation, as well as a reason for the absence
of any name in the Septuagint of Prov 30:1.

AGUR

Franklyn (1983: 239) suggested, following the Vulgate and
Midrash, that Agur is the participle of אָגַר "to gather," dis-
regarding Sauer's criticism (which he cited) that the passive
אָגוּר cannot have an active sense. Franklyn, moreover, dis-
regarded the derivation of אָגוּר given in BDB (8) which cited
Arabic, Assyrian, and Syriac cognates (like اجر [ʾajara] "to
pay, to hire") of which אָגוּר would be a passive participle
meaning "a hireling." The imperative φοβήθητι "fear" of the
Septuagint obviously derived אָגוּר from יָגֹר "to be afraid, to
fear" or גוּר, stem III, "to dread" (BDB 388, 158).[3]

But none of these derivations are correct, though BDB was
on target since it noted the Arabic cognate اجر (ʾajara). But
اجر (ʾajara) has other meanings than "to be a hireling." It also
means "a recompense, compensation, or reward for what has
been done"; and, as Lane (1863: 24) noted, "it is well known
that اجر (ʾajara) signifies a recompense, or reward from God

to a man for righteous conduct."[4] With this definition in mind, the passive participle אָגוּר, "one rewarded for right-eousness," is an appropriate name for a person of piety. Seem-ingly, then, Prov 30:1 opens with the phrase "the words of Agur" or "the words of one-rewarded-for-righteousness."

YAKEH

Toy (1916: 518), Franklyn (1983: 239), and others have recognized that the Arabic cognate of יקה is وقى (waqî) "to be cautious, guarding oneself from sin," which is the equiva-lent of تقى (taqî) "godly, devout, pious" (Lane 1863: 310; 1893: 3059; Wehr 1979: 115, 1282).[5] Were the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint יקא (as in the forty-two manuscripts cited by Ken-nicott, mentoned in note 1), the יקא may have been misread as ירא "to fear"[6] and have been dismissed by the Greek trans-lators as a gloss on the ambiguous גור, which has four differ-ent meanings: (1) "to be afraid, to dread," (2) "to sojourn," (3) "to stir up strife," and (4) "to be rewarded for righteousness," discussed above.

As Franklyn (1983: 239) noted, בֶּן־יָקֶה may not be a patro-nym but a designation of quality, meaning "an obedient man," or as I would prefer, "a pious person." As a result, the first four words of Prov 30:1 can be rendered, "The words of a pious person rewarded for righteousness." If אָגוּר and יָקֶה were names, the meaning of the names would have been transparent to the initial audience, even though their meanings subsequently became lost to tradition.

THE MASSAITE

Many commentators, like Scott (1965: 175) and McKane (1970: 644) added to the MT הַמַּשָּׂא "the oracle" a gentilic י and treat הַמַּשָּׂא as a place name for an Ishmaelite group in North Arabia, producing אָגוּר . . . הַמַּשָּׂאִי, "Agur . . . the Massaite." The argument is that the original הַמַּשָּׂאִי lost the gentilic י suffix because the next word was נְאֻם "utterance," and הַמַּשָּׂא "the oracle" was taken to be its synonym, resulting in a pseudo-correction changing the original ethnicon הַמַּשָּׂאִי "the Massaite" into the common noun הַמַּשָּׂא "the utterance."[7]

Probably, however, הַמַּשָּׂא originally was not a place name nor a word for "utterance." The desiderated meaning can be found in the Arabic cognates (1) نشأ (našaʾa, form 4) "he created, produced, originated; he framed or constructed a proverb or phrase; he composed or recited well an ode or the like," and (2) منشي (munšî) "author, originator" (Lane 1893: 2791; Wehr 1979: 1131).[8] Here הַמַּשָּׂא (scriptio defectiva for הַמַּשִּׂיא) would be a *Hiphᶜîl* participle, corresponding to the parallel Arabic causative, and הַמַּשִּׂיא נְאֻם would mean "the one authoring (the) saying." The נְאֻם would be a double-duty noun, doubling as a construct noun with the following הגבר.

NO LONGER "THE MAN"

McKane (1970:644) rightly noted that "the phrase $n^{e\ʾ}\bar{u}m$ *haggeber* ['the utterance of the man'] is very odd if *haggeber* is Agur." But the oddity disappears if גבר is interpreted as meaning something other than "man." BDB (149) cited Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic cognates for

גבר meaning, among other things, "to compel, to force, to be overbearing, to be strong, to prevail." But contextually important definitions found in Lane (1865: 373) were not cited in BDB (149) or KBS (175), namely, جبر (*jabara*): "he restored to a sound, right, or good estate; to bring back to normal; and to treat anyone in a kind and conciliatory manner."[9] Adding this piece to the puzzle of 30:1 permits this translation: "the words of Agur [= the one-rewarded-for-righteousness], the son of Jakeh [= the pious one], the one authoring the declaration [נְאֻם הַמַּשָּׂיא], the declaration of the one-restored-to-sound-estate" (reading the גבר of נְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר as a *Qal* passive participle).

Since three nouns/names of the seven words preceding the declaration in 30:1b deal with (1) [God's] rewarding righteousness, (2) a God-fearing person, and (3) restoration to wholeness, the writer sets the stage for a theologically significant declaration in 30:1b, one which will match the affirmation in 30:5, "every word of God proves true" (RSV). Such an affirmation appears once the MT preposition לְ "to" in 30:1b is read as the emphatic particle לְ "surely"[10] rather than being read as the negative לֹ (= לֹא).

ITHIEL AND UCAL

The MT לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל has produced a wide variety of interpretations which are summarized by McKane (1970: 644–645) and Franklyn (1983: 241–243). The most interesting interpretations of לְאִיתִיאֵל are (1) "I am weary, O God," based upon the root לאה; (2) "O that God were with me,"

based upon the preposition אֵת and the vocative ל; (3) "there is no God," based upon the Aramaic אִיתַי (the particle of existence) and the negative ל (= לֹא), as in Dan 3:29; and (4) "I am not God," based upon the emendation לֹא אנכי אל. A fifth reading begs for recognition, namely, "Surely God exists!"—based upon the Aramaic אִיתַי, "exists" and the emphatic ל "surely, verily."

Support for this fifth interpretation comes from the confidence of the speaker hidden in the last word of this verse, וָאֻכָל. This word has also been variously interpreted. The Septuagint's καὶ παύομαι "and I cease," derived it from כָּלָה "to be complete, to end," whereas the Vulgate's *confortatus* read כוּל "to contain, to sustain." Scott (1965: 175) took אֻכַל to be from יָכֹל "to be able, to have power," and provided the expansive translation "and I can [not know anything]." Franklyn (1983: 243) related אֻכַל to אָכַל "to eat" and translated "I am consumed."

But there is a better option than the above four which are derived from standard lexicons with their incomplete listings of cognates. The Arabic كلأ (*kalaʾa*) (Lane 1885: 2623; Wehr 1979: 978) "to guard, to keep safe, to protect" (including the expression, كلاءة الله [*kilâʾat ʾallahi*] "the safe keeping of God") is the most likely cognate of the MT אֻכַל, a *Hophᶜal* imperfect of כלא meaning "I will be kept safe."[11] The affirmation, "Surely there is a God! Surely there is a God!" led logically to the conclusion, "I will be safeguarded!"

Consequently, the first ten words of 30:1 can be *translated* "the words of a pious person rewarded for righteousness, the declaration of one restored to wholeness: 'Surely God exists!

Surely God exists! I will be kept healthy!'"—rather than be-ing *transliterated* as a series of names or unknown words.

NO LONGER "THE BRUTE"

The MT כִּי בַעַר אָנֹכִי מֵאִישׁ of 30:2 has generally been understood as "for I am more a beast/brute than a man." But בַעַר and אִישׁ may have other meanings than "beast/brute" and "man," respectively. MT בַּעַר can be the *Qal* passive participle בָּעֻר, of בער stem II, "to burn, to consume, to be consumed (with anger or emotion)." Likewise, the MT מֵאִישׁ can be repointed to מֵאָיֵשׁ "from despair." In this case, אָיֵשׁ would be the cognate of Arabic أيس (*ʾayisa*) "he despaired" and إياس (*ʾiyās*) "desparation" (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47). The by-form of أيس (*ʾayisa*) is يئس (*yaʾisa*) "to give up all hope," which in form. (4) means "to deprive someone of hope" (Lane, 1893: 2973–2974; Wehr, 1979: 1294). The Arabic يئس (*yaʾisa*) would be the cognate of יָאַשׁ "to des-pair, to give up hope" (BDB: 384; Jastrow, 1903: 560).[12]

Agur's despair brought him to the point where he could not think straight, as he confessed, וְלֹא־בִינַת אָדָם לִי "I did not have (normal) human discernment." The past tense used in translating this verbless clause reflects the tense of the verbal clause which follows: וְלֹא־לָמַדְתִּי חָכְמָה "I had not learned wisdom." The shift to the imperfect in 30:3b marks the transi-tion from depression to elation—Agur had become הַגִּבּוֹר, "the one restored to normalcy." With renewed piety the affir-mation was made: וְדַעַת קְדֹשִׁים אֵדָע "and (now) I make known the knowledge of the Holy One."[13]

NO INTERROGATIVES

The מִי opening 30:4b functions as a relative pronoun like the Arabic personal / relative pronoun مَن (*man*) (Wehr 1979: 1084), not as an interrogative pronoun. The pronoun refers to קְדשִׁים, the "Holy One" *who* performed all the acts spelled out in 30:4. Although עָלָה שָׁמַיִם can mean "he *ascended* (into) heaven," it can just as well mean "he was *exalted* (in) heaven" or "he had ascendency (in) heaven." This interpretation draws support from עֶלְיוֹן, the name of God which speaks of his *ascendency in* heaven, not an *ascent into* heaven.[14] Similarly, although the MT עָלָה שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרַד can mean "he ascended (to) heaven and came down," Scott (1965: 175), who followed tradition in making this verse speak rhetorically about a person ascending into heaven, correctly noted that וירד (= וַיֵּרַד) was from רדה "to have dominion," not ירד "to descend." The point being made in 3:4a is that the Holy One (קְדשִׁים) reigns (רדה) ascendent (עלה) in heaven.

Similarly, the מָה which opens the poetic line 30:5c is not the interrogative "what", nor even the relative "which," but the exclamatory "how!" (BDB 553b; Wehr 1979: 1042, ما). The exclamation parallels Psa 8:2, מָה־אַדִּיר שִׁמְךָ "how majestic is thy name." The שמו could be cognate with Arabic سمو (*sumû*) "exaltedness, eminence, highness" (Lane 1872: 1435; Wehr 1979: 504). If so, the מָה־שְׁמוּ would have the same meaning as מָה־אַדִּיר. The *Vorlage* could have been מָה־שְׁמוּ שְׁמוֹ "How exalted his name!" which, in an unpointed text, appeared to be a dittography and was mistakenly changed into the simple interrogative, "what is his name?"

On the analogy of the ע״ו stem רוֹם "to be high" having the derivative noun רֶם/רוֹם "height," the ע״י stem בִין "to

discern" could have had the derivative noun בִּין/בֵּן "discern-
ment." In this case, MT וּמַה־שֵּׁם־בְּנוֹ could simply be re-
vocalized as מָה שֵׁם בִּינוֹ (*scriptio plene*) "how sublime his
intelligence!"

Contrary to the suggestion in BHS, the כִּי תֵדָע in 30:4,
which is not reflected in the Codex Vaticanus or Sinaiticus,
should not be deleted, but read as the initial words of 30:5,
"*Certainly you know* every saying of God has stood the test!"

SUMMARY

The uncertainty surrounding Prov 30:1–5 has been mini-
mized in this study by appealing to Arabic cognates for
meanings lost in the Judean dialect of Hebrew. Many scholars
who were quite confident that Agur ben Yakeh was from the
Arabian tribe of Massa made but limited use of Arabic
cognates to clarify problematic words. While some scholars
have recognized that יקה was a cognate of وقى (*waqî*) "to be
pious, to be obedient," the case has been made for relating (1)
אָגוּר to اجر [*'ajara*] "a reward from God to a man for right-
eous conduct"; (2) הַמַּשָּׂא to منشى (*munšî*) "author, origina-
tor"; (3) גֶּבֶר to جبر (*jabara*) "to restore to a sound or good
estate"; (4) אֻכַל to كلا (*kala'a*) "to keep safe"; (5) אִישׁ to ايس
(*'ayisa*) "to despair"; (6) מִי to من (*man*) "who" [as a relative
pronoun]; שָׁמוֹ to سمو (*sumû*) "exaltedness"; and (8) the initial
ל of לְאִיתִיאֵל to ل (*la*) "surely."

There are sixteen other words in Prov 30:1–5 which have
Arabic cognates, but these are already listed in BDB and KBS
and need no additional elucidation. Adding the definitions

proposed above to the lexicons of Biblical Hebrew should not
be problematic, especially since Agur's poetry is in dialect or
an idiolect.

If is unfortunate that Agur (meaning "honored for right-
eousness") is viewed by some as a skeptic because of the
skepticism of some scholars about an emphatic ל in Hebrew.
Failure to recognize the emphatic ל in the phrase לְאִיתִיאֵל
("Surely there is a God!") has produced a great deal of erudite
exegetical gymnastics about a God-fearing, but stupid, Ishma-
elite whose words of doubt made it into the canonical wisdom
of Israel in a brief obtuse debate where he was a named foil
for an unnamed and unidentified Judean apologist.

Applying the benefits of the word studies above, an entirely
different scenario emerges. A pious person honored for right-
eousness authors a short poem in which he affirms "Surely
there is a God!" He confesses to having had a bout of depres-
sion which affected his reason. But when reason failed, faith
prevailed. As good as his name, this pious person was re-
stored to mental health. As a consequence, he tells of his
intention to declare his knowledge of the "Holy One" who
reigns supreme in heaven and over creation. Piety spoke again
in his affirmation: "Certainly you know every saying of God
has stood the test!" Having asserted initially in the poem "I
will be safeguarded," this pious soul concluded his five verses
with a third affirmation, "the Holy One is a shield to those
who take refuge in him!" Far from being a skeptic or an
agnostic, Agur lived up to his name and has been well
rewarded for his righteousness—his poem became a part of
the canon even though written in a non-Judean dialect.

NOTES

1. In forty-two manuscripts cited by Kennicott (1780 II: 475) יקה appears as יקא, as though the root were קיה/קיא "to vomit, to disgorge" (BDB 883). This accounts, in part, for the Vulgate's reading, *verba Congregantis filii Vomentis visio quam locutus est vir cum quo est Deus et qui Deo secum morante confortatus ait*, and the Douay, "The words of Gatherer the son of Vomiter. The vision which the man spoke, with whom God is, and who being strengthened by God, abiding with him, said." Traditional interpretation explained that the "Gatherer" was the one who assembled people for instruction and the "Vomiter" was the one who pours out words of instruction (see Toy 1916: 518).

2. The Septuagint μετανόει "repent" indicates the Hebrew נאם was read as נחם in the Greek *Vorlage*. Hebrew נחם is translated in thirteen other places in the Septuagint by μετανοεῖν.

3. Note Num 22:3, וַיָּגׇר מוֹאָב (= καὶ ἐφοβήθη Μωαβ) and Jer 46:17, אַתָּה יָגוֹר (= σὺ φοβῇ). A typographical error flawed Franklyn's comment, "φοβήθητι is derived from the jussive גור [sic] (dread, fear)" (1983: 239).

4. In the *Qurʾan* (*Sura* 29:26) اجر (ʿajara) has the meaning of "praise" or "fame."

5. KBS II: 430 cites Arabic *waqiha* [sic] "to be obedient," with the name יקה given the meaning "careful."

6. See Delitzsch (1920: 119 §131) for a list of texts having a confusion of ק and ר.

7. The Septuagint καὶ δεχάμενος αὐτοὺς reflects a reading of נשא, as in Deu 33:3, יִשָּׂא מִדַּבְּרֹתֶיךָ (= καὶ ἐδέχατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ "and he received from his words") and Gen 50:17, וְעַתָּה שָׂא נָא לְפֶשַׁע (= καὶ νῦν δέχαι τὴν ἀδικίαν, "now please pardon the transgression").

8. In Arabic the ن (*n*) remains unassimilated.

9. See also Wehr 1979: 132.

10. The literature on the emphatic ל and לא continues to grow. In addition to references cited by Richardson (1966: 89), note Mc Daniel (1968) 206–208; Bloomerde (1969) 31; Dahood (1975) 341–342); Whitley (1975) 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983) 569–593, especially 591.

11. One would expect a final א on כל along with the initial א for the 1cs imperfect. But as discussed in note 1, the interchange of א and ה (like יקה and יקא) is well attested. On the elision of the א, note Delitzsch (1920: 21–22, §14ᵃ⁻ᶜ) and GKC 68ʰ·ᵏ. The following elisions are noteworthy: ותאזרני and ותזרני in the parallel texts of Ps 18:40 and 2 Sam 22:40; ויסר and ויאסר in Ex 14:25 האסורים and הסורים in Ecc 4:14; יהל for יאהל in Isa 13:20; וירת for ויראת in Lev 25:36; תבו and חטתיכם for חטאתיכם and תאבו in Lev 26:18 and 26:21 in 11QpaleoLev.

12. See the study on Numbers 12:3 above in Chapter VII.

13. Reading קְדֹשִׁים as an honorific plural (see GKC 124ᵉ). The MT אֵדָע can be repointed (*scriptio plene*) as the *Hiphᶜîl* imperfect אוֹדִיע. The addition of "now" is suggested by the וְעֵת "and now" in Psa 74:6 (rather than the usual וְעַתָּה). The *Vorlage* could have been וְעַת דַעַת קְדֹשִׁים אֹדְעַ, with a loss of the first עת.

14. Note Deut 28:43, where יַעֲלֶה עָלֶיךָ מַעְלָה מָּעְלָה "he shall excel above you higher and higher" speaks of *status* not of *motion*. Note also Arabic العلى (ᵓalᶜalî) "the Most High," used as a name of God (Lane 1874: 2147).

RECOVERY OF RARE WORDS
IN ECCLESIASTES 7:26–28

QOHELETH'S CHAUVINISM

The significant difference between the KJV translation of Ecclesiastes 7:26 and more recent translations is the use of a comma. The MT reads וּמוֹצֶא אֲנִי מַר מִמָּוֶת אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר־ הִיא מְצוֹדִים וַחֲרָמִים לִבָּהּ, which became in the KJV "and I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart *is* snares and nets." This translation has the speaker, Qoheleth, making the blanket statement that any woman is worse than death. If the comma after the word "woman" is removed, Qoheleth's statement becomes a qualified statement that *only* the woman whose heart is a snare and net is more bitter than death. This is the interpretation of the RSV, "And I found more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets," and the NIV, "I find more bitter than death the woman who is a snare, whose heart is a trap."

Scott (1965: 238) maintained the traditional interpretation, translating "More bitter to me than death was my experience with woman, whose thoughts are traps and snares."[1] This interpretation, reading אֵת as the preposition "with" rather than the sign of the direct object, restricts the bitterness to the experience of the Qoheleth, but women in general are berated as those whose thoughts are traps and snares. However, the crux of the verse is not the אֵת, be it a preposition or a particle, but with the ambiguity of the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, which can be read as a restrictive modifier meaning "only those who (are snares)," or it has a causal force, "forasmuch as, in that (she is a woman)" (BDB 83b).

CLARIFICATION FROM COGNATES

The seemingly elementary phrase, אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר־הִיא "the woman who she," may be a bit more complex than appears at first glance. The relative pronoun may be nothing other than the misvocalization of the אשר which is cognate to Arabic أشر (ʾašir) "exulting, or exulting greatly, or excessively; or exulting by reason of wealth, and behaving with pride, and self-conceitedness, and boastfulness, and want of thankfulness, or . . . rejoicing, and resting the mind upon things agreeable with natural desires" (Lane 1863: 62).

If this is the correct derivation of אשר, the text behind the MT was probably את אשה אשרה היא, with the definite article ה of האשה having been originally the feminine ending of אשרה "self-conceited." Once the meaning of this rare word was lost, a pseudo-correction transferred the ה of אשרה to אשה since it was preceded by the particle את, which is normally followed by a definite noun.[2] With the recognition of אשר as a rare word and with the reversal a pseudo-correction, Eccl. 7:26 can now be translated as "more bitter than death is a self-conceited / thankless woman; she is *snares* and her heart is *nets*." The plural predicates *snares* and *nets*, following the singular subjects הִיא "she" and לִבָּהּ "her heart," are plurals of intensity (GKC 124ᵉ), which can be paraphrased in English with a corresponding emphatic singular such as "a sure snare" and "a really tight net."

The appeal to the Arabic cognate أشر (ʾašir) "exulting" to explain the אשר in this verse gains support from Qoheleth's use of יָשָׁר in 7:29, "Behold, this alone I found, that God made man upright, but they have sought out many devices." Scott (1965: 239) questioned the integrity of the MT and commented: "Heb. *yāšār*, a unique and curious word to be

used of man's creation. The context suggests that it is a cor-
ruption of $w^{e\,}iššāh$, 'and woman,' but there is no support for
this in the ancient versions." However, Scott overlooked the
fact that the word for "the man" in Ecc 7:29 is הָאָדָם, which
is as gender inclusive there as it is in Gen 1: 27, where הָאָדָם
"the human being" is equal to זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה "male *and* female,"
and as in Gen 5:2b, which states וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמָם אָדָם "and
he named *them* Adam."

The semantic range of يسر (*yusr*), the cognate of יֹשֶׁר, ex-
plains why יֹשֶׁר is so appropriate for this context. The Arabic
يسر (*yusr*) means "ease, easiness [of circumstance], and what
is made easy" (Lane 1893: 2977).[3] With this definition in
mind, יֹשֶׁר—used in reference to God's "making of man"—is
a clear allusion to Eden where הָאָדָם (Adam *and* Eve) surely
had "easiness [of circumstance]." But the ease of Eden ended
when הָאָדָם (Adam and Eve) "willfully turned to many
reckonings of their own" (7:29b).

As with יֹשֶׁר, so also with אֶשָׁה, the clue to the curious is in
the cognates. Qoheleth certainly had a disliking of excessively
boastful or self-conceited women, but there is no basis to pin
on him the label of misogynist for allegedly having said that
"women were more bitter than death."

The ambiguity of the comparison in 7:28 ("one man in a
thousand I found, but not one woman in all these did I find")
has also been problematic. Barton (1908: 147) concluded:

> This [7:28c] implies that Qoheleth was something of a miso-
> gynist. He apparently had some bitter experience with a
> member of the opposite sex. He is more than reflecting the
> Oriental view that women are more prone to sin than men….
> Qoheleth is saying "perfect men are rare, perfect women are
> non-existent."

Scott (1965: 238) added some bracketed words: "but not one woman in all these did I find [to be wise]"; and the NIV added italicized words: "I found one *upright* man among a thousand, but not one *upright* woman among them all."

A better option is to restore a word which may have dropped out due to haplography. A *Vorlage* with a cognate of either (1) Arabic مالوف (*mâʾlūf*) "familiar," مالف (*mâʾlāf*) "object of familiarity" or (2) الف (*ʾilf*) "close friend, intimate, confidant, lover" (Lane 80–81; Wehr 1979: 29)[4] would have read:

אָדָם אֶחָד מַאֶלֶף מַאֶלֶף מָצָאתִי

"one familiar / friendly man out of a thousand I found

וְאִשָּׁה בְּכָל־אֵלֶּה לֹא מָצָאתִי

but a (friendly) woman
among all these (= the thousand) I did not find.

The מאלף מאלף or אלף מאלף in an unpointed *Vorlage* appeared to be a dittography; and, as a result, a scribal decision to "correct" the dittography became the prelude for traditions alleging that Qoheleth berated women—even though he allegedly confessed, "I got singers, both men and women, and many concubines, man's delight (תַּעֲנוּגֹת)"(RSV 2:8).[5]

In Ecc 2:8 the enigmatic שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת translated in the Septuagint as οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας "a butler and female cupbearers") is actually the cognate of the Arabic شدا/شدو (*šadw / šadā*) "he sang, chanted, recited poetry" (Lane 1872: 1521; Wehr 1979: 538). The phrase should be repointed as participles שָׁדֶה וְשָׁדוֹת "a chanter and chantresses," like the preceding שָׁרִים וְשָׁרוֹת. There is no apparent reason to trans-

late the MT שדה ושדות as "many concubines" (RSV, NRS, NAU) or "and a harem as well" (NIB, NIV) or "a wife and wives" (YLT), as though Qohelet had been a playboy.

CONCLUSIONS

By inserting a comma in a translation it is possible to make Qoheleth say, "I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart *is* snares and nets." But the insertion of a comma is a translator's choice, not a necessity. Qoheleth may have said only that some women are worse than death, and in so saying demonstrated a personality bias, not a gender bias. He disliked those women who were snares or nets. As reconstructed by this writer, he found women who were אֲשֵׁרָה "exulting by reason of wealth, and behaving with pride, and self-conceitedness," to be more bitter than death.

The addition of words which make Qoheleth say "not one woman is *upright*" or "not one woman *wise*," is purely subjective. Some objectivity has been introduced to make clear the comparison between the man and the woman in 7:28 by limiting the options to what may have been due to a haplography in the *Vorlage*. Reconstructing the dittography מאלף מאלף and interpreting it in the light of Arabic cognates for a "familiar person" and "intimate friend" suggest that Qoheleth had a hard time with close relationships. For all of his reckoning he could find only one male friend out of a thousand people, but not a single female friend. Qoheleth suggested (7:29) that Edenic relationships between male and female were lost by (mis)calculations. Some of the miscalculations perpetuate themselves in mistranslations and traditions which have denigrated all women, not just the self-conceited and thankless women.

NOTES

1. Scott commented (1965: 239), "[bitter] agrees with the subject of the sentence rather than with woman (or, "*a* woman"); hence, *my experience with* instead of the usual translation, 'I found more bitter than death is the woman . . . .'"

2. As noted in BDB (86a) and GKC (§117[d]) the direct object sign אֵת is well attested with indefinite nouns. Especially noteworthy is Lev 20:14, יִקַּח אֶת־אִשָּׁה "he took a woman," like the אֶת־אִשָּׁה proposed here.

3. Note also אֲהֵבוּךָ מֵישָׁרִים in Song of Solomon 1:4 which means, in light of this Arabic cognate, "they loved you more than *great luxuries*" (the *great* added to indicate the plural of intensity). In light of this cognate, MT יָשָׁר can be revocalized as a *quṭl* segolate noun, i.e., as יֹשֶׁר.

4. Note the wordplay in Arabic, like the one suggested for Ecc 7:28, الف مؤلفة (*ʾalf muwallafat*) "[These are] a thousand made complete" (Lane 1863: 81). The *Piᶜel* participle מְאַלֵּף "teacher" (BDB 48) also remains a possibility.

5. Note that the Arabic cognate of תַּעֲנוּגֹת is غنج (*ġunj*) "[in the present day generally used to signify lascivious motion, or a wriggling of the body or hips, under the excitement of sexual passion, or to excite such passion"] (Lane 1877: 2300) and "to coquet, flirt, play the coquette (woman)" (Wehr 1979: 802).

XVII

ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY
THE SONG OF SONGS 1:3

INTRODUCTION

As a simple 3 + 3 + 3 tricolon, following a 3 + 3 bicolon, the poetic pattern of the Song of Songs 1:3 is very transparent. But the meaning of the second line (italicized below) has puzzled commentators and has been variously translated.

לְרֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ טוֹבִים

שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שְׁמֶךָ

עַל־כֵּן עֲלָמוֹת אֲהֵבוּךָ

Sweet is the odor of thy perfumes,
Which perfume thou art, by thy name defused abroad.
Therefore do the damsels love thee.
(Ginsburg [1857] 1970: 130)

L'arôme de tes parfumes est exquis;
ton nom est une huile qui' sépanche,[1]
c'est pourquoi les jeunes filles t'aiment.
(Robert 1963: 63)

Than the smell of your precious oil.
Turaq oil is your name.
Therefore girls love you.
(Pope 1977: 291)[2]

> The fragrance of your perfume is pleasing,
> *flowing perfume, your name,*
> therefore the maidens love you.
> (Murphy 1990: 124)

Pope (1977: 300) commented, "The word *tûraq* remains obscure . . . *trq* is a term of some type of high grade cosmetic oil, as suggested by the context of its occurrence in the Song of Solomon." Murphy (1990: 127), who essentially concurred with Pope, observed, "Although the word "flowing" [תּוּרַק] is problematical, the intention is to intensify in some way the compliment that has just been made; now his very 'name' or person, is itself perfume."[3] Murphy concluded that the "𝔊 (ἐκκενωθὲν) and 𝔙 (*effusum*) are guides to the meaning of 'poured out.'"

UGARITIC AND ARABIC COGNATES

Pope's brief comment on עֲלָמוֹת "girls" (1977: 300) that "the basic sense of the root ʿ*lm* (Ugaritic and Arabic ġ*lm*) has reference to sexual ripeness . . ." provides the methodological clue for interpreting the entire poetic line, namely, checking all the applicable Arabic and Ugaritic cognates.

The first word of verse 3, לְרֵיחַ, calls to mind two Ugaritic cognates: the emphatic particle *l* (= *lû*) "verily, surely" and *rḥ* "scent."[4] Murphy (1990: 124–125) applied this cognate in his translation ("Truly, your kisses are better than wine"). Ginsburg ([1857] 1970: 130) sensed this meaning, without the benefit of the Ugaritic cognate, when he stated, "The ל in

לְרֵיחַ signifies *in*, *as regards*, *quoad*, and is frequently used for the sake of giving prominence to an idea."

There are seven commonly recognized Arabic cognates related to the words in this verse: (1) עֶלֶם and غلام (*ġulām*) "boy, girl, youth," (2) רֵיחַ and ريحة (*riḥat*) "smell, odor," (3) שֶׁמֶן and سمن (*siman*) "fat, oil, ointment, perfume," (4) טוֹב and طاب (*ṭâba*) "good, pleasant, delightful, delicious, sweet [in taste or odor]," (5) עַל and علي (*ᶜalay*) "upon, on, over," (6) כֵּן and لكن (*lakin*) "then, but," and (7) ל and ل (*la*) "surely, verily, truly."[5]

In addition, all the words in the phrase שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שְׁמֶךָ have cognates in Arabic, which until now have gone unrecognized. First, the cognate of שׁמן (stem III) is ثمن (*ṭaman*) "price, high-priced, of high value" and ثمين (*ṭamīn*) "costly, precious, valuable."[6] Secondly, the רק of תּוּרַק is cognate to روق/راق (*ruq/râqa*) "to be clear/pure, to surpass, to excel, to please, to delight," rather than a cognate of ريق/راق (*rîq/râqa*) "to move to and fro, to pour out."[7] Thirdly, the שׁמ of שְׁמֶךָ, when repointed as שָׁמֶךָ, can be read as the cognate of شم (*šamma*) "smelling, smell, scent, odor."[8]

INTERPRETATION OF 1:3

The שׁמן of שְׁמָנֶיךָ (1:3a) and the שׁמן of שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק (1:3b) —which have been read as simple repetition—are in fact homographs of two clearly different stems in Arabic, namely, ثمن (*ṭaman*) "high-priced, high value" and سمن (*siman*) "fat, oil, perfume." Succinctly stated, the שֶׁמֶן was שָׁמֶן, "the per-

fume was costly," a highly valued and desirable commodity in and of itself.

In a poetic line which speaks so clearly about the רֵיחַ "the scent" of perfume, the שׁם in chiastic parallelism with רֵיחַ must surely be the synonym שָׁם "scent, odor, smell, smelling," noted above. Although lexicographers have cited the Arabic شأمة (šâ ͨmat) "north" as a cognate of the שׁם of שְׂמֹאל "the left, the north" (BDB 969), the cognate شم (šamma) "scent" went unnoticed. This oversight is a good example of what Barr (1968: 268) alluded to when he said,

> . . . the ancient translators did their task remarkably well, considering the circumstances. Their grasp of Hebrew, however, was very often a grasp of that which is average and customary in Hebrew.

Because שֵׁם "name" occurs over 700 times in the Hebrew Bible, while שָׁם "scent" occurs perhaps only once, it is not surprising that שׁם was misread as שֵׁם.

To make sense out of the MT שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שְׁמֶךָ "perfume flowed your name," interpreters have appealed to Ecc. 7:1, טוֹב שֵׁם מִשֶּׁמֶן טוֹב "a good name is better than good (perfume) oil," and I Sam. 25:25, כִּשְׁמוֹ כֶּן־הוּא "as his name so he is." Ginsburg ([1857] 1970: 131) commented, ". . . the pleasant odours diffused by perfume soon became a metaphor to express the attractions which an agreeable person throws around him . . . ." Pope (1977: 300) noted,

> In Semitic usage the name represents the essence of a person or thing (cf. I Sam 25:25) hence the justifiable renderings of AT [American Translation], 'your very self,' and Gordis 'thy presence,' Jastrow 'thou art.'

But Pope's rendering, "Turaq oil is your name," would be far more convincing if "name" were shifted to "scent," as proposed in this study. There is no reason to stay with an oblique metaphorical use of שֵׁם "name" since the literal meaning of שָׂם "scent" is available.

As Pope's transliteration of תּוּרַק suggests, the *Hophᶜal* feminine singular imperfect used with the masculine singular nouns "oil" and "name" has been problematic and several emendations have been proposed.[9] Although Pope (1977: 300), noted (citing Gordis) that ". . . a number of nouns are ambivalent in gender," שֵׁם and שֶׁמֶן are *not* gender ambivalent. But שָׂם "scent" could well be like the Arabic مسك (*misk*) "musk" which is clearly gender ambivalent.[10] If so, a feminine תּוּרַק is no problem.

Once תּוּרַק is recognized as a cognate of راق (*râqa*) "to be clear or pure, to surpass, to excel, to please, to delight," the meaning of the colon becomes transparent: שָׂמֶךָ "your scent" is the subject of תּוּרַק and שָׁמָן "costly" modifies שָׂמֶךָ. The *Hophᶜal* imperfect followed by the *Qal* perfect אֲהֵבוּךָ is another example of the poetic *yqtl - qtl* sequencing of verbs.[11] The costly perfume was made to *excite* and *delight* (תּוּרַק), with both the excitement and delight suggested by the verb. The verse can be repointed (*scriptio plene*) and translated as

לוּ רֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ טוֹבִים
שָׁמִין תּוּרַק שָׂמְךָ
עַל־כֵּן עֲלָמוֹת אֲהֵבוּךָ

Truly, the scent of your perfume is very delightful.[12]
Precious, your scent was made to induce pleasure;
    therefore (young) women have loved you.

The suffixed verb, אֲהֵבוּךָ, ending 1:3 appears also at the
end of 1:4, preceded by מֵישָׁרִים, which Pope rendered as
"Rightly do they love you," commenting

> The word *mêšārîm* has been considered difficult in the pres-
> ent context. LXX rendered *euṯusēs egapēsen se*, "right loves
> you." Vulgate *recti*, "the (up)right," and similarly Syriac, Tar-
> gum and Luther . . . . With the change of the last word from
> verb, "they loved you," to noun, "your love," a striking bal-
> ance is attained with parallel words for wine and love.[13]

But the MT can be retained once מֵישָׁרִים is read in the light
of the Arabic cognate يسر (*yusr*) "easiness, richness, opulence
wealth, luxury, abundance" (Lane 1893: 2977b; Wehr 1979:
1297). The *plural* מֵישָׁרִים can be understood as a plural of
intensity, like טוֹבִים, noted above. In this way, מֵישָׁרִים
אֲהֵבוּךָ means "they loved you more than *great luxuries*"
(with the "*great*" added to indicate the plural of intensity),
which escalates the preceding cohortative comparison, "let us
extol your love more than wine."

CONCLUSION

The consonantal text of Song of Songs 1:3 provides no
difficulties to the interpreter, although *scriptio plene* of the
emphatic particle as לוּ (= לוֹ) would have been helpful. The
problems have been with the versions and lexicons which

failed to recognize rare words in Hebrew which have widely attested cognates in Arabic. For example, the semantic range of טוב in Arabic includes "sweet" and "pleasant" when applied to wine or perfume; and the cognate of ישׁר suggests not only "right, upright," but in certain contexts it indicates "wealth" and "luxury."

Lapses in oral tradition permitted שֵׁם "scent" to be pointed as שֵׁם "name" and שָׁמָן or שָׁמִין "costly" to be misread as שֶׁמֶן "oil." The failure of lexicographers to recognize راق/ربق (rîq /râqa) "to please, to delight," along with راق/روق (rûq / râqa) "to pour out," made subsequent exegesis of 1:3 difficult. However, when cognates of *all* the words of this verse come into focus, the meaning of the tricolon becomes quite evident.

NOTES

1. Following the LXX, μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου "thy name is ointment poured forth."

2. Pope joined 1:3a with 1:2b "Truly, sweeter is your love than wine, Than the smell of your precious oil."

3. Murphy (1990: 125) further elaborated on the problem: "The repetition of שֶׁמֶן ('perfume') is particularly effective, and it forms a play on שֵׁם ('name'). However, 'flowing' [תּוּרַק] is a doubtful translation; תּוּרַק would seem to be the *Hopᶜal* of ריק ('poured out'), but it is not in agreement with שֵׁם, which is always masculine."

4. *UT* 425 #1339, 483 #2308 and #2315, respectively. See also McDaniel 1968: 206–208 for a discussion and other references to the emphatic ל.

5. See BDB and KBS, *sub voce*. For the ل (*la*) "surely," see Lane 1893: 3006 and Wehr 1979: 998.

6. Stem II is used to designate the שׁמן of שְׁמֹנָה "eight."

7. See BDB 937; Lane 1867: 1202–1203, 1190–1192; Wehr 1979: 427, 431.

8. See Lane 1872: 1593–1594; Wehr 1979: 566–567.

9. The proposed emendation are noted in KBS 3: 1228; Pope 1977: 300; and Murphy 1990: 125.

10. See Lane 1893: 3020; Wehr 1979: 1066.

11. Compare Psa 8:7 and Lam 3:22. See McDaniel 1968: 213–215 and references cited there.

12. Reading טוֹבִים as a plural of intensity (GKC 124[e]).

13. See Pope 1977: 305 for a summary of other proposals to make MT מֵישָׁרִים into some kind of wine (מֵירָשׁ) or songs (שִׁירִים).

XVIII

THE EXCITED STALLIONS
OF JEREMIAH 5:8

INTRODUCTION

The first four words of Jer 5:8 include two of the easiest words to recognize in Hebrew (סוּס "horse" and הָיָה "to be, to become") and two words, *hapax logomena*, which have not yet been properly identified (מְיֻזָּנִים "well-fed" [RSV] and מַשְׁכִּים "lusty" [RSV]). Carroll (1986: 178), succinctly stated that Jer 5:8a is "a difficult line," and McKane (1986: 119) noted that these two words "cannot be elucidated with any confidence, but the general meaning of the verse is not in doubt." Holladay (1986: 174, 181) stated "*M*[asoretic] מְיֻזָּנִים has given steady difficulty; the Versions are of no help" and concluded, "The second attribute מַשְׁכִּים is even more puzzling [than that of מְיֻזָּנִים]."

The Hebrew and Greek texts of Jer 5:8 and the varied ways they have been interpreted, including the translations proposed in this study, are as follows

סוּסִים מְיֻזָּנִים מַשְׁכִּים הָיוּ
they were *as* fed horses in the morning
(MT 5:8a, KJV)
they were well-fed lusty stallions
(MT 5:8a, Jones, Carroll)
attrapped stallions from Meshech they have been
(MT 5:8a, Holladay)

they were stallions about to discharge semen
(MT 5:8a, McDaniel)

ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν
(Septuagint 5:8a)
they became as wanton horses
(Septuagint 5:8a, Carroll)
they became horses mad about women
(Septuagint 5:8a, McKane)
they were stallions frenzied-by-females
(Septuagint 5:8a, McDaniel)

אִישׁ אֶל־אֵשֶׁת רֵעֵהוּ יִצְהָלוּ
every one [each] neighed after his neighbour's wife
(MT 5:8b, KJV, ASV, NAS, NAU)
ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμέτιζον
(Septuagint 5:8b)
they neighed everyone for his neighbour's wife.
(Septuagint 5:8b, Thomson)

PROBLEMS

Jer 5:8b is as easy as 5:8a is difficult, and 5:8b can be dispensed with by the single observation that the verb צָהַל "to neigh, to cry shrilly," occurs also in Jer 31:7 (where it is a synonym of שִׂמְחָה "joy" of people) and in 50:11 (where it is used with אַבִּרִים "bulls"). But 5:8a is a different story, as noted, with the spelling of the second word being uncertain. Commentators have noted the difference between the Occidental *Kethib* מוּזָנִים and the MT מְיֻזָּנִים. Kennicott (1780: II: 96) also cited twelve manuscripts having the MT מיזנים,

and two with the Occidental מוזנים, along with eighteen other manuscripts reading either מיוזנים (15 texts) or מוווזנים (2 texts) or מזויינים (1 text).[1]

Commentators and lexicographers have identified the stem of מְיֻזָּנִים to be זון "to feed" or יָזַן "to be heavy," resulting in the translations "well-fed" and "weighty." The latter definition was thought to be a reference to the weight of the מַשְׁכִּים, which supposedly meant "testicles" (see below), resulting in the following equation: "heavy testicles" = "being well hung" = "lusty." Holladay (1986: 181), in disagreement with these interpretations appealed to the single use of זון "to equip" in *Giṭṭim* 67a to argue (in agreement with Jastrow's "well provided" [1896: 217]) for "attrapped stallions," i.e., "well equipped stallions." He denied that מְיֻזָּנִים had any sexual meaning.

SOLUTIONS

But there are other possibilities for the roots of מוזנים / מְיֻזָּנִים than זון and יָזַן—once it is remembered that the Arabic ذ (*ḏ*) and ز (*z*), appear in Hebrew as a ז—and herein lies the solution to the crux of מוזנים. The Arabic cognates of זון include (1) ذنين (*ḏinîn*) "any sort of thin mucus or a thin fluid, . . . the seminal fluid of a stallion, and of an ass, and of a man that flows from the penis by reason of excessive appetence," (2) زناني (*zunânay*) "mucus that falls from the nose of camels, a variant of ذناني (*ḏunânay*)," and (3) the verb ذن (*ḏanna*) "it (what is termed ذنين [*ḏinîn*], or mucus or . . . seminal fluid) flowed" (Lane 1867: 979, 1255).[2]

By opting for the Occidental *kethib* מוזנים—disregarding the MT מְיֻזָּנִים and all the variants in Kennicott—a *Hophᶜal* participle (*scriptio plene*, like the MT מוּקָעִים "the ones hanged" in 2 Sam 21:13), can be recognized and translated as "ones whose seminal fluid has been made to flow."

As already noted, מַשְׁכִּים is thought by some to mean "testicles," a variant form of אֶשֶׁךְ (appearing in Lev 21: 20), with the א of the original מאשכים having been elided and a מ prefixed for unknown reasons. Holladay (1986: 181) rejected this identification since ". . . the omission of the ʾalep is dubious." He preferred instead Jastrow's idea that מַשְׁכִּים is a gentilic plural meaning "the people of Meshech" (mentioned in Ezek 27:13–14). But Holladay ignored the gentilic plural element—while at the same time affirming that "*the Masoretic vocalization as well as the consonantal text will be correct* (italics mine)"—and settled for "attrapped stallions of Meshech," concluding:

> If this understanding is sound, the attributes of the stallions in this colon are not sexual; the sexual reference comes only in the second colon [of 5:8]. War horses become aroused and excited when ready for battle (compare 8:6); if this interpretation is correct, Jrm is associating martial excitement with sexual excitement.

But this suggestion is no more convincing than having the physiological condition of "weighty testicles" being interpreted as the equivalent of "dragging [the phallus]," which supposedly referred some sort of erotic activity of stallions.

"Attrapped stallions of Meshech" could be the translation were the Hebrew text emended to סוּסֵי מֶשֶׁךְ הַמּוּזָנִים.

Jeremiah's משׁכִים, just like the מוזנים, can best be interpreted in light of an Arabic cognate, once it is remembered that in Hebrew and Arabic the ךְ and the ק may be interchangeable, like דקק / دق (daq) and דָּכַךְ / دك (dak), both meaning "to crush" (BDB 194, 200; Jastrow 1903: 307, 319). Similarly, משׁכִים can be derived from the stem יָשַׁךְ which would be a cognate to the Arabic وشك (wašuka), which in form II means "to be quick, to hurry" and in form IV means "to be on the point of, or the verge of (doing something)" (Lane 1893: 3054; Wehr 1979: 1255). By repointing מַשְׁכִים to מֻשָׁכִים, the *Hophᶜal* participle of יָשַׁךְ can be restored (*scriptio defectiva*, like the מֻעָף [= מוּעָף] "wearied" in Dan. 9:21, which differs only in that it is a singular participle). As noted above, one of the redundant ו's or י's in the variants מוּוזנים and מזוינים could be a misplaced vowel letter intended for משׁכִים, to be read *scriptio plene* as מושׁכִים.

Another Arabic cognate helps to resolve the uncertainty surrounding the יִתְגֹּדָדוּ "assembled themselves by troops" (KJV) in Jer 5:7b, which supports the use of Arabic cognates in the above interpretation of Jer 5:8a. The Greek translators must have read יִתְגֹּרְרוּ and translated it as κατέλυον "they were lodging," as though the stem was גּוּר I "to sojourn," which often comes in parallel with יָשַׁב "to dwell."

The desiderated meaning of the יִתְגֹּרְרוּ / יִתְגֹּדָדוּ is found with גּוּר stem IV which is the cognate of Arabic جور / جار (*jaur / jâra*) "he declined or he deviated from the right course

. . . he acted wrongfully, unjustly, injuriously, or tyrannically" (Lane 1865: 483) and "to commit an outrage" and جور (*jaur*) "outrage, wanton deviation" (Wehr 1979: 173).

The confusion of ד and ר is so widely attested that the emendation of MT יִתְגֹּדָדוּ to יִתְגֹּרְרוּ is but a minor adjustment to the text.[3] Jeremiah's use of בֵּית זוֹנָה "brothel"—in light of the Arabic cognate زون (*zûn*) "an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up" (Lane, 1867: 1273 and 1279)—could actually be a shrine to other gods.[4] Either way, be it a brothel or a shrine, Jeremiah accused his audience of committing an outrage and deviating from the right course.

CONCLUSIONS

Once the Arabic cognates ذن (*ḍanna*) and وشك (*wašuka*) are in focus the problematic MT סוּסִים מְיֻזָּנִים מַשְׁכִּים הָיוּ can be read and translated as סוּסִים מוּזָנִים מָשְׁכִים הָיוּ "they were stallions on the verge of discharging semen." The Greek ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν "they were stallions frenzied by females" was obviously an euphemistic alternative to the sexually graphic language of Jeremiah. At the risk of using a colloquialism, but following the pattern of the Septuagint, Jer 5:8 could be rendered euphemistically in English as "they were stallions on the verge of coming—every one neighing after his neighbor's wife."

NOTES

1. See Delitzsch (1920: 103–105 §103[a][b][c]) for examples of the confusion of ו and י. It seems likely that one of the redundant ו's and י's in these variants was a misplaced vowel letter intended for the משכים to be read as מושכים.

2. Note also ذَنَّاء (ḏannāʾu) used for a woman whose nostrils flow or "a woman *whose menstrual discharge ceases not*"(Lane 1867: 979c).

3. See Delitzsch (1920: 105–107 §104[a][b][c]) for examples of the confusion of ד and ר.

4. Note Carroll's questions (1986: 179):

> Is the community being condemned for its religious or sexual practices? Does the brothel (*bēt zōnāh*) refer to such houses of ill-repute used by prostitutes or to Canaanite places of worship? . . . The use of such metaphors invites these questions, but answering them is a difficult interpretative task.

The interpretative task, however, becomes much easier once all the lexical options are investigated, including cognates not listed in the standard lexicons of Biblical/Judean Hebrew.

XIX

THE FEMALE ENAMORS THE MALE
JEREMIAH 31:21-22

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered in the interpretation of Jer 31:
21–22 led Holladay (1966: 239) to conclude that

> the nation [of Israel was] personified as a virgin or daughter
> and therefore tender, innocent, and helpless . . . he [God]
> will reverse the sex roles so that the female has priority,
> initiative, dominance over the male . . . the female will
> surmount the warrior!

A number of years later (1989: 194–195) he argued that Jer
31:21–22 was a counterfoil to Jer 30:6, where the male was
mocked "for acting like a female in the demoralization of
battle." For Holladay it was clear that נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר "the
female will surmount the warrior!" simply indicated a reversal
of sexual roles: "The reassignment of sexual roles is inno-
vative past all conventional belief, but it is not inconceivable
to Yahweh."

By contrast, Carroll (1986: 601–602) conjectured that the
נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר in Jer 31:22b could be a code for coitus:
"the vagina envelops the penis." But since there really was
nothing new about that, he confessed in conclusion:

> The wiser course of the exegete is to admit ignorance and
> acknowledge that ancient texts occasionally do baffle the
> modern hermeneut. 31:22b is one such baffling text. . . . I
> must admit that I do not know what v. 22b means.

This study will focus primarily on the Arabic cognates of the Hebrew lexemes found in Jer 31:21–22 which provide additional insight for interpreting the text. The Arabic cognates of twenty-eight of the thirty-three lexemes in these two verses have long been cited in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew. An *Addendum* to this study lists these cognates, with endnotes giving lexical references and basic definitions. Relevant *nuances* of five of the twenty-eight Arabic cognates recognized in BDB and/or KBS have gone unnoticed. They will be presented in this study, along with two alternative cognates for אלה, and two cognates proposed for שבב/סבב.

For convenience, the text in Hebrew and Greek is presented, with my translation of each. The unusual readings in the Greek text are then examined, with Arabic cognates providing the requisite clues for relating the Greek translation to the Hebrew text. Following the study of the Greek variants, the difficulties in the Hebrew text are addressed. (Words in italics are those which receive attention in this study.)

Masoretic Text

הַצִּיבִי לָךְ צִיֻּנִים שִׂמִי לָךְ תַּמְרוּרִים

Set up for yourself *stone-markers*,

make for yourself *stone-signs*;

שִׁתִי לִבֵּךְ לַמְסִלָּה דֶּרֶךְ הָלַכְתְּהֲלָכְתִּי (K/Q)

pay attention to the roadway — the road *you* traveled.

שׁוּבִי בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל שֻׁבִי אֶל־עָרַיִךְ אֵלֶּה׃

Return, O *Virtuous* Israel, return to your *negligent* city.

עַד־מָתַי תִּתְחַמָּקִין הַבַּת הַשּׁוֹבֵבָה

How long will you remain *stupid*, O faithless daughter?

כִּי־בָרָא יְהוָה חֲדָשָׁה בָּאָרֶץ

Yea, Yahweh created a new thing on the earth:

נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר

the female enamours the male.

Septuagint

ἦσον σεαυτήν Σιων ποίησον τιμωρίαν

Prepare yourself, O Zion; execute "*vengeance*"

δὸς καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὤμους

place your heart upon the *shoulders*

ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπορεύθης ἀποστράφητι παρθένος Ισραηλ

(using) the road by which you went, return, O virgin of Israel,

ἀποστράφητι εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα

return to your cities, *O Mourner*

ἕως πότε ἀποστρέψεις θυγάτηρ ἠτιμωμένη

How long, O *wayward* daughter, will you turn away?

ὅτι ἔκτισεν κύριος σωτηρίαν εἰς καταφύτευσιν καινήν

for the Lord has created *safety* for a new *plantation*:

ἐν σωτηρίᾳ περιελεύσονται ἄνθρωποι

in *safety* men shall go about.

SEPTUAGINTAL VARIANTS

The Septuagint has a number of interesting variations in 38:21–22 (= MT 31:21–22) requiring a number of different explanations. The Septuagint translators did not understand צִיֻּנִים so they simply transliterated it as σιωνιμ, which was subsequently read as Σιων (Zion), requiring secondarily the deletion of the ιμ which transliterated the plural ending יִם.[1]

The Septuagint τιμωρίαν "vengeance," which does not fit the context, resulted from a misreading of the *transliteration* of תַּמְרוּרִים as τιμρωριμ, which was then *translated*. The *translation* of a *transliteration* is attested elsewhere, as in Jud 5:21, where the MT הָלְמוּ was transliterated as ομαλιει in the Greek MSS identified as Mnamyb₂oʹkk* and in the eight Lucianic MSS dgknptvw. (The *Vorlage* of the latter group had המלו instead of the הלמו and in MSS k and k* it was transliterated as αμα λαω.) The Armenian text (= Latin *planabunt* "they will level") has a *translation* of the *transliteration*, as though ομαλιει were from ὁμαλίζω "to make level."

The Septuagint δὸς καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὤμους, "set your mind upon the shoulders," reflects an obvious misreading of οἴμους "roads, paths" as ὤμους (suggested by Rudolph [1970] in BHS). The εἰς την τριβον "upon the beaten track" (= דֶּרֶךְ), found in Aquila and Symmachus (Ziegler 1957: 360), indicates that the problem was in the Greek text tradition, not in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The MT בָּאָרֶץ [41] in 31:22b was translated in the Septuagint as εἰς καταφύτευσιν "for a planting/plantation" (Liddell and Scott 1966: 920, 1965), which is most unusual since γῆ is the translation of אֶרֶץ well over 600 times. However, there is no need to assume that the Septuagint had a different *Vorlage* here. Nuances of אֶרֶץ surviving in Arabic provide the explanation for this translation and support the integrity of the MT. Most Hebrew lexicons simply define אֶרֶץ as "earth, land, or countries"—often citing the Arabic ارض (ʾarḍ). But Arabic has also the verb with its participle اريض (ʾarîḍ) meaning, "a land that is thriving, or productive . . . disposed by nature to yield good produce . . . and become luxuriant with herbage"

(Lane 1863: 47). Castell (1669: 479) defined it as "*terra pro-ventu laeta & luxurians, luxurians gramen: amœna & conspectu grata*"). The verb appears with its cognate accusative: ارضت الارض (*ʾaruḍat ʾal ʾarḍu*) meaning, "the land became thriving . . . and became luxuriant with herbage . . . or pasture." The corresponding term was evidently available in Hebrew and would have appeared as אריץ or ארץ (*scriptio defectiva*). The Greek translators were apparently aware of this אֲרִיץ "luxuriant land."

In Jer 38:22 (MT 31:22) the Septuagint has σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία, the repetition of the noun meaning "deliverence, a way or means of safety, safe return, security, salvation" (Liddell and Scott 1966: 1751). Given the reference in 31:22 to the "planting" and "plantation" (καταφύτευσιν), the Septuagint translators probably intended σωτηρίαν to mean "security" (when planting in the fields or when those in exile traveling homeward would be at risk of attacks by robbers). Given the "roads" mentioned 31:21 (ὤμους = οἴμους = τριβόν) [see p.161, above], the translators may have intended σωτηρία to mean "safe and secure" along the trek back home to the cities in Israel and Judah.

While the Greek text of 38:22 [MT 31:22] fits the context, it does not match the Hebrew text. The σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία seemingly stand in lieu of a word for the MT נְקֵבָה "woman." Two errors seem to have occurred: (1) the נקבה in the *Vorlage* was misread as נקדה "to save" or נקזה "to save," and (2) the uncertainty over נקדה or נקזה resulted in a dittography in the *Vorlage*. The stem behind the Septuagint reading is the cognate of Arabic نقذ (*naqiḍa*) "he became

safe, in safety, saved, liberated" and the noun نقذ (*naqaḏ*) "a thing that one has rescued or liberated" (Lane 1893: 2837). This cognate was noted by KBS (II: 719) and had been cited by Castell (1669: 2396) "*defensio, protectio, redemptor, liberatio.*" The ذ (*ḏ*) of the Arabic cognate نقذ (*naqiḏa*) would ordinarily become a ז in Hebrew and a ד in Aramaic. But Hebrew has the verbs נקר and נקז meaning "to puncture" (Jastrow 931), and by analogy one could anticipate either נקר or נקז for the cognate meaning "to be safe, to liberate, to save."

THE MEANING OF בתולה

The feminine imperatives in 31:21 are addressed to the בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל "Virgin Israel." The noun בְּתוּלָה is a *Qal* passive participle (GKC 84ᵐ) of בתל "to separate, to cut off." While popular interpretations assume the separation was *from* all sexual activity (*virgo intacta*), the separation was actually *for* devotion to God. This noun could be used for someone with a husband, like the בְּתוּלָה "virgin" who was in sackcloth for the בַּעַל "husband" of her youth (Joel 1:8).

The use of بتـل (= בתל) in *Sura* 73:8 in the *Qurʾan* is relevant: وتبتل اليه تبتيلاً (*watabattal ʾilayhi tabtîlâ*) "and devote yourself with complete devotion [to God]." Lane (1863: 150) cited this verse and provided the following definition for بتـل (*batala*) form V: "He detached himself from worldly things, and devoted himself to God, or he devoted himself to God exclusively, and was sincere, or without hypocrisy, towards Him . . . or he abstained from sexual intercourse, and hence, [بتـل] is metaphorically employed to denote exclusive devotion to God." In short, بتـل (*batala*) addressed primarily

one who was virtuous and devout, and only secondarily did it focus on celibacy and virginity.

If Hebrew בתל shared any of these Arabic nuances, the בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל would be better translated "Virtuous Israel" rather than "Virgin Israel, recognizing that "virtuous" means "one with moral excellence," as well as a "celibate woman." The חֶרְפַּת "disgrace/shame" of Ephraim's youth (Jer 31:9) included the hypocrisy of being called "Virtuous Israel."

When the definition of בתולה becomes focused on *virgio intacta*, the following statements of Tsevat (1977: 341–343) need to be taken seriously:

> It is a mistake to look for a deep religious idea in *bethulath bath tsiyyon*, 'virgin daughter of Zion,' etc. . . . Neither the word nor the concept of "virgin" and "virginity" is of any importance in the religious thought of the OT and in the earliest history of the interpretation of this idea.

The definition of בתולה must be grounded in the recognition that בתל "to cut, to sever, to separate" is a by-form of בדל "to sever, to divide, to separate." Israel was as much a מוּבְדָּלָה (a *Hophᶜal* participle) as she was a בְּתוּלָה (a *Qal* passive participle). The biblical tradition is quite explicit, as in Lev 20:24, "I am the LORD your God, who have separated (הִבְדַּלְתִּי) you from the peoples"; Lev 20:26, You shall be holy to me; for I the LORD am holy, and have separated (וָאַבְדִּל) you from the peoples, that you should be mine"; and also I Kings 8:53, "For thou didst separate them (הִבְדַּלְתָּם) from among all the peoples of the earth, to be thy heritage." Similarly, Moses said to Korah, "the God of Israel has separated (הִבְדִּיל) you from the congregation of Israel, to bring

you near to himself, to do service in the tabernacle of the LORD" (Num 16:9).

Hebrew בדל has a semantic range similar to Arabic بتل (*batala*). So much so that by analogy Hebrew בתל and בדל could have been interchangeable, with one surviving as a noun and participle and the other primarily as a verb. These two stems are examples of the interchange of ת and ד, like (1) בדק "to cleave, to cut" and בתק "to cut, to cut off" and (2) بت (*batt*) "he separated, he severed" and بد (*badd*) "he separated, he withdrew."

Once בְּתוּלָה is recognized as a synonym of מוּבְדָּלָה, and not restricted to the definitions of seclusion and *virgo intacta*, the term will have (contra Tsevat) profound religious significance, echoing Exo 19:5–6 "you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, but you shall be to me a kingdom of priests (מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים) and a holy nation" and Amos 3:2 "you only have I known of all the families of the earth." It is unfortunate that בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל became disassociated from the concept of מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, i.e., a nation which detached itself from worldly things, and devoted itself to God," as suggested by the cognate بتل (*batala*).[2] The interpretation of בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל would be well served by terms like "devotee" or "separatist," the latter of which would be analogous to פָּרוּשׁ "Pharisee," a *Qal* passive participle like בְּתוּלָה, both of which are from stems meaning "to separate." Both פְּרוּשַׁת יִשְׂרָאֵל and מֻבְדֶּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל would be synonymous with בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, and all three could have been used to indicate Israel's being separated for devotion to God. The feminine form carries no *sexual* signi-

ficance. The בְּתוּלַת is feminine because the gentilic יִשְׂרָאֵל
was feminine, like בַּת צִיּוֹן and בַּת יְרוּשָׁלַם.[3]

THE MEANING OF עריך אלה

A *double entendre* may be hidden in Jeremiah's command:
אלה [29] שֻׁבִי אֶל־עָרַיִךְ, which in the Septuagint became ἀπο-
στράφητι εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα, "return to your
cities, O Mourner." Holladay noted (1989: 193) that the MT
אֵלֶּה was interpreted in the Septuagint like the imperative in
Joel 1:8, אֱלִי כִבְתוּלָה חֲגֻרַת־שַׂק עַל־בַּעַל נְעוּרֶיהָ, "Mourn
[θρήνησον] like a virgin girdled with sackcloth over the hus-
band of her youth!" Holladay dismissed the MT אֵלֶּה "these"
as well as the Septuagint's πενθοῦσα "mourner," for not fit-
ting a context of joy and triumph, suggested by Jer 31:7 "sing
aloud with gladness for Jacob, and raise shouts for the chief
of the nations; proclaim, give praise." He offered what he
admitted was a very "bold" emendation by reading בַּעֲלָה
"mastery" for the MT אֵלֶּה, creating a clear association with
the subject of the sentence, בְּתוּלָה, and providing poetic as-
sonance by having בַּעֲלָה and בְּתוּלָה appearing in the same
line.

But Jer 31:9 (בִּבְכִי יָבֹאוּ וּבְתַחֲנוּנִים, "they will come
with weeping and with agonizing pains") mitigates against
creating a triumphal context for 31:21. Although many com-
mentators prefer the Septuagint's παρακλήσει "consolation"
(assuming the *Vorlage* had נחם rather than חנן), the MT fits
the context fine once the proper nuance of חנן is recovered.
The Arabic cognate حن (ḥann) (BDB 335; Lane 1865: 653–
654), often connotes intense emotional pain and violent

outbreaks of crying, particularly مستحن (*mustaḥan*) "one who is affected with intense emotion by longing for his home," and حنين (*ḥanîn*) "the expression of pain arising from yearning or longing or desire, [the] violence of weeping proceeding from grief." Arabic حنان (*ḥannân*) "grieving and moaning" is also relevant here. Consequently, the MT תַּחֲנוּנִים, when coupled with בְּכִי "weeping," (in Jer 3:21 and 31:9) probably connoted deep visceral pain and its accompanying moans, rather than rational "supplications" (which would be preferable when the parallel is תפלה "prayer").

In lieu of Holladay's bold emendation, an examination of the cognates of אלה leads to a very modest emendation. The demonstrative אֵלֶּה is the cognate of اولى (*ʾulay*). But as a noun or verb אלה could be the cognate of أله (*ʾaliha*), which Lane (1863: 82) defined as ". . . he became, confounded, or perplexed, and unable to see his right course . . . he was, or became, vehemently impatient, or affected with vehement grief, or he manifested vehement grief and agitation." The verb أله (*ʾaliha*) was probably derived from وله (*waliha*) meaning "he became bereft of his reason or intellect, in consequence of grief . . . or intense grief, or of the loss of the beloved" (Lane 1893: 3060). Given the interchange of ע״ע and ל״ה stems, Arabic أليل (*ʾalîl* = אלל = אלה) "the state of a mother who has lost her children" (Hava 11) is relevant.

The *Vorlage* of MT עָרַיִךְ אֵלֶּה was probably עריך אלת or עירך אלה. The אלת (= אָלוֹת), like its cognate أله (*ʾlh*), would have meant "bereft" and עָרַיִךְ אָלֹת would have meant "your bereft cities." The confusion of ה and ת is well attested (Delitzsch 1920: 107–109, §105[a-b]), as in Jer 52:21 where

קוֹמָה הָעַמֻּד "the height of the pillar" appears incorrectly for the קוֹמַת הָעַמֻּד found in I Kings 7:15.

Jer 31:21–22 is a sub-unit of 31:15–22, with clear and definite unifying elements, like the use of תַמְרוּרִים "mourning" in 31:15 and תַּמְרוּרִים (= תָּאמְרוּרִים) "stone cairns") in 31:21. The motif of a grief stricken town is the dominant theme of Jer 31:15–16

קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְּכִי תַמְרוּרִים
רָחֵל מְבַכָּה עַל־בָּנֶיהָ
מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל־בָּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינֶנּוּ . . .
מִנְעִי קוֹלֵךְ מִבֶּכִי וְעֵינַיִךְ מִדִּמְעָה

A voice is heard in *Ramah*,
lamentation and bitter weeping
Rachel is weeping for her children;
she refuses to be comforted for her children
because they are not . . .
Keep your voice *from* weeping
and your eyes from tears.

Were the names רָחֵל and רָמָה and the preposition מִן removed from 31:15–16, the remaining words would provide a good definition of اله (ʾaliha) or אלה or אלל. A succinct paraphrase of 31:15 would be רָמָה אַלָה אָלַת or רָמָה אָלָת "Ramah became grief-stricken" (following the vocalization noted in GKC 67[bb] and 75[l]). With the shift from the singular רָמָה to the plural עָרַיִךְ in 31:21, אַלָה or אָלָת would become plural modifiers: אָלֹת or אַלֹת (*scriptio defectiva*).

Because Jer 31:6 focused on Zion (קוּמוּ וְנַעֲלֶה צִיּוֹן "arise and let us go to Zion"), reading the MT עָרַיִךְ as עִירֵךְ

"your city" (= Zion) remains a reasonable option. The MT
אֵלֶה could be then be repointed as אָלָה or אַלָה for "your
grief-stricken city," and Lam 1:1–4, which reads as follows,
would support this meaning for אָלָה or אַלָה.

אֵיכָה יָשְׁבָה בָדָד הָעִיר רַבָּתִי עָם
הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה
רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת
הָיְתָה לָמַס׃
בָּכוֹ תִבְכֶּה בַּלַּיְלָה
וְדִמְעָתָהּ עַל לֶחֱיָהּ
אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֹהֲבֶיהָ

Oh, how the city
—the "Mistress of the people"—
sat alone/mourning![4]
The "Mistress among the nations"
had become like a widow.
The "Princess among the provinces"
had become a vassal.
She weeps bitterly nightly,
her tears on her cheeks.
Among all here lovers no one to comfort her.

Consequently, the modest emendation proposed here is to
change אלה to אלת or emend עריך to עירך in order to read
"grief-stricken city" (a reference to Zion as in Jer 31:6) or
"grief-stricken cities" (referring to Ramah [Jer 31:15] and the
cities / towns of Ephraim [Jer 31: 18]).

Because many ל״ה stems were originally ל״ו stems, the
Arabic الو / الا (ʾlw/ʾalâ), "he fell short of doing what was

requisite, or what he ought to have done" (Lane 1863: 83), is another likely cognate of אלה in the context of Jer 31:15–22.

In Jer 31:19 Ephraim had confessed בֹּשְׁתִּי וְגַם־נִכְלַמְתִּי כִּי נָשָׂאתִי חֶרְפַּת נְעוּרָי [5] "I was ashamed, and very humiliated, for I bore the disgrace of my youth." Overtones of this confession may be hidden behind the MT עָרַיִךְ אֵלֶּה. In light of the Arabic cognate عَلَا (ʾalâ) "negligent, derelict," עריך אלה and עירך אלה could be translated "your negligent cities" and "your derelict city."

THE MEANING גבר, סבב, נקבה, AND

The Greek σωτηρία meaning "safety, security" for the MT נְקֵבָה "woman," as noted above, resulted from a *Vorlage* being misread as נקדה or נקזה "to save," and requires no further comment here.

The three words נקבה סבב גבר led Bright (1965: 282) to comment that the meaning of the final phrase of Jer 31:22 "is wholly obscure, and it might have been wiser to leave the colon blank." Carroll (1986: 601) concurred, stating that this colon is "perhaps the most difficult half-line in the book of Jeremiah." Similarly, Holladay (1989: 192) commented that "the whole passage is startling"; and Jones, (1992: 394) called Jer 31:21–22 as a whole a "tantalising [sic] oracle."

A sampling of what Carroll called the "lapidary" results of exegetical endeavors include the following translations and Talmudic reference:

The Woman sets out to find her Husband again

JB

the woman must encompass the man with devotion

NAB

a woman turned into a man
NEB

A woman shall court a man
Torah

the woman shall embrace the man
Peshiṭta

[A female shall compass a man (?)]
Bright (1965: 282)

the female will surmount the warrior
Holladay (1966:239)

die Verwünschte wandelt sich zur Herrin
the cursed one changes to a queen
Rudolph (1968: 199)

The woman must protect the soldier
Lundbom (1975: 33)

the vagina envelops the penis (?)
Carroll (1986: 602)

a female shall encompass a hero
Holladay (1989:154)

a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom
(*Yebamoth* 62b)

In the opinion of the author only the *Torah* translation (with "courtship") and the NAB (with "devotion") are somewhat on target, along with association of the *woman* with *wisdom* in *Yebamoth* 62b. The three reasons for this conclusion follow with a discussion on נקבה,[42] סבב,[43] and גבר.[44]

The anatomically descriptive Hebrew נקבה "female" is not attested in Arabic, though the stem meaning "to perforate"

is well attested. The Arabic نقاب (*naqâb*) refers to a woman's face veil "from out of which appears the circuit of the eyes." The feminine نقيبة (*naqîbat*) means "the mind, understanding, intellect, intelligence" and is a synonym of عقل (ᶜ*aql*) "understanding, intellect."[6] The masculine نقاب (*naqâb*) refers to "a man of great knowledge, very knowing . . . who is intelligent, and enters deeply into things." One can assume that the feminine نقابة (*naqâbat*) (= נְקֵבָה) would have meant "a woman of great knowledge or intellect." Therefore, the MT נקבה could be hiding this *double entendre*: the "female" and the "wise/smart woman," who was identified in Jer 31:22 as the personified "Virtuous Israel."

The antonym of נקבה "intelligent" in this context is the stem חמק which appears in Jer 31:22. In BDB (330) חמק is defined as "to turn away" and "to turn hither and thither." Bright (1965: 276) rendered it "dillydally." But חמק also means "stupid, foolish" and is the cognate of Arabic حمق (*ḥumaq*) "foolishness, or stupidity; i.e., unsoundness in the intellect or understanding" (Lane (1865: 645–646). Jeremiah frequently reminded the בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל that she had been stupid, as in Jer 4:22 (כִּי אֱוִיל עַמִּי, "for my people are foolish"); 5:4 (הֵם נוֹאָלוּ, "they have no sense"); 5:21 (עַם סָכָל וְאֵין לֵב, "O foolish and senseless people"); 10:8 (יִבְעֲרוּ וְיִכְסָלוּ, "they are stupid and foolish"); 17:11 (יִהְיֶה נָבָל, "he will become a fool"). The חמק of Jer 32:21 can be added to Jeremiah's synonyms for "foolish."

Two aspects of the "new thing" created are (1) the end of the chaos coming from the stupidity of the "negligent daughter of Israel" (= חֲמַק בַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל), and (2) the emergence of an "intelligent, devoted Israel" (= בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל נְקֵיבָה). *Yebamoth* 62b hints at נְקֵיבָה "intelligence" with its statement that a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom. Failure to recognize the different meanings of the Hebrew נקבה precludes the recognition of Jeremiah's *double entendre*. It was not just a *female* who was to be involved; it was to be the *people of Israel*, who were designated by two female personifications: נְקֵבָה נְקֵבָה "an intelligent woman" and בְּתוּלָה "a virtuous woman."[7]

As for the verb סבב[43] in Jer 31:22 it is important to note initially that Kennicott MS 589 reads תשובב for the MT תסובב, and with a שׁ one would expect an Arabic cognate with a ش (*š*) rather than a س (*s*).[8] Given the ס / שׁ variable and the close relationship of ע״ע and ל״ה stems,[9] شبه (*šabaha*) / سبه (*sabaha*) or شب (*šabba*) / سب (*sabba*) are possible cognates. Two of these four options are contextually relevant; namely, شبه (*šabaha*) and شب (*šabba*) (Lane 1872: 1499 and 1493).

The Arabic شبه (*šabaha*) means "to make it to be like it, or to resemble it," with the noun شبه (*šabah*) meaning "a likeness or resemblance." This word is a synonym of مثل (*maṯala*) (Lane 1872: 1499–1500), which is the cognate of משל which appears, in the opinion of this author, in Gen 3:16, "your desire shall be for your husband, and *he will be like* (יִמְשָׁל) you." Because the idea of the *female* being just

like the *male* was a part of the creation narratives in Genesis
("bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh," etc.), it is difficult to
view gender equality as the "new thing" which God had
created for בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל in the post-exilic period.[10]

Keeping in mind that the *people of Israel* were designated
by female personifications (בְּתוּלָה and נְקֵבָה) and that *God*
was generally designated by the masculine nouns / names
(יְהוה, אֵל, אֱלוֹהַ, אֱלהים), the Arabic شـب (*šabba*)—
which deals with a particular male-female dynamic—is the
most likely cognate of the סוֹבֵב / שׁוֹבֵב in Jer 31:22.

In Arabic شب (*šabba*) in stems II and V means "to rhap-
sodize about a beloved woman and one's relationship to her,
to celebrate her in verse with amatory language, to compose
love sonnets" (Lane 1872: 1493 and Wehr 527), with the
phrase حسنة الشباب (*ḥasanatuʾaššbâbi*) meaning "beautiful
in the mention of women."

In Jer 31:3–4 Yahweh affirmed in masculine amatory
language:

וְאַהֲבַת עוֹלָם אֲהַבְתִּיךְ
עַל־כֵּן מְשַׁכְתִּיךְ חָסֶד:
עוֹד אֶבְנֵךְ וְנִבְנֵית בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל
עוֹד תַּעְדִּי תֻפַּיִךְ
וְיָצָאת בִּמְחוֹל מְשַׂחֲקִים:

I have loved thee with an everlasting love,
therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you.
Again I will build you, and you shall be built,
O Virgin \ Virtuous Israel!
Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels,
and shall go forth in the dance of the merrymakers.

In Jer 31:22b, a gender reversal was announced. Having a *feminine* subject for סובב/שׁובב, followed by a *masculine* object, would be analogous to saying "the *woman* impregnated the *man*," which obviously does not fit the created order. Although commanded to love God with heart, soul, and strength, Israel became infatuated with other deities, despite Yahweh's continuing affirmation of *His* love for *Her*. But Yahweh had "created a new thing": *Virtuous Lady Israel* would סובב/שׁובב *Him*; i.e., Israel *herself*, personified as a נקבה and a בתולה, would now lovingly rhapsodize with sincerity about *her* God and *her* relationship with *Him*. Although Ezekiel (33:31) had complained, "for with their lips they show much love (עֲגָבִים בְּפִיהֶם),[11] but their heart is set on their gain," Jeremiah affirmed it would now be different. In the new order Israel would, as suggested by the cognates (כָּל־לְבָבְךָ) بتل (*batala*) and نقابة (*naqâb*at), intelligently devote herself to Yahweh exclusively, with sincerity and without hypocrisy. The sweet amatory overtones suggested by סובב / שׁובב are at least hinted at in the *Torah* translation, "a woman shall court a man" and the NAB "with devotion."

The noun גבר[44] in Jer 31:22 also requires some attention. The name גַּבְרִיאֵל "man of God" and the epithet אֵל גִּבּוֹר "God almighty" set the basic parameters. Because גבר is coupled here with נקבה, it is more likely to mean "man" than "servant." Just as נקבה here has multiple layers of meaning, including "female," and "intelligent," as well as a personification of Israel along with בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, it seems likely that גבר could also have multiple layers of meaning.

The גבר could also be read as *scriptio defectiva* for גִּבּוֹר and be a elliptical equivalent for אֵל גִּבּוֹר, as it appears in (1) Isa 10:21 "The remnant of Jacob shall return and trust in Almighty God (אֵל גִּבּוֹר)"; (2) Jer 32:18 "O great and almighty God (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר) whose name is Yahweh of hosts"; and (3) Neh 9:1 "the great supreme and awesome God (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא).

The citation of אֵל גִּבּוֹר "God Almighty" in BDB (150) referenced الجبار (ʾaljabbâr) "the Supreme Being," which Lane (1865: 375) defined as "[A name of] God; so called because of his magnifying Himself [above every other being]"; and Wehr (1979: 133) defined as "almighty, omnipotent (God), . . . mighty, powerful."[12] It has long been recognized that جبر (jabar) is related to Arabic كبر (kabar), used in the epithet الله اكبر (ʾallāh ʾakbar) "God is great."[13] The epithet appears in Job 35:6, אֵל כַּבִּיר . . . כַּבִּיר כֹּחַ לֵב "God is almighty . . . almighty in strength of understanding," which comes as close as one can get to the ideas of "omnipotence" and "omniscience." Virtuous (בתולה), intelligent (נקבה), Israel, in a reversal of roles, will rhapsodize lovingly (שבב) about the Almighty (גבר).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Septuagintal variants have been accounted for by recognizing that (1) תַּמְרוּרִים and צִיֻּנִים "signs/markers" were transliterated as τιμρωριμ and σιωνιμ, and then modified to τιμωρίαν "vengeance" and Σιων "Zion"; (2) once an οι was misread as an ω, the οἴμους "road" became ὤμους

"shoulder"; (3) the Hebrew נקבה was misread as נקדה /
נקזה and was then translated twice as σωτηρίαν and σωτη-
ρία "salvation"; (4) the καταφύτευσιν "plantation" retains a
nuance of ארץ which dropped out of usage in post-Biblical
Hebrew but its cognate has survived in Arabic; and (5) there
is no need to emend אלה to אבלה to accommodate the
Greek πενθοῦσα "grief" which reflects a definition of אהל
that also dropped out of usage in post-Biblical Hebrew al-
though its cognate has also survived in Arabic.

Of the thirty-three lexemes in Jer 31:21–22, only five lack
an Arabic cognate: שׂים,[17] עיר,[29] סבב,[43] היה/הוה,[38] and
שׁית.[19] Of the twenty-eight lexemes with Arabic cognates al-
ready cited in Hebrew lexicons, seven have *nuances* well
attested in Arabic which—aside from Castell's lexicon of
1669—have gone unnoticed. These include (1) בתולה "un-
equivocal devotion" or "virtuous" (which may or may not
connote virginity); (2) חנן "grief-stricken"; (3) אלה "vehe-
ment grief" and "negligent, derelict"; (4) חמק "foolish,
stupid"; (5) נקבה "intelligence, intellect"; (6) שׁבב "to rhap-
sodize in amatory language"; and (7) גבר "the Almighty."

As is now evident, some of the difficulties in Jer 31:21–22
are not with the consonantal text but with standard Hebrew
lexicons which have edited away much of the cognate infor-
mation available in Castell's 1669 lexicon. In the endnotes
several other cognates are cited, including (1) صهى (*ṣuhay*)
"a tower on the top of a mountain," the etymon of צִיּוֹן
"Zion"; (2) جم (*jam*) "very, many, abundant" for the גּם in
Jer 31:19; and (3) ولق (*walaqa*) "trace, footstep" (= יֵלֵךְ)
being possibly the imperfect stem of הלך "to walk."

The consonantal MT of Jer 31:21–22 has two problems, requiring only *minor* rather than *bold* emendations. First, תסובב should be read as תשבוב, following the reading of one manuscript cited by Kennicott. Secondly, the עריך אלה "these your cities" should be read as עירך אלה "your grief-stricken/negligent city" or as the plural (*scriptio defectiva*) עריך אלת "your grief-stricken/ negligent cities."

The enigmatic phrase נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר simply means "the female enamors the male." But sensitivity to Jeremiah's use of *double entendre* and personification, suggests that the "Virgin/Virtuous" Israel will be the "*intelligent* female" (נְקֵבָה/נְקִיבָה) who will lovingly and eloquently wax poetic (תְּשֹׁבֵב) in praise of the Almighty (גְּבוֹר). Jeremiah's expectation was that Lady Israel—who was loved by her God with an everlasting love—would rapturously reciprocate vocally and unequivocally with paeans of love, thereby creating the role reversal between the male *Lover* and the female *Beloved*.

ADDENDUM

ARABIC COGNATES OF
HEBREW WORDS IN JER 31:21–22 MT

MT	ARABIC	
הַצִּיבִי	نصب	*naṣaba*[14]
לָךְ	ل	*la*[15]
צִיֻּנִים	صوان	*ṣawwā n*[16]
שֹׂמִי	شام	*šā m*[17]
תַּמְרוּרִים	تومور	*tu'mûr*[18]

Hebrew	Arabic	Transliteration
שִׁתִי	———	——— [19]
לִבֵּךְ	لب	lubba [20]
מְסִלָּה	مسيل	masîl [21]
דֶּרֶךְ	درك	daraka [22]
הָלָכְתִּי	ولق	walaqa [23]
שׁוּבִי	ثاب	ṯâba [24]
בְּתוּלַת	بتولة	batûlat [25]
יִשְׂרָאֵל	شرى	šaraya [26]
״	الاه	ʾilâh [27]
שֻׁבִי	ثاب	ṯâba [24]
אֶל	الى	ʾilay [28]
עָרַיִךְ	———	——— [29]
אֵלֶּה	اولى	ʾulay [30]
עַד	عدا	ʿadâ [31]
מָתַי	متى	matay [32]
תִּתְחַמָּקִין	حمق	ḥamuqa [33]
הַ(ל)	ال	ʾal [34]
בַּת	بنت	bint [35]
שׁוֹבֵבָה	ثاب	ṯâba [24]
כִּי	كى	kai [36]
בָרָא	برأ	baraʾa [37]
יְהוָה	———	——— [38]
חֲדָשָׁה	حدث	ḥadaṯa [39]

בְּ	ب	*bi* [40]
אֶרֶץ	ارض	*ʾarḍ* [41]
נְקֵבָה	نقب	*naqb* [42]
תְּסוֹבֵב	————	———— [43]
גָּבֶר	جبر	*jabr* [44]

NOTES

1. The Hebrew צִיּוּן "road sign" and צִיּוֹן "Zion" are etymologically unrelated, as is clear from their cognates. The noun צִיּוּן is the cognate of the Arabic صوان (*ṣawwân*) "stones" and Syriac ܨܘܝܐ (*ṣĕwāyāʾ*) "stones." But the name צִיּוֹן, which appears with a medial ה in Syriac (ܨܗܝܘܢ [*ṣehyûn*]) and in Arabic (صهيون [*ṣahyûn*]), is the cognate of Arabic: (1) صاهى (*ṣâhây*) "to ascend to the top of (a mountain)"; (2) صهوات (*ṣahawât*) "the upper most part of a mountain"; (3) صهى (*ṣuhay*) "a tower on the top of a mountain"; and (4) الصها (*ʾaṣṣuhâ*) "the places in which water wells forth" (Lane 1872: 1739ᵇ; Hava 408). The third Arabic cognate is a perfect match for the מְצֻדַת צִיּוֹן "the mountain-top fortress" mentioned in I Chron 11:5; and the fourth cognate fits the "waters of Gihon" (II Chron 32:30) and "the waters of Zion"(Ezek 47).

For the loss of the medial ה in צִיּוֹן compare (1) דוּר and Arabic دهر (*dahr*) "longtime, age"; (2) לָהַט / לוּט "secrecy" (Exo 7:11); (3) מָהַל / מוּל "to circumcise"; (4) מָהַר / מוּר "to exchange"; (5) נָהַר / נוּר "a light" and "to shine"; (6) רְהַט / רוּץ "run" (Aramaic, Syriac); and (7) בְּהַת / בוּשׁ "shame" (Aramaic). On the afformative וֹן of צִיּוֹן, see GKC § 85ᵘ.

2. On Exo 19:1ff., see Schrenk 1976: 249.

3. Note I Sam 17:21 and II Sam 24:9 for יִשְׂרָאֵל as a feminine noun.

4. See McDaniel 1968: 29, 42. It seems apparent to me now that בדד, was a *double entendre*: "alone/mourning." Compare Jacob's being called רֹאשׁ הַגּוֹיִם "the chief of the nations" in Jer 31:7.

5. Reading גם as a cognate of Arabic جم (*jam*) "many, abundant," used adverbially (Lane 1865: 449).

6. This cognate goes unnoticed in BDB and KBS although it was noted by Castell (1669: 2394) and defined as "intellect" (*mens, ejusque acumen & perspicacia*)."

7. On the collective personification of a nation, see GKC §122[1] and 122[s]. Brown-Gutoff (1991: 186) suggested that נקבה referred to the "female side of God" (compassion, love and mercy), as opposed to גבר which was associated with male military qualities.

8. Note, however, that סְתָיו "winter" is a cognate of Arabic شتآء (*šitâʾ*), as noted in BDB (711) and in Lane (1867: 1504). See also Moscati 1964: 36–37. Jud 12:6 (אֱמָר־נָא שִׁבֹּלֶת וַיֹּאמֶר סִבֹּלֶת "please say 'shibboleth' and he said 'sibboleth'. . .") well illustrates the *š* to *s* shift in a non-Arabic dialect.

9. See GKC §77[e]. Note the following verbs: אָנַן / אָנָה "to sigh"; כָּלַל / כָּלָה "to be quiet"; חָנַן / חָנָה "to incline"; דָּמַם / דָּמָה "to end"; שָׁחַח / שָׁחָה "to err"; קָלַל / קָלָה "to despise"; שָׁגַג / שָׁגָה "to bend down"; and שָׁסַס / שָׁסָה "to plunder."

10. It is even more difficult to take seriously the varied interpretations that these three words spoke of coital positions or the physiology of sex.

11. The root ענב (BDB 721) "inordinate affection, lust, paramour" has as cognate the Arabic عجب (ᶜajiba) "he wondered at it, . . . he loved, or he liked."(Lane 1874: 1956). The noun عجب (ᶜujb) signifies "self-admiration, self-conceitedness resulting from stupidity or folly."

12. Arabic جبر (jabr) may cover a number of homographs, otherwise one must give the stem a broad semantic range, including "a king, a servant or slave, and a young, or a courageous, man." The noun جبار (jabbâr) also means "one who magnifies himself, or behaves proudly . . . or insolently disdains the service of God."

13. In the opinion of Lane this is an elliptical phrase meaning "God is the greatest great [being] : God is greater than every [other] great [being]." If not an elliptical phrase, اكبر (ᵓakbar) "should have the article ال (ᵓal), or be followed by a noun in the gen. case [or by the preposition من (min)" (Lane 1885: 2587a).

14. The verb "to set up, to erect" (BDB 662; Lane 1893: 2799).

15. The preposition "to" with suffix (BDB 510; Lane 1893: 3006).

16. The noun "road sign made of stones" and "flint-stone" (BDB 846; Lane 1872: 1739 for صوة [ṣuwwat] and 4: 1751 for صوان [ṣawwân]).

17. The verb "to put, place, set" and "to insert, sheathe." See BDB 962 and Lane 1872: 1634 شام / شيم (šayama/šâma). The Sabean and Ethiopic cognates cited in BDB match the Hebrew meanings, whereas this Arabic cognate, "to hide, to conceal, to insert or to sheathe," is quite remote.

18. "A sign consisting of a pile of stones" (BDB 1071; Lane 1863: 98ᶜ and 97ᵇ امرة [ᵓamarat] "stones" or "a heap of stones.") (On the frequent elision of an א in Hebrew, see GKC 23ᶠ.) Ziegler (1957: 360) noted that Aquila translated תַּמְרוּרִים as πικραμμους, as if

the root were מרר "bitter." Carroll (1986: 601) and Holladay
(1989: 194) followed Giesebrecht (1907, cited in BDB: 1071) and
Rudolph (1970 in BHS) in deriving this word from תמר "palm
tree," a cognate of Arabic تمر (*tamr*) " fruit of the palm tree."

19. BDB 1011. There is no known Arabic cognate for שִׁית.

20. The noun "heart, understanding, intelligence" (BDB 523; Lane
1885: 2643). The Arabic verb لب (*labba*) means "he was, or
became possessed of لب (*lubb*), i.e., understanding, intellect, or
intelligence. The feminine لبه (*labbat*) is the middle of the breast,
used for the external area rather than the internal organ.

21. The noun "highway" and "a stream bed" (BDB 700; Lane
1872: 1486). The Arabic سيل (*sayl*) is a "torrent" or "flow of
water" and the مسيل (*masîl*) is the channel in which a torrent
flows, a synonym of وادى (*wadi*) "valley, torrent-bed, any space be-
tween mountains or hills" (Lane 1874: 1893: 3051). In the Song of
Deborah (Jud 5:19–21) reference was made to the Wady Kishon
serving as a highway for Sisera's chariots, which became a death-
trap when the torrents flowed unexpectedly. Dry wadis and torrent-
beds are still used for military activity and sightseeing.

22. The noun "road" and verb "to march, to overtake" (BDB 202;
Lane 1867: 874).

23. The verb "to walk" and "to walk quickly" (BDB 229, 410;
Hava 894). On the interchange of ך and ק compare (1) דקק and
דכך "to crush" (2) רקק and רכך "to be tender, weak" and "to be
thin, weak" (see Tregelles 1875: 378). The imperfect stem of הלך
was probably ילך (see GKC §69ˣ). Gesenius followed Praetorius
[ZAW ii 310 ff.] in disagreement with the usual explanation of a
פ"ו stem—which is reinforced by the ולק = ולך as suggested by

cognate ولق (*walaqa*). The Arabic verb هلك (*halaka*) means "he perished, became non-existent or annihilated." The noun هلاك (*halâka*) means "perdition" (Lane 1893: 3044). Lane did not cite ولق (*walaqa*), but it must be remembered that the final volume of Lane's lexicon is incomplete, having been published posthumously from his notes. Dozy (1927:842) cited ولق (*walaqa*) "*piste, trace, vestige*," a synonym of أثر (ʾ*aṯara*) "trace, footstep, footprint," which is the cognate of Hebrew אשׁר "to march forth" and Ugaritic ʾ*aṯr* "to march" (Gordon 1965: 369, #424).

24. The verb "to return" (BDB 996; Lane 1863: 361 [ثوب/*ṯwb*]).

25. The noun "virgin" (BDB 143; Lane 1863: 150).

26. The verb "to contend or persist" (BDB 975; Lane 1872: 1545), noting especially form 3, هو يشاريه (*huwa yušârîhi*) "he persisted in contention with him," which fits perfectly with the narrative about the change of Jacob's name in Gen 32:28, שָׂרִיתָ עִם־אֱלֹהִים "you persisted-in-contending with God."

27. The noun or name "god, God" (BDB 41–42; Lane 1863: 82–83). In Arabic الله (Allah) is reserved for the only true God.

28. The preposition "to, unto, as far as" (BDB 39; Lane 1863: 85).

29. The noun "city" (BDB 746, noting the Sabean cognate, "a fortified height," but there is no Arabic cognate of עִיר.

30. The demonstrative pronoun "these" (BDB 41; Lane 1863: 86). Rudolph, in a note in BHS (1970), associated the Septuagint's πενθοῦσα "mourner" with אבלה for the MT אלה.

31. The noun "perpetuity, distance, remoteness" (BDB 723; Lane 1874: 1978–1979), noting especially form 6, تعادى (*taᶜâdaya*) "he, or it, was, or became, distant, remote, far off, or aloof" and the noun عدى (ᶜ*iday*) "distance or remoteness."

32. The interrogative adverb "when, until when" (BDB 607; Lane 1893: 3017).

33. The verb "to turn here and there" (BDB 330), noting that BDB has no cognate for חמק. KBS (330) cited the Arabic حمق (ḥa-miqa) "to be foolish" and the Tigre (homaqa) "to be weak." Arabic حمق (ḥumaq) would be the antithesis of لب (lubb), i.e., *under-standing, intellect*, or *intelligence*," the cognate of לב "heart."

34. The definite article and/or the vocative "O" (BDB 208 [I]; Lane 1863: 74). The original Hebrew definite article was probably הַל, the ל of which was assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun with compensatory lengthening of the noun's initial consonant, except when the initial consonant was an א, ה, ח, ע, or ר. In Arabic the ل of ال, though always written, assimilates to a following dental, sibilant or liquid, with compensatory lengthening of the initial consonant. The exceptions in Hebrew include הלז (=הל+זה), הלזה (זה + הל =) and הלזו (=הל + זו), cited in BDB (229). The Masoretes failed to recognize הל as the definite article and treated the ה as the initial letter of the stem. (Compare BDB, where the ל of הל is identified as a separate demonstrative element which was inserted between the ה and the ז or זו.) For the presence of ال (ʾal = אל "the") in Hebrew, see BDB 38.

35. The noun "daughter" (BDB 123; Lane 1863: 261).

36. The conjunction "in order that" (BDB 471; Wehr 995).

37. The verb "to create, to form, to fashion" (BDB 135; Lane 1863: 197, both برى and برو).

38. The tetragrammaton (BDB 330). For the many varied etymologies proposed for the holy name, see G. H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible.* Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier

University Press, 1975. Whereas the Hebrew הוה / היה means "to become, to be," with the *Hiphᶜîl* meaning "to cause to be," the Arabic verb هوى (*haway*) means "to fall, to drop," but the noun هوى (*haway*) signifies "love" and "beloved" (Lane 1893: 3046; Wehr 1219), suggesting two separate lexemes.

39. The adjective "new" and the noun "novelty, innovation" (BDB 294; Lane 1865: 527).

40. The preposition "in" (BDB 88; Lane 1863: 141).

41. The noun "earth" (BDB 75; Lane 1863: 47–49).

42. The verb "to perforate" and the nouns "hole, female, mind" (BDB 666; Lane 1893: 2834–2835).

43. The verb "to surround" (BDB 685). The Arabic words cited in BDB under סבב which begin with a س (*s*), meaning "rope, lock of hair" are not cognates. KBS has no Arabic cognates for סבב.

44. The nouns "man, a young man" and "king, slave, servant" (BDB 149; Lane 1865: 374–375; Castell 479). For the Akkadian cognate *gubburu* "to overpower," see *CAD*, Volume G, 118 and KBS 176.

XX

EZEKIEL WENT

"FLYING OFF IN CIRCLES OF WIND"

EZEKIEL 3:14

וְרוּחַ נְשָׂאַתְנִי וַתִּקָּחֵנִי וָאֵלֵךְ מַר בַּחֲמַת רוּחִי
וְיַד־יְהוָה עָלַי חָזָקָה

So the spirit lifted me up, and took me away,
and I went *in bitterness*, in the *heat of my spirit*;
but the hand of the LORD was strong upon me.
(KJV)

The spirit which had lifted me up seized me,
and I went off *spiritually stirred*,
while the hand of the LORD rested heavily upon me.
(NAB)

A wind lifted me and took me,
and I went, bitter, my spirit raging,
overpowered by the hand of YHWH.
(Greenberg)

καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐξῆρέν με καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με
καὶ ἐπορεύθην ἐν ὁρμῇ τοῦ πνεύματός μου
καὶ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμὲ κραταιά
(Septuagint)

Then the blast lifted me up and bore me aloft
and I went by the impulse of my own spirit,
and the hand of the Lord upon me was strong.
(Thompson's Septuagint)

COMMENTARY

The MT מר "in bitterness" has generally been interpreted as the equivalent of the בְּמַר־נֶפֶשׁ "bitterness of soul" in Ezek 27:31.[1] However, it is probably from the stem מרא (BDB 597) found in Job 39:18, כָּעֵת בַּמָּרוֹם תַּמְרִיא, "when it spreads its plumes aloft (NRS)," as the verb of motion for the ostrich. It would be the cognate of Arabic مرى (*maraya*) used for the movement of the wind and clouds (Lane: 1893: 3019). This meaning has the support of the Septuagint which has ὁρμῇ "rapid motion forwards, onset, assault, impulse" (Liddell and Scott: 1253).[2]

The MT בַּחֲמַת רוּחִי, "in the heat of my spirit," has been considered similar to וְאֵת חֲמַת יְהוָה מָלֵאתִי, "I am full of the wrath of Yahweh," in Jer 6:11. However, it is more likely the cognate of Arabic حام / حوم (*ḥûm / ḥâma*) used of the motion of birds flying or hovering in circles" (Lane 1865: 678), rather than from חמה "to be hot" (BDB 404; Jastrow 475).[3]

If the י of רוּחִי were dropped as a dittography of the following ו of the וָיָד, the phrase would mean, "I went flying off in circles of wind." Unless Ezekiel suffered from severe acrophobia, it is unlikely that he would have "bitterness of soul" when accompanying his spiritual host to old *Tel Abîb*. Far from being depressed, as suggested by the KJV and the RSV, or "spiritually stirred" as proposed by the NAB, the text probably speaks of the physical means of transport (even if only in a vision or in the imagination) which carried him to the exiles along the Chebar River. Whatever acrophobia he may have had, his fear (*not* depression) was allayed because, while airborne, he was firmly gripped by the hand of God.

NOTES

1. See Cooke 1936: 42.

2. Zimmerli (1979: 94, 139) commented

> What is described by the reference to the prophet's being lifted up and carried off by the spirit is his personal experience of returning home with his spirit aglow under the pressure of Yahweh's hand upon him. The objective language describes a subjective experience. A later interpreter has added to this the explanatory words "in bitterness."

Zimmerli offered no suggestion as to why a later interpreter would gloss "his spirit aglow" as "in bitterness." Although מר is not reflected in the Septuagint, it can be retained—*lectio difficilior*—as original. The use of cognates makes its interpretation less difficult. On the loss of the א of מרא, see GKC § 22[f].

3. The noun حوم (*ḥûm*) is also applied to wine, not for the warmth it gives to the body, but for the sensation of circular motion and dizziness it produces in the head.

XXI

EZEKIEL'S CRITICISM
OF THE TRIAGE IN JERUSALEM

EZEKIEL 13:18

וְאָמַרְתָּ כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
הוֹי לִמְתַפְּרוֹת כְּסָתוֹת עַל כָּל־אַצִּילֵי יָדַי
וְעֹשׂוֹת הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת עַל־רֹאשׁ כָּל־קוֹמָה לְצוֹדֵד נְפָשׁוֹת
הַנְּפָשׁוֹת תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה לְעַמִּי וּנְפָשׁוֹת לָכֶנָה תְחַיֶּינָה׃

Thus says the Lord GOD:
Woe to the women who sew magic bands upon all wrists,
and make veils for the heads of persons of every stature,
in the hunt for souls!
Will you hunt down souls belonging to my people,
and keep other souls alive for your profit?

καὶ ἐρεῖς τάδε λέγει κύριος
οὐαὶ ταῖς συρραπτούσαις προσκεφάλαια
ἐπὶ πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρὸς
καὶ ποιούσαις ἐπιβόλαια
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν πάσης ἡλικίας
τοῦ διαστρέφειν ψυχάς
αἱ ψυχαὶ διεστράφησαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου
καὶ ψυχὰς περιεποιοῦντο

And thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord,
Woe to the *women* that sew pillows under every elbow,
and make kerchiefs on the head of every age
to pervert souls!
The souls of my people are perverted,
and they have saved souls alive.

INTRODUCTION

The complexities in Ezek 13:17–23 has led to a great deal of speculation about witches and sorceresses in Jerusalem before the destruction of the city in 586 B.C.E. Cooke (1936: 144–150), appealed to Jer 7:18 and 44:17, 19, which refer to women making offerings and baking cakes for the queen of heaven, and concluded that the practice of magic by women was rife not only in ancient society in general but in Jerusalem in Ezekiel's day. He repeated the tradition originating in Origen's Hexapla (οὐαὶ ταῖς ποιούσαις φυλακτήρια "woe to those making phylacteries") and Ephrem Syrus' statement, "these are like amulets which they (the women) bind upon their arms, and bring forth an oracle for those who enquire of them from their arms, like magicians and soothsayers who utter cries." But, in disagreement with Ephrem Syrus' suggestion that the amulets were on the arms of the sorceresses, Cooke thought the amulets were on the arms of those consulting the sorceresses as an act of sympathetic magic, "with the idea, we may imagine, of fastening the magic influence upon them, or of symbolizing the power to bind and loose which the sorceress claimed." As Cooke admitted, this is exegesis by imagination.

Eichrodt (1970: 169–170) who thought that verses17–23 "are concerned with a few women who deal in magic on the sly for the benefit of individual clients who pay in cash for their services"—admitted that such phenomenon is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament. Eichrodt appealed to the Jewish use of phylacteries and to Frazer's references in *The Golden Bough* about magical practices among primitive peoples, "according to which ill luck is warded off by tying strips of palm-leaf, bark, or wool round the joints, or diseases are cured by tying knotted thread to the groin, head, neck or limbs of the patient."

Zimmerli (1979: 296–298) commenced his interpretation of Ezek 13:17–23 with the observation, ". . . here the striking thing is the novelty of the content and the formulations." Like other commentators, Zimmerli acknowledged that (1) "The twofold oracle of vv 17ff undeniably enters into a sphere of minor mantic acts and magic—a sphere which can only be put quite improperly under the catchword 'prophetic,'" and (2) "An exactly relevant explanation of Ezekiel's statements, however, has so far not been advanced." Greenberg (1983: 239) concisely concurred with Zimmerli, stating, "The practices and terms of these two verses [13:18–19] are ob-scure: we have interpreted them as fortune-telling." Block (1997: 414) similarly noted, "It is impossible to arrive at a clear understanding of the women's methods because of the obscurity of the expressions used."

Moreover, parts of the oracle are suspect. Toy (1899: 62) stated, "The expression [הַנְּפָשׁוֹת תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה לְעַמִּי וּנְפָשׁוֹת לָכֶנָה תְחַיֶּינָה in 13:18] is better omitted as in its present form [it is] unintelligible." Cooke (1936:148) conjectured that 13:22–23 (which repeat what was said already in 13:17– 21) were later additions, like those found in 5:16–17, rather than being summary statements from Ezekiel himself.

Without a doubt, the text of this part of the oracle in 13: 17–23 has suffered serious dislocations in transmission. Failure to recognize the dislocations contributed to the guess work which appealed to anthropological studies of magic and sorcery in primitive societies for clues to the meaning of the oracle. A philological inquiry focusing on insights from Ara-bic cognates has proven to be very beneficial. The oracles in 13:17–23 addresses two distinctly different groups of women. The first oracle addressed women who had prophesied falsely, and the second oracle spoke of those women who, in doing

triage and giving first-aid, favored sinners rather than the saints whom God intended to revive.

ARABIC COGNATES

The Hebrew כֶּסֶת occurs only here and has been derived from כסה stem II "to bind," a cognate of Akkadian *kasû* "to fetter, to take captive," with the noun meaning "band, fillet." In the Syro-Hexapla כֶּסֶת, as noted above, was rendered φυλακτήρια. It was assumed to be some type of magical amulet or charm, even though in post-Biblical Hebrew it means a "cushion" or "pillow" (BDB 493; KB³ 449). But the cognate of כֶּסֶת is more likely to be the Arabic كساء (*kisâ*) with the plural أكسية (*aksiyat*) "a simple oblong piece of cloth, a wrapper (garment) of a single piece" (Lane 1893: 3000; KBS II: 489). The Arabic كساء (*kisâ*) is probably the etymon of the English "gauze" and French *gaze*. (The reduplication of the ת in the plural of כֶּסֶת, unlike the Arabic plural أكسية [*aksiyat*)], is like קְשָׁתוֹת, the plural of קֶשֶׁת "arrow."

The MT הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת, has been variously translated: ἐπιβόλαια "wrappers" (Septuagint), "kerchiefs" (ASV), "veils" (RSV), and "rags" (Greenberg 1983: 239). The Arabic cognate سفيح (*safîḥ*) indicates "a thick, course [garment or piece of cloth] called كساء (*kisâ*)," which is the cognate of כֶּסֶת discussed above. It is obvious that מִסְפָּחָה "a (gauze) bandage" and כֶּסֶת "a (gauze) dressing" are synonyms (KBS II: 607).

In the context of Ezekiel's visions of blood and guts (5: 12, 16; 6:3–8, 11; 9:5–6; 21:1–18), these coarse cloths were unlikely to refer to magical veils or sheath dresses. They were

the gauze cloths (just like the σπαργνῶω "swaddling clothes" in Luke 2:7) for the "first-aid" given by Jerusalem's ladies. Even though gauze bandages and compresses may "cushion" wounds and fractures, the translation of מִסְפָּחוֹת as "cushions" creates a false image of women comfortably reclining or resting their elbows, arms, and heads on pillows. The traditional interpretations suggesting trivial magical rituals are equally inaccurate. Ezekiel intended to create the word picture of women desperately bandaging Jerusalem's wounded sinners.

The MT כָּל־אַצִּילֵי יָדַי became in the Septuagint πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρὸς "every elbow of the hand," and has been variously rendered in English: "all armholes" (KJV), "all elbows" (ASV), "all wrists" (RSV), and "joints of every arm" (Greenberg 1983: 233). Zimmerli (1979: 288), like Cooke (1936: 149), thought that יָדַי was an error for יָד or יָדִים; whereas Greenberg (1983: 239) was content to read it as one of the anomalous plurals collected by Kimḥi.

However, the MT יָדַי should be restored to יָדוּי, a *Qal* passive participle (like רָאוּי "proper") meaning "maimed" from יָדָה, the denominative of יָד and the equivalent of Arabic يدى (*yaday/yadî*) "to wound anyone on the hand, to maim anyone's hand" (Hava 1915: 901) or ودى (*wadaya*) "to cut off, to destroy" (Lane 1893: 3051; Wehr 12:41). (The denominative יָדָה "to maim" ["to de-hand"] would be analogous to the English noun / verb "gut."). Like the Arabic يد (*yad*), which can signify the arm from the shoulder-joint to the extremities of the fingers (Lane 1893: 3093), Hebrew יָד could indicated more than the hand—just as רֶגֶל "foot" may indicate the leg from the tip of the toes to the groin. To focus

upon the hand or wrist or knuckles is too narrow a focus for the context of this verse.

Since אַצִּלוֹת יָדֶיךָ in Jer 38:12 means "your arm-joints" or "your armpits," the אַצִּילֵי יָדַי in 13:18, could also mean arm-joints (the wrist or the elbow) rather than finger joints or knuckles. The Arabic وصل (*waṣala*) "to join" (Lane 1983: 3054) is widely recognized as the cognate of אציל. Lane (1877: 2349) noted the use of the noun وصل (*wuṣl* or *wiṣl*) "limb" in defining فخذ (*faḥiḏ*) "thigh" as the وصل (*wuṣl*) between the hip and the shank. It seems very likely that אציל here in 13:18 has the same meaning, referring not to the joints but to the limbs.

Greenberg (1983: 240) considered MT תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה and צוֹדֵד in 13:18 to be intensive forms of צוד "to hunt down." However, in this oracle צוד "to prey upon" is found only in the מְצֹדְדוֹת of 13:20. The תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה of 13:18 is from צדד, the cognate of Arabic صد (*ṣadda*) "to shun, to alienate, to turn away" (Lane 1872: 1658; BDB 841). The צוֹדֵד in 13:18, however, should be corrected to צוֹדִיד and read as the cognate of Arabic صديد (*ṣadîd*) "ichor, i.e. thin water [or watery humour] of a wound, mixed [or tinged] with blood or the pus from such a wound."[1] Reading צוֹדִיד for צוֹדֵד is the key for reordering the words of the MT (with support from the versions) from רֹאשׁ כָּל־קוֹמָה לְצוֹדֵד נְפָשׁוֹת "head of every height to hunt souls" to כָּל־רֹאשׁ צוֹדִיד לְקִים הַנֹּפְשׁוֹת "every oozing head, to revive the ones breathing."

The fall of Jerusalem was marked by a large number of those who were killed or wounded. Some of those wounded apparently received first-aid in which compresses, bandages,

and swaddling cloths were used to stop the loss of blood or cleanse the wounds which could have been inflicted or infected from head to toe.

The MT לִפֹּרְחוֹת in 13:20a and the לִפֹּרְחֹת in 13:20b are very problematic.[2] Zimmerli (1979: 289) summarized the evidence from the versions, noting that לִפֹּרְחוֹת in 13:20a is not reflected in the Septuagint, although the לִפֹּרְחֹת in 13:20b appears as διασκορπισμόν "scattering," reflecting a confusion of פרח with either פרד (פרץ or פרד). It was read as the Aramaic פרח "to fly" by the Vulgate (*volandum*) and Symmachus (ἀναπετσθῆναι), which is followed by Greenberg (1983: 240) who translated לִפֹּרְחֹת "like birds."

Theodotian rendered it ἔκλυσιν "release, deliverance," which preserves a meaning of פרח that finds support from the Arabic فرج (*faraja*) "mettre un prisonnier en liberté, délivrer" (Dozy II: 247) and occurring in the phrase بعد القارعات فروج (*baᶜdi ʾlqāʾriᶜāʾti furûju*) "after (sudden) catastrophe/calamity [there will be] *release* from suffering"[3] (Lane 1877: 2360; Wehr 822, 888). Theodotian's "release" fits the context perfectly and has the support of other פרג / פרח equivalents.

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Once it is recognized that Ezekiel had a larger vocabulary than that recognized by the Septuagint translators or recent lexicographers, two independent oracles addressed to "the daughters of your people" can be found in Ezekiel 13:17–23. The first oracle (13:17, 18a, and 22–23) was addressed to the prophetesses, and is much shorter than the oracle against the prophets (13:1–16). The second oracle (13:18b–21) insinuated

itself into the middle of the first oracle, perhaps due to 13:17a ("and you, son of man, set your face unto the daughters of your people") being a double duty introduction to both oracles. The reconstructed oracles read as follows, with my proposed translations in *italics* and feminine forms in **bold**:

Oracle I.

13:17   And you, son of man, set your face unto the **daughters** of your people, **the ones prophesying** from **their** [own] heart, and prophesy against **them**

13:18a   and say, "Thus says the Lord YHWH, '*Woe!*

13:22   Because of falsely intimidating the heart of the righteous (though I have not disheartened him) and strengthening the hands of the wicked (without his turning from his evil way) to keep him alive,

13:23   **you**, therefore, shall never again envision false [prophecies] nor practice divination. I will save my people from **your** hand; then **you** will acknowledge that I am YHWH.

Oracle II.

13:18b   הוֹי לִמְתַפְּרוֹת כְּסָתוֹת עַל כָּל־אַצִּילֵי יָדַי
וְעֹשׂוֹת הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת עַל־כָּל־רֹאשׁ צוֹדֵד
לְקוֹמָה נְפָשׁוֹת:
תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה לְעַמִּי

13:19c   לְהָמִית נְפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תְמוּתֶנָה

13:18c   וּנְפָשׁוֹת לָכֶנָה תְחַיֶּינָה

13:19b   בְּשַׁעֲלֵי שְׂעֹרִים וּבִפְתוֹתֵי לֶחֶם

13:19d   וּלְחַיּוֹת נְפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִחְיֶינָה
וַתְּחַלֶּלְנָה אֹתִי אֶל־עַמִּי

Woe to the **ones tying**[4] *bandages*
on every *maimed limb*[5]
and **placing** *compresses* upon every *oozing* head,
to revive **those** *breathing*.

They *shun*[6] my *very*[7] own people [still] *breathing;*[8]
To let die **those** *breathing* **who ought not to have died**.
But those of **their own** [still] *breathing*, **they restore** to life.
–with handfuls of barley and with morsels of bread—
keeping alive **the ones** *breathing* **who ought not to be alive**,
they have undermined my warning[9] unto my people."

13:20a   לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
הִנְנִי אֶל־כִּסְּתוֹתֵיכֶנָה
וְקָרַעְתִּי אֹתָם מֵעַל זְרוֹעֹתֵיכֶם
13:21a   וְקָרַעְתִּי אֶת־מִסְפְּחֹתֵיכֶם
13:20b   אֶת־הַנְּפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר אַתֵּנָה מְצֹדְדוֹת
שָׁם (שֹׂום) לַפֹּרְחוֹת
13:21b   וְהִצַּלְתִּי אֶת־עַמִּי מִיֶּדְכֶן
וְלֹא־יִהְיוּ עוֹד בְּיֶדְכֶן לִמְצוּדָה
וִידַעְתֶּן כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה׃

Therefore, thus said the Lord YHWH,
"Behold, I am against **your** *bandages*.[10]
I will rip them off from upon your arms;
and I will rip off your *compresses*.
The **ones** [still] **breathing**
whom **you** shunned, [I] designate[11]
[to be] **the** *ones-set-free*.

And I will deliver my people from **your** hands.
They shall no longer be prey[12] in **your** hands.
Then **you** will acknowledge that I am YHWH."

MISPLACED WORDS AND DOUBLETS

The phrase בְּכַזֶּבְכֶם לְעַמִּי שֹׁמְעֵי כָזָב "with your lie to my people who obey a liar" (13:19) needs to be (1) moved to 13:8, *after* לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יהוה יַעַן דַּבֶּרְכֶם שָׁוְא, so that the text would have read, "therefore, thus says the Lord God: 'Because you have uttered delusions with your lie to my people who obey a liar," or (2) inserted *between* the redundant יַעַן and וּבִיַעַן in 13:10, so that it reads:

יַעַן בְּכַזֶּבְכֶם לְעַמִּי שֹׁמְעֵי כָזָב
וּבִיַעַן הִטְעוּ אֶת־עַמִּי לֵאמֹר שָׁלוֹם וְאֵין שָׁלוֹם

because with your lie to my people—who obey a liar
—and because they misled my people saying
"peace" when there is no peace.[13]

13:20b

וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי לְפֹרְחֹת
אֶת־הַנְּפָשׁוֹת אֶת־נְפָשִׁים
אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם מְצֹדְדוֹת

and I will let go to [become] the *ones-set-free*
—the breathing [women]
breathing [men]—
whom you have shunned.

These nine Hebrew words in 13:20b are a doublet of what was stated immediately preceding 13:20a, as rearranged:

אֶת־הַנְּפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר אַתֵּנָה מְצֹדְדוֹת שָׁם¹¹ לִפֹרְחוֹת
The ones breathing, whom you shunned,
[I] appoint[11] to [be] the *ones-set-free*.

The anomalous plural נְפָשִׁים of נֶפֶשׁ "person," which some would emend to חָפְשִׁים "freemen," simply needs to be repointed. The MT נפשות and נפשים are plural participles of the denominative נָפַשׁ "to breathe," and should be repointed נֹפְשִׁים and נֹפְשׁוֹת. Since נפשות can mean either "breathing women" or "people, living beings" (i.e., gender inclusive) the נפשים "breathing men" makes it quite clear that God intended for men and women to be revived and set free.

CONCLUSION

Early in the transmission of the Hebrew text a number of passages became disjointed, with either individual verses or whole paragraphs becoming disconnected, resulting in a loss of unity and coherence in the narratives as they now read.[14] Making the interpretation all the more difficult are the limitations in Hebrew orthography and lexicography. Homographs are the bane of the interpreter, with the difficulty compounded when the lexical citations of cognates is limited.

A fresh examination of Arabic cognates uncovered nuances which were contextually appropriate for Ezekiel 13, as well as the recovery of several words which survived in Arabic but became lost in post-exilic Hebrew. Recovery of these words and nuances permit Ezek 13:17–23 to be rearranged into two separate oracles: Oracle I addressed the prophetesses, and Oracle II focused on ladies doing triage and giving first-aid to sinners rather than to saints. Neither oracle deals with sorceresses, magic, or mantic activities.

NOTES

1. Although صدّ (ṣadda) "to reject" is cited in KBS (III: 1000), there is no reference to صديد (ṣadîd) "ichor." In the Qurʾan (Sura 14:19), صديد (ṣadîd) is used for what flows from the skins of the inmates of hell, or what flows from their insides, i.e., the exudation of blood and serum from a wound."

2. If the Targum's אבידותא / אבדותא "lost things" were read as the cognate of Arabic آبِدة (ʾā bidat) "a deed or calamity ever to be remembered by reason of its extraordinary grievousness" (Lane 1863: 5), it could reflect the MT פרח as the cognate of Arabic بَرح (barḥ) "affliction, severe punishment" (Lane1863: 181). For other examples of the ב / פ variation, see Jastrow 187 and 1689, תבר / תפר "to sew" and הפקיר / הבקיר "to declare (free)."

3. On the interchange of ג and ח in Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac, note the following variants: (1) Arabic فروج (farûj) "chick, young chicken" and فرخ (farḫ) "young bird, chicken" (Lane 1877: 2360 and 2362; Wehr 822–823), (2) Hebrew אֶפְרֹחַ "young bird" and פַּרְגִּית "young bird, chicken"(Jastrow 1214, 1225), (3) Syriac ܦܳܪܽܘܓܳܐ (parûgāʾ) "chick, bird" and ܦܳܪܽܘܚܶܐ (pārûḥeʾ) "birds"(J. Payne Smith 458). The Arabic فرجة (furjat) and مفرحات (mufri-ḥāt) / فرح (faraḥ) all mean "fête, partie de plaisir, rejouissances publiques" (Dozy 247–248). In KBS (III: 966) פרח "poultry" is cited, but there is no reference to the פרג variants.

4. The feminine plural participle, מְתַפְּרוֹת, is from תפר which occurs elsewhere only in Gen 3:7. Ecc 3:6, and Job 16:15. The meaning cited in BDB (1074) is "to sew." However, Jastrow (1903: 1689) defined it "to join, to sew, to mend," which fits the context better here and in Job 16:15. Although Pope (1965: 115) translated the latter, "Sack I have sewed on my hide," this hardly

does justice to the context which reads, "He [God] stabs my vitals without pity, Pours out my guts on the ground." (Similar words about abdominal wounds appear in Lam 2:11 and in 2 Sam 20:10–11.) Two observations are in order. First, Job is not putting on שַׂק "sackcloth" to mourn his death. He is painfully alive. The sackcloth serves a purpose other than that of mourning attire. With his bowels exposed (literally, the gall bladder) the sackcloth was used for self-administered first-aid. It seems clear that the sackcloth "dress" should be a sackcloth "dressing," i.e., a first-aid dressing of coarsely woven cloth. Secondly, the sackcloth was not sewed *to* or *onto* Job's skin in some kind of surgical procedure. The cloth was applied *to*, *upon*, or *over* (עלי) Job's "*wounded* skin" (גִּלְדִּי). The noun גֶּלֶד appears only in Job 16:15, but the meaning is clear from the Arabic جلد (*jildun / jalada*) used for the noun "skin" and as a verb "to beat, hurt, or flog the skin" (Lane 1865: 442–443) or post-Biblical Hebrew where גֶּלֶד may also indicate the scab of a wound (Jastrow 1903: 245). One must conclude that תפר was a term appropriate for a seamstress, a tailor, or one giving first-aid by tying on bandages, compresses or dressings.

5. Hebrew uses several expressions to depict the earth's extremities, including יַרְכְּתֵי־אָרֶץ "the thighs of the earth" (Jer 6:22, 25:32, etc.), כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ "the wings of the earth" (Job 37:3, 38:12, etc.), and מִקְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ וּמֵאֲצִילֶיהָ "from the ends of the earth and her limbs" (Isa 41:9). It is the usage of אציל in the last expression which is important for understanding אציל in this verse. The Arabic وصل (*waṣala*) "to join" (Lane 1893: 3054) is commonly recognized as the cognate of אציל (KBS I: 82–83). Lane (1877: 2349) noted the use of the noun وصل (*wuṣl* or *wiṣl*) "limb" in defining the thigh فخذ (*faḥlḏ*) as the وصل (*wuṣl*) between the hip and the shank. It seems very likely that אציל in Ezek13:18 has the same meaning, referring not to the joints but to

the limbs.

6. MT תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה is the cognate of Arabic صد (ṣadda) "to turn away, to shun" (BDB 841; KBS III: 1000; and Lane 1872:1658), and comparable to the cognates صد (ṣadd) and צדד "side."

7. Reading the ל here as an emphatic rather than the preposition. For other examples of the emphatic ל see Richardson (1966: 89), note McDaniel (1968) 206–208; Bloomerde (1969) 31; Dahood (1975) 341–342); Whitley (1975) 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983) 569–593, especially 591.

8. Compare the Arabic نفس (nafas) in form V "to breathe, to inhale and exhale" (Wehr 1155).

9. Reading אוֹתִי "my sign" for the אֹתִי "me." Like the Arabic آيَة (ʾayat) "a sign, an example, or a warning," as in the *Qurʾan Sura* 12:7 (Lane1863: 135), Hebrew אוֹת need not mean a "miracle." In Deut 11:3 also אוֹת was used for destructive acts of God.

10. The noun "bandages" is probably a metonymy for the triage and the first-aid. On the use of אֶל with the sense of עַל, see BDB 41.

11. Reading שָׂם as סֹם = שׂוֹם = שׂם "to mark, to designate" (BDB 962–964; Jastrow 965; 1535; J. Payne Smith 366). For the use of the infinitive as a substitute for a finite verb, see GKC 113[y].

12. There is general agreement that מְצוּד "prey" is related to צוּד "to hunt" (KBS II: 1000–1001).

13. The shift from second person to third person occurs frequently in this oracle. The second person plural occurs in verses 4, 5, 7 and 8; the third person plural occurs in verses 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, and 16.

14. See the next chapter on Ezekiel 28 for a study which identified two oracles in Zech 4, one of which had insinuated itself into the middle the second oracle, with Oracle I being Zech 4:1–6a and 4:10b–14, and Oracle II being 3:6–10 and 4:6b–10a. In Isaiah an oracle about weird cultic activities is scattered in three sections, namely, Isa 65:3b–5; 65:17–18a; and 66:24. Ezekiel 28 requires fifteen adjustments to restore the oracle to a logical sequence.

XXII

THE KING OF TYRE
IN EZEKIEL 28

INTRODUCTION

Early in the transmission of the Hebrew text a number of passages became disjointed, with either individual verses or whole paragraphs becoming disconnected, resulting in a loss of unity and coherence in the narratives as they now read. For example, Zech 4:1–6a and 4:10b–14 make up the following literary unit:

> And the angel who talked with me came again, and waked me, like a man that is wakened out of his sleep. And he said to me, "what do you see?" I said, "I see, and behold, a lamp-stand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it, and seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps which are on the top of it. And there are two olive trees by it, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left." And I said to the angel who talked with me, "What are these, my lord?" Then the angel who talked with me answered me, "Do you not know what these are?" I said, "No, my lord." Then he said to me, ✱ "These seven are the eyes of Yahweh, which range through the whole earth." Then I said to him, "What are these two olive trees on the right and the left of the lampstand?" And a second time I said to him, "What are these two branches of the olive trees, which are beside the two golden pipes from which the oil is poured out?" He said to me, "Do you not know what these are?" I said, "No, my lord." Then he said, "These are the two anointed who stand by the Lord of the whole earth."

But as the Hebrew text now stands, verses 4:6b–4:10 insinuated themselves right in the middle of the narrative where an asterisk has been placed. Verses 4:6b–10 actually conclude

the narrative beginning with Zech 3:6–10. The unity of this narrative becomes transparent once the two disparate sections speaking of Joshua and Zerubbabel are rejoined:

> And the angel of the Yahweh enjoined Joshua, "Thus says Yahweh of hosts: If you will walk in my ways and keep my charge, then you shall rule my house and have charge of my courts, and I will give you the right of access among those who are standing here. Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, you and your friends who sit before you, for they are men of good omen: behold, I will bring my servant the Branch. For behold, upon the stone which I have set before Joshua, upon a single stone with seven facets, I will engrave its inscription, says Yahweh of hosts, and I will remove the guilt of this land in a single day. In that day, says Yahweh of hosts, every one of you will invite his neighbor under his vine and under his fig tree." ✷ "This is the word of Yahweh to Zerubbabel: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says Yahweh of hosts. What are you, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain; and he shall bring forward the top stone amid shouts of 'Grace, grace to it!'" Moreover the word of Yahweh came to me, saying, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also complete it. Then you will know that Yahweh of hosts has sent me to you. For whoever has despised the day of small things shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel."

Another example of the obvious dislocation of verses involves Isa 66:24, which is totally unrelated to the preceding verses dealing with the new heavens and the new earth, which make a fitting conclusion to the book of Isaiah—whereas 66:24 is a very awkward ending for the chapter and for the book. However, Isa 66:24 can be joined to Isa 65:1–7 and 66:17 to form a literary unit which speaks of the weird cultic activities of the rebellious people, including:

65:3b–5 sacrificing in gardens and burning incense upon bricks; who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places; who eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels; who say, "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am set apart from you." These are a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all the day. *66:17–18a* Those who sanctify and purify themselves to go into the gardens, following one in the midst, eating swine's flesh and the abomination and mice, shall come to an end together, says Yahweh. For I know their works and their thoughts. *66:24* And they shall go forth and look on the dead bodies of the men that have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.

In a similar manner the sequence of lines in Ezekiel 28, involving verses 2, 7, 12, 16, and 17, need to be rearranged to recover the literary unity and probable transitions in Ezekiel's pronouncements against the king of Tyre. As revised, the text has the king boldly asserting his divinity, only to have it denied—though it is acknowledged by Ezekiel that the king of Tyre had a unique status with reference to wealth and wisdom.[1]

The MT and traditional readings of the text, which place the king in the garden of Eden with his own personal cherub, have led many critics to speculate about pre-Israelite mythological motifs underlying Ezekiel's oracle.[2] Cook (1936: 315) noted

The story [in Ezekiel 28] belonged, no doubt, to the common stock of Semitic myths, some of them preserved in the Babylonian epics, some in Phoenician traditions. A select few are to be found in Genesis, purged by the genius of Hebrew religion; in Ez. the purifying process has not gone so far. Certain features of the story as given here, the mountain of God, the stones of fire, the gemmed robe, can hardly be of Hebrew origin; they came from Babylonia; not that Ez.

borrowed them directly, but the folk-lore upon which he drew had been steeped in Babylonian mythology from early times. It may be implied, but it is nowhere stated, that the chief character in the story was the first man.

Zimmerli (1983: 90–91), in a very similar way, interpreted Ezekiel 28 as follows:

> It can scarcely be overlooked that from a traditio-historical point of view this account has close connections with Genesis 2f, the Yahwistic paradise narrative, and that it reveals an independent form of the tradition which is at the basis of that narrative. . . . Instead of a human couple, Ezekiel 28 speaks only of a single figure and this preserves the older form of the tradition. That Ezekiel 28 is also concerned with primeval man is strengthened by the two-fold emphatic reference to the creation of this figure (vv 13, 15). . . . With its element of the "mountain of the gods" and of this "warding off" (סוכך) cherub, this tradition of the expulsion of the primeval man from the seat of the god points clearly back to pre-Israelite contexts.

However, the "garden of Eden" and the "sacred mountain of God" motifs are better read as part of the king of Tyre's fanciful self assertion of his divinity, rather than part of Ezekiel's declaration about the king of Tyre—which would have him using motifs from an otherwise unknown tradition about the "primeval" man. It seems unnecessary to postulate with Zimmerli (1983: 90) that "this account has close connections with Genesis 2f. . . and that it reveals an independent form of the tradition which is at the basis of the narrative." A simple confusion הָיִיתִי "I was" and הָיִיתָ "you were" could well account for the difference between the self assertion "I was in Eden," as proposed below, instead of the "you were in Eden," as found in texts and tradition. It would not be surprising to have the king of Tyre using mythological motifs in making his own claim of divinity and for Ezekiel to report

those assertions made by the king of Tyre, whether real or imaginary. But it is most unlikely that Ezekiel, given his rigorous disdain for anything hinting of a foreign religion, would have employed such motifs on his own.

THE RESTORED LAMENT

28:2[a]   Thus says my Lord Yahweh: "*Because* your heart is proud you have said:
'I am a god.

28:13[a] 'I was[3] in Eden, the garden of God,[4]
28:14[b] 'I was on the holy mountain of God,[5]
28:2[b]   'I sit on the seat of the God in the heart of the seas.'

28:2[c]-5   "Yet you are but a man, and no god, though you consider yourself as wise as a god. You are indeed wiser than Daniel. No secret has been hidden from you. By your wisdom and your understanding you have gotten wealth for yourself; and you have gathered gold and silver into your treasuries. By your great wisdom in trade you have increased your wealth, and your heart has become proud in your wealth."

28:6   Therefore thus says my Lord Yahweh:

"*Because* you consider yourself as wise as a god,
28:16[b] I—from the mountain of God—will defile you.[6]

28:7ff. Therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon you, the most terrible of the nations, and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of your wisdom and defile your splendor. They will thrust you down into the Pit, and you shall die the death of the slain in the heart of the seas. Will you still

say 'I am a god' in the presence of those who slay you—though you are but a man, and no god—in the hands of those who wound you? You shall die the death of the uncircumcised by the hand of foreigners; for I have spoken," says the Lord Yahweh.

Moreover the word of the Yahweh came to me:

28:12ᵃ "Son of man, raise a lamentation over the king of Tyre and say to him:

28:12ᵇ 'Thus says my Lord Yahweh:

"You were the signet of erudition,[7] full of wisdom and crowned with beauty.[8]

28:13ᵇ Your canopy was of gold leaf[9] and precious stones: carnelian, topaz, and jasper, chrysolite, beryl, and onyx, lapis lazuli, garnet, and emerald. Your (gem) settings[10] were filled with (lustrous) antimony.[11]

28:14ᶜ You walked in the midst of fiery (gem) stones.

28:13ᶜ For the day you were perfected[12] they were prepared.

28:14ᵃ (As for) you,[13] I treated you as the chief statesman[14] of (all) those anointed![15]

28:15 You were blameless in your ways from the day you were perfected,[12] until iniquity was found in you.

28:16ᵃ In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned.

28:17ᵃ Your heart was proud because of your beauty; you corrupted your wisdom for the sake of your splendor.

28:16ᶜ Therefore I remove you[16] as chief statesman, from the midst of the fiery stones.

28:17[b] I have cast you to the ground; I have exposed you before kings, to feast their eyes on you. By the multitude of your iniquities (and) in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries. So I brought forth fire from the midst of you; it consumed you, and I turned you to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all who saw you. All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you. You have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more for ever."' "

CONCLUSION

The difficulties of Ezekiel 28, which have exasperated many commentators, can be minimized once several well attested scribal errors are identified (like the original *scriptio defectiva* היית [= הָיִיתִי "I was"] being misread as הָיִיתָ "you were"; an original תבונה "understanding, erudition" becoming תכנית "measurement"; and an original כרב mispointed as כְּרוּב or misread as מרב).

Once the scribal errors are in focus it is possible to reconstruct the oracle from its current disjointed sequence of phrases and sentences. The king of Tyre appealed to mythological traditions when asserting his divine nature, stating—as reported by Ezekiel—"I am a god! I was in Eden! I was on the holy mountain of God! I sit on the seat of God!" Ezekiel quotes the king only to refute his claims. To insist that Ezekiel himself employed mythological motifs or a variant tradition about Eden's "primeval" man when addressing the king of Tyre reflects a failure to appreciate the use of direct quotations in Ezekiel's oracle, especially quotations which were literary devices rather than verbatim quotations of fact.

Far from a mythological component in Ezekiel's personal expressions, there was a Deuteronomic element with which he

wrestled. The power, wisdom, and wealth of the king of Tyre was attributed to God's favor (28:14a, 15), like the blessings of prosperity promised to Israel in Deu 28:1–14. The king's abuse and misuse of his wisdom and wealth—culminating in his claim of divinity—actually culminated in Ezekiel's delivery of his death notice.

NOTES

1. In light of the Arabic cognates صيور (ṣayyûr = צְיוֹר) "judgement, opinion, understanding, intellect, intelligence" and تصور (taṣawur = תְצוֹר) "the forming of an idea; conception, perception or apprehension" (Lane 1872: 1744c, 1755), the reputed 'wisdom of the king/ruler of Tyre' (צוֹר מֶלֶךְ/נְגִיד צֹר) may reflect a word-play on the name צוֹר.

2. Note McKenzie 1959: 265–282; Habel 1967: 515–524; Margulis 1974: 1–23; van Seters 1989: 333–342; Muller 1990: 167–178; Jeppesen 1991: 83–94.

3. Reading הָיִיתִי for MT הָיִיתָ. Compare Ezek 22:4 where the MT וַתָּבוֹא "you [masc. sg.] came" should be read as וַתָּבִיאִי or וַתָּבֹאִי [fem. sg.], which is in agreement with the preceding וְתִּקְרִיבִי, "you [fem. sg.] have made to draw near." Numerous other examples of problematic verbal suffixes in Ezekiel can be cited, including (1) 23:49, where the Syriac read וְנָתַתִּי for MT וּנְתַנּוּ; (2) 24:14, שְׁפַטְתִּיךְ in some manuscripts for MT שְׁפָטוּךְ; (3) 24:19, where numerous manuscripts have וַיֹּאמְרוּ for the MT וַיֹּאמֶר; and (4) 26:14, reading with the Septuagint תִּהְיִי for MT תִּהְיֶה.

4. Possible Arabic cognates of עֵדֶן "Eden" are عدان (ᶜadân) "the shore of the sea, the side of a river" and عيدان (ᶜaydân) "tall palm-trees" (Lane 1874: 1976, and 2191), which are synonyms of صور

(*ṣawr* = צוּר) "the bank, or side, of a river" and صور (*ṣawr* = צוּר) "small palm-trees or a collection of small palm-trees" (Lane 1872: 1744, 1755), suggesting a wordplay with עדן "Eden" and צוּר "Tyre," like the צר (= צוּר or צוֹר) and סֶלַע "rock" in 26: 4, 14.

5. Reading הָיִיתִי "I was" here also for MT הָיִיתָ "you were."

6. Compare Ps 89:40, נֵאַרְתָּה בְּרִית עַבְדֶּךָ חִלַּלְתָּ לָאָרֶץ נִזְרוֹ "thou hast renounced the covenant with thy servant; thou hast defiled his crown in the dust." The Septuagint's ἐτραυματίσθης ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ θεοῦ "you were wounded from the mountain of God," reflects a *Vorlage* having וַתְּחֻלַּל for the MT וָאֲחַלֶּלְךָ (see BHS), reflecting problems with the consonantal tradition.

7. Reading תבונה "understanding, discernment" for תכנית "measurement." For other examples of the confusion of the י / ו and the כ / ב see Delitzsch (1920) 103–105, §103; 110, §107[a.b.c].

8. Here כלל has the meaning of the Syriac cognate ܟܠܝܠ (*kĕlîl*) "a crown" and its denominative "to crown" (BDB 480; Payne Smith 216).

9. Reading זהב מלאכת תפיך from the MT זהב כתת, moving the מלא to follow the כתת, with מְסֵכָתֶךָ being the subject.

10. Reading ונקביך בם "and your settings for them [i.e., for the enumerated gems]" for MT ונקביך בך, reflecting a confusion of כ and ם in the older script of Ezekiel's day. For other examples of the confusion of כ and ם see Delitzsch (1920) 114, §115[a.b] and note 15, below.

11. Reading פּוּךְ for the פֶּיךְ of the MT תֻּפֶּיךְ. A dittography of the ת changed the original מלאכת פוך to מלאכת תפוך.

12. The MT הֻבָּרַאֲךָ is ordinarily rendered "you were created,"
(BDB 135), but can be translated "perfected" in light of the Arabic
cognate بَرَا (baraʾ) "he was or became clear, or free of, or from, a
thing, he became in a state of freedom or immunity, secure or safe
[from sickness, imperfection, fault, defect, or blemish" and بَرِيء
(barîʾ) "clear of evil qualities or dispositions, shunning what is
vain and false . . . sound in body and intellect" (Lane 1863:
178–179). The implication is that the king of Tyre owed no obliga-
tion or debt for the precious gems he acquired. They were perhaps
his coronation gifts.

13. Reading the masculine pronoun אַתְּ or אַתָּה for the feminine
אַתְּ of the MT. This is another example of the *casus obliquus* of
the independent pronoun, found elsewhere in Prov 22:19 and Gen
49:8 (see GKC 135ᵉ).

14. Reading אֶתְּ־כְּרוּב אַתָּה כְּרַב מְשִׁיחִים הַסּוֹכֵן for the MT אַתְּ־כְּרוּב
מִמְשַׁח הַסּוֹכֵךְ with its problematic feminine suffix. This requires
(1) reading a final ן for the MT ךְ, (2) moving the ו of MT כְּרוּב to
the next word as a י, and (3) transposing the initial מ of מִמְשַׁח to
become the final ם ofמְשִׁיחִים. (The second change removes ques-
tions about the absence of the anticipated definite article ה on the
MT כְּרוּב since its apparent modifier, הַסּוֹכֵךְ, has the article.) For
other examples of the confusion the ן and ךְ see Delitzsch (1920):
116 §120ᵇ. Hebrew סֹכֵן, to be read here for MT סֹכֵךְ, is a cognate
of Ugaritic *skn* "governor, mayor, high official," used in paral-
lelism with "king" (Gordon 450, #1754). Gen 42:30 וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָנוּ
כִּמְרַגְּלִים "and he treated us as spies," is a parallel example of נתן
followed by the preposition בְּ and a direct object. The LXXᴬᴮ τὰ
τοῦ χερουβ ἔθηκά σε "I set you with the cherub" omits all but the
ה of the MT הַסּוֹכֵךְ מִמְשַׁח. The רַב־סֹכֵן "chief statesman," as
suggested here, would be a title likeרַב שָׁקֵה (II Kings 18:17–37

and Isa 36:2–22), רַב־סָרִים (Dan 1:3), and רַב־מָג (Jer 39:3, 13).

15. Reading מְשֻׁחֹם [*scriptio defectiva for* מְשִׁיחִים] for the prob-lematic MT מִמְשַׁח, which occurs only here. The MT has been variously rendered: KJV "anointed" (following Theodotian and LXX^O , but not the LXX^{AB} which have nothing for these words); Vulgate *extentus* "far-reaching"; and Σ καταμετρημένος "meas-urement." The Targum (Sperber 3: 1996) lends support to the proposal made here. It reads מרבא למלכו את מלך, and appears (1) to have read מרב (= preposition מ + רב) rather than כרוב "cherub" and (2) to have read סכן rather than the MT סכך, with both the סֵבֶן and the מִמְשַׁח being translated as מלך "king." For other examples of the confusion the כ and מ, see Delitzsch (1920): 114 §115$^{a.b}$ and note 10, above. See also BDB 603, *sub* מִמְשַׁח.

16. See GKC 68^k for reading וָאַבֶּדְךָ as a 1cs verb rather than as a 3ms. The verb is בדד "to separate, to isolate" (BDB 94; Jastrow 138) rather than אבד.

NO MOON OF BLOOD
IN JOEL 2:31 (HEBREW 3:4)

INTRODUCTION

<div dir="rtl">

הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יֵהָפֵךְ לְחֹשֶׁךְ
וְהַיָּרֵחַ לְדָם
לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא

</div>

The sun shall be turned to darkness,
and the moon to blood,
before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes.
(RSV, NRS)

In Joel 2:10 it is stated that שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ קָדָרוּ וְכוֹכָבִים אָסְפוּ נָגְהָם "the sun and the moon are darkened and the stars withdraw their shining." The same words appear again in 3:15 (Hebrew 4:15). But sandwiched between these statements which say the *moon will be darkened* is the statement that the moon will be turned to blood. This *cannot* mean it will become red *like* blood since the preposition prefixed to דָם is לְ "to, into," *not* כְּ "like." The MT וְהַיָּרֵחַ לְדָם has to be taken as literally as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יֵהָפֵךְ לְחֹשֶׁךְ "the sun will turn *to* darkness."[1] Wolff (1977: 68) commented on the difficulty of the text by suggesting: "That the moon turns 'bloody' indicates that the thought here is not, or at least not only, of ordinary eclipses of the sun and the moon, but at times of darkening to catastrophe." But if that were the case, one would expect the text to say "the earth will turn to blood."

Wolff and other commentators failed to indicate how the moon's becoming real blood—which could certainly present a red light in the sky—relates to darkness, *per se.* But the moon's turning literally into blood makes little sense since, with the moon being dark (2:10), it would not be visible anyway whatever its composition. These observation raise this twofold question: must דָם mean "blood," and if not what are the other lexical options for דָם?

דָם MEANING "DARK"

It has long been recognized that monosyllabic hollow verbs often have by-forms in which a medial consonantal ה or א appears in lieu of the vowel letters ו or י, including:

בוש	בְּהַת	"shame" (Aramaic)
דור	דַּהַר	"long time, age" (Arabic)
לוט	לָהַט	"secrecy" (Exo 7:11)
לוט	לָאַט	"secrecy" (Jud 4:21)
מול	מָהַל	"to circumcise"
מור	מָהַר	"to exchange"
נור	נָהַר	"a light" and "to shine"
רום	רָאַם	"to rise" (Zech 14:10)
רוץ	רְהַט	"run" (Aramaic, Syriac)

Out of this list דור and לוט and נור are of special interest because they illustrate that, in addition to by-forms with a ה or an א, there are monosyllabic nouns without the ה or the א or a ו. (In the Bible דֹר "generation" appears thirty-seven

times, טֶ֫לֶם "secrecy" occurs three times, and נֵר "lamp" occurs twenty-three times.)

The דָּם in Joel 2:31 (MT 3:4) can be derived from the root דָּהַם "to be dark" just as נֵר can be derived from נָהַר "to shine, to light." The *Niphᶜal* of דָּהַם, stem I, "to astonish" appears in Jer 14:9, נִדְהָם "to be astonished" (for which the Septuagint has ὑπνῶν "asleep," apparently from a *Vorlage* with נִרְדָּם).

The Arabic cognate of דָּהַם, stem II, is دهم (*dahama*) "he surprised, he took unawares" (BDB 187). But دهم, in forms 2 and 9, means "it blackened, it became black" and there are the derivative nouns دهمة (*duhmat*) "blackness," الدهمان (ʾad-*dahmânu*) "the night," الدهيم (ʾadduhaimu) "dark trial, calamity," and أدهم (ʾadhamu) "black." This last term is also used for "the twenty-ninth night of the [lunar] month because of its blackness," just as الدهم (ʾadduhmu) means "the three nights of the [lunar] month [during which is the change of the moon] because they are black" (Lane 1867: 925; Wehr 1979: 342).

In Gen 15:17 the וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה וַעֲלָטָה הָיָה "when the sun had gone down and it was dark," became in Walton's *London Polyglot* (1657) فلما غابت الشمس وكانت الدهم (*fa-lammâ ᶜâbat ʾaššamsu wakânat ʾadduhma*), with the Hebrew עֲלָטָה "darkness" being rendered by دهم (*duhmu*).[2] In light of such evidence, I have also proposed in Chapter X above that Jos 10: 12b–13a actually means "*Sun, be dark over Gibeon! Moon over the valley of Aijalon! The sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed—whereupon the nation took vengeance upon its enemies. The sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hasten to set as though it were a whole day!*"

CONCLUSION

Since דם "dark" can be related to דהם as נר "light" is re-
lated to נהר, there is no longer any compelling reason to read
every occurrence of דם in the Hebrew Bible as דָּם "blood."
The interpretation of דם needs to be contextually sensible.
Both occurrences of דם in Joel 2:30–31, in full agreement
with 2:10 and 3:15, can easily be translated as "darkness"
rather than "blood." Subsequent direct or indirect quotations
of Joel, as in the *Assumption of Moses* 10:6, which reads "the
moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into
blood," reflect the same misunderstanding of דם "dark" as
those in found in the Septuagint with its αἷμα and the Vulgate
with its *sanaguinem*.[3]

Joel's portents included earthly fires, the smoke of which
would bring about such darkness that the sun, moon and stars
will not be visible. He also used the language of lunar and
solar eclipses with their diminished light.[4]

NOTES

1. Kapelrud's (1948: 141) suggestion that the moon's turning to
blood was "probably above all her colour which is thought of, as
in Ex. 7:20f., where Moses changes the water of the Nile into
blood," must be faulted for its indifference to the force of the
preposition ל.

2. Castell (1669: 659) also noted the use of دهم (*duhmu*) in Zech
6:2, 6, and Rev 6:5. In Akkadian the cognate of דָּם/דָּהַם is
daʾāmu, as in *id-ḫI-im šamšum* "the sun darkened" and [*ūm*]*ūšu
utekkilu šamu id-da*[*ʾu-mu*] "the day darkened for him." (*CAD* 3:
1).

3. See Charles 1973 II: 410, 422. As Charles pointed out, biblical texts dealing with the darkness of the sun and the moon include Ezek 32:7, Ecc 12:2, Isa 13:10, Matt 24:29, Mark 13:24, Luke 23:45, Acts 2:20, Rev 6:12, 9:2.

4. Aguirre (1999) noted:

Viewers of total solar eclipse of August 11, 1999 reported that they were impressed with the eclipse's fantastic display of colors. The sky was a stunning deep blue, trimmed at the horizon with a rich orange rim of dawn. The corona, which was visible for a little over 50 seconds, was pearly white and uniformly round.

Espenak (1999) noted "During the 50 century period -1999 to 3000 (i.e.: 2000 B.C. to 3000 A.D.), Earth experiences 11,897 solar eclipses as follows:

All Eclipses	=	11897	=	100.0 %
Partial (P)	=	4197	=	35.5 %
Annular (A)	=	3960	=	33.3 %
Total (T)	=	3190	=	26.8 %
Hybrid (H)	=	550	=	4.6 % "

For a suggestion on which of these eclipses Joel had in mind, see Stephenson (1969: 224) and Ahlström's (1971: 73) response to Stephenson's proposal.

AMBIGUITIES IN AMOS' RÉSUMÉ
AMOS 1:1 AND 7:14

INTRODUCTION

Amos 1:1

הָיָה בַנֹּקְדִים   מִתְּקוֹעַ

[Amos] was among the ranchers from Tekoa

οἳ ἐγένοντο ἐν νακκαριμ ἐκ Θεκουε

[the words of Amos]

which occurred in *nakkarim* from Tekoa

Amos 7:14

לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי וְלֹא בֶן־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי

I (am/was) not a prophet and I (am/was) not the son of a prophet

οὐκ ἤμην προφήτης ἐγὼ οὐδὲ υἱὸς προφήτου

I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet

בּוֹקֵר אָנֹכִי וּבוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים

I am a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamores

ἀλλ᾽ ἢ αἰπόλος ἤμην καὶ κνίζων συκάμινα

but I am a goat herder and a scrapper of sycamores

The résumé of Amos is limited to the above verses, which together in Hebrew consists of fourteen words—excluding prepositions and conjunctions—seven of which are repeated words. Only six of these words are relatively unambiguous: the pronoun אָנֹכִי "I" (three times), the verb היה "he was,"[1]

and the noun נבִיא "prophet" (twice). The other eight words are, to varying degrees, ambiguous and warrant continued investigation. The ambiguities are here examined in sequence.

AMBIGUITY OF נֹקְדִים "RANCHERS"

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference is the transliterated νακκαριμ in the Septuagint of 1:1 for the MT נֹקְדִים "ranchers," which was obviously read as נַקְרִים and treated as a name or a noun unrelated to the stem נָקַר "to bore, to pick, to dig" (BDB: 669); otherwise one would have expected a translation rather than a transliteration.[2] Were the נֹקְרִים original it could be a very appropriate assessment of Amos' character—from Amaziah's point of view—given the semantic range of the Arabic cognate نقر (naqara) which includes "to offend, vex, hurt, insult, revile, malign, and defame," as well as "to investigate, to examine" (Lane 1893: 2838; Wehr 1979: 1161). However, Amos' reference to צֹאן "flock" in 7:15 mitigates against reading נֹקְרִים (with the Septuagint's νακκαριμ) instead of the MT נֹקְדִים.

However, there may be more to נֹקְדִים than first meets the eye. It is not a simple synonym of the more general רעה "to pasture, tend, graze." In Arabic نقد (naqd) is used for "a kind of sheep of ugly form . . . having short legs and ugly faces" (Lane 1893: 2836) and "a kind of sheep with very abundant wool" (BDB: 667). In I Kings 14:3, it is noted that מֵישַׁע מֶלֶךְ־מוֹאָב הָיָה נֹקֵד "Mesha king of Moab was a נוֹקֵד" and "he had to deliver annually to the king of Israel 100,000 lambs, and the wool of a hundred thousand rams."[3]

In light of Mesha's being a נֹקֵד on a grand scale, Anderson and Freedman (1989: 188) admitted that נֹקֵד "... can designate a wealthy pastoralist, which has made some people wonder whether Amos was a sheep owner and not merely a tender of flocks, as the language of 7:14 suggests." They concluded, however, "Amos lived in a different country, in a different century, and in differing economic circumstances from Mesha, so similarity need only be slight." But there may be more than a hint of wealth with נֹקֵד since نقد (*naqada*) also means "he examined money, he separated the bad from the good, he paid the price in cash or ready money"(Lane 1893: 2836; Wehr 1979: 1160).

Amos as a נֹקֵד may have been an *affluent* rancher once it is realized that נֹקֵד has multiple levels of meaning. The Arabic نقد (*naqada*) permits even a third level of meaning, namely, "to examine critically, to criticize, to call to account, to find fault, to show up the shortcomings" (Wehr 1979: 1160–1161). As an *affluent rancher* (נקד) Amos may well have had enough *money* (נקד) to be invited as the speaker at Amaziah's royal sanctuary where, instead of offering *cash* (נקד) he proffered devastating *criticism* (נקד), and, not surprisingly, he insulted and offended (נקד = Septuagint νακκαριμ) his audience.

AMBIGUITY ABOUT תְּקוֹעַ

There is no uncertainty about the location of תְּקוֹעַ Tekoa, identified with *Ḥirbet Tequᶜa* ten miles south of Jerusalem. It was "exactly on the border between the cultivated land to the west and steppe, the 'wilderness of Judah,' to the east" (Wolff 1977: 123). However, the derivation of the name has been problematic since any connection with תָּקַע "to thrust (a

weapon), to blow (a horn), to clap (the hands)" and תָּקוֹעַ "a wind instrument, horn" (BDB: 1075) seems dubious. But if the תְ of תְּקוֹעַ is only a prefix attached to the stem קוע — like רום and תְּרוּמָה — the Arabic cognate قاع/قوع (*qwᶜ* / *qâᶜ*) "an even place, plain or level land that produces nothing"(Lane 1893: 2994; Wehr 1979: 932) is very suggestive. If this is the derivation of Tekoa, it is ironic that one of the Israel's greatest prophets came from a town which, by name, was "a place that produced nothing."

AMBIGUITY OF לא

One of the most surprising statements in prophetic literature is Amos' declaration לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי, literally, "not a prophet I (am)."[4] Lacking a verb, the tense of the phrase is ambiguous, consequently the debate whether Amos intended to say, (1) "(formerly) I was not a prophet," implying that he acknowledged at that moment though he was *now* a prophet, or (2) "I am not (now) a prophet, implying he never was and never intended to be a prophet.

Even if a temporal modifier like עד היום הזה "until this day" or מן היום הזה "from this day" had been used, ambiguity would remain since the לא may not have been the negative particle לֹא "not" but the emphatic particle לֻא "indeed, surely, verily." Richardson (1966: 89) noted: "[Amos] not only spoke well of the נְבִיאִים but implied that he was one of them (3 8). Moreover he twice used the verb נבא to characterize his own ministry (38; 715)." Following Richardson's

proposal, the לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי should be revocalized and read
as לֻא נָבִיא אָנֹכִי "Indeed, I am a prophet!"[5]

Richardson rightly read the לֹא of לֹא בֶן־נָבִיא as the neg-
ative particle, reconstructing paronomasia with לֻא . . . לֹא
rather than simple repetition of לֹא . . . לֹא. A good analogy
of Amos' affirmation that he was indeed a *prophet* but not of
the *corps of prophets* can be found with Micaiah ben Imlah
and his four hundred colleagues (I Kings 22:6–33). Jeho-
shaphat inquired, הַאֵין פֹּה נָבִיא לַיהוָה עוֹד "Is there not
here another prophet for Yahweh?" King Jehoshaphat ack-
nowledged the *corps* of prophets (בְּנֵי־נְבִיאִים),[6] but he was
looking for someone outside the *corps*. Amos, like Micaiah,
was *surely* (לֻא) a prophet, but just as surely Amos and
Micaiah were *not* (לֹא) members of the *corps*.[7]

In terms of today's clerical terminology Amos was a lay
preacher who was not among the ordained and credentialed
clergy. As an independent lay preacher he was (1) free to
speak his mind—not the institutional line—and (2) free to be
bi-vocational. As with Amos' prophetic vocation, there were
also ambiguities concerning his other jobs.

AMBIGUITY OF בּוֹקֵר

The meaning of בּוֹקֵר "herdsman" has been problematic
for the Septuagint reads αἰπόλος "goatherd," whereas other
Greek texts have βουκόλος "[cattle] herdsman." Wolff
(1977: 306) identified בּוֹקֵר (which occurs only in this pas-
sage) "as a substantized participle, denominative from בָּקָר,
'cattle'." As such one would expect Amos to have been
involved with cows and bulls rather than with a צֹאן of sheep

and goats. Andersen and Freedman (1989: 778) settled for "cattleman," suggesting "that Amos was a kind of jack-of-all-trades: cowboy, shepherd, seasonal farm worker; *but not a prophet*" (italics mine). Wolff (1977: 306) opted for a "live-stock breeder." The Arabic cognate بقار (*baqqâr*) is equally ambiguous since it can mean "cowhand, cowboy" as well as "an owner or possessor of oxen, bulls, cows" (Lane 1863: 234; Wehr 1979: 84).

The verb בָּקַר "to inquire, to seek" (BDB: 183) is well attested in Hebrew in the *Pi'el*, consequently no one has proposed to read בּוֹקֵר as a *Qal* participle "examiner, inves-tigator." However, the Arabic بقر (*baqara*) in form I (= *Qal*) is clearly attested meaning "he examined, or inspected" and "he inquired, he searched" (Lane 1863: 233). In light of this, בּוֹקֵר could be the *Qal* participle "inquirer," rather than the singular example of the denominative meaning "cattleman." In view of the Septuagint νακκαριμ (= נֹקְרִים "investigators, examiners") in 1:1, the possibility that בּוֹקֵר means "exam-iner" cannot be discounted—not to mention that נֹקֵד can also mean "an examiner (of money)." If Amos was an "examiner" the object of his investigation will be hidden in the ambiguities in the last two words of his résumé.

AMBIGUITY OF בּוֹלֵס

Just as בּוֹקֵר is the only example in the Hebrew Bible of a denominative from בָּקָר "cattle" becoming the participle "cattleman," בּוֹלֵס is the only example of a denominative from the Arabic cognate بلس (*balas*) "fig" meaning "a tender of figs" (Harper 1905: 174). The Targum omitted בּוֹלֵס but

it noted that the sycamores were in the Shephelah, not in the highlands of Tekoa. The Septuagint translated בּוֹלֵס as κνίζων "scraping," and Theodotian rendered it as χαράσσων "marking." Wright (1976: 368) has well summarized the varied evidence, ancient and modern, about what Amos did to the Shephelah figs, concluding "one of the tasks of Amos was to nip the sycamore fruit in order to hasten ripening. . . . [or] the concern of Amos with the sycamore was in providing fodder for those [animals] in his charge."

Because the Arabic س (*s*) regularly appears in Hebrew as a שׁ rather than שׂ, the original spelling of בּוֹלֵס may have been בּוֹלשׁ. This seems to have been the reading of Aquila who translated בּוֹלֵס as ἔρευνον "he examined," as though this verb was from בָּלַשׁ "to inquire" (Jastrow 1903: 175, BDB: 119, n. pr. בִּלְשָׁן "inquirer" [?]). Because Aquila is renowned for extreme literalisms, בּוֹלשׁ warrants serious attention. The interchange in Hebrew of שׂ and ס is well attested, as with (1) סוּג or שׂוּג "to backslide" and "to fence about" (2) סוּר or שׂוּר (Hosea 9:12) "to turn aside," and (3) סַפַּחַת "scab" but שָׂפַח "to cause a scab" (BDB, 705). Aquila's translation suggests that the *Vorlage* was בּוֹלשׁ (= בּוֹלֵשׁ "searcher") which was *misread* as בּוֹלֵשׂ and changed to בּוֹלֵס when שׁקמים was read as "sycamores." If בּוֹלשׁ was originally in the text and בּוֹלֵס was secondary, the question arises, "Did Amos search for sycamores trees or really have anything to do with figs?" This question leads to the final ambiguity in Amos' résumé

AMBIGUITY OF שקמים

There is more than one way to read and interpret שקמים. It can obviously be vocalized שִׁקְמִים "sycamores" as traditionally understood." But it can also be pointed as שֶׁקָמִים and read as the relative particle שֶׁ affixed to the plural participle of קוּם. The relative שֶׁ followed by a participle of קוּם is attested in Jud 5:7, עד שקמתי דבורה "until the rising of Deborah." (שֶׁ + קמת + י [the *hireq compaginis*, GKC 90ᵐ]). Instead of speaking of *tending* cattle and *searching* for sycamores, Amos may have stated: בּוֹקֵר אָנֹכִי וּבוֹלֵשׁ שֶׁקָמִים "I am an inquirer and an investigator of what are the happenings."[8] (The participle suggests that the events under investigation were current events.) Had Amos simply said אָנֹכִי דוֹרֵשׁ אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה "I am investigating what will come to pass" rather than אָנֹכִי בוֹלֵשׁ שֶׁקָמִים, the "figs" and "sycamores" would never have made it into his résumé.

CONCLUSION

Ambiguities can seldom be resolved into certainties, but ambiguities addressed can provide probabilities. Concerning Amos' résumé, the reference to צאן in 7:15 ("the Lord took me from following the *flock*") corroborates the tradition that Amos was a נוֹקֵד "rancher" of sheep/goats (probably on a grand scale like Mesha of Moab) and was successful enough to have time, energy, and finances for an *avocation* as well as a *vocation*. While tradition asserts that Amos' second vocation was a lowly job working with figs and fodder, the consonantal Hebrew text suggests—upon reading שׁ for ס—that Amos' other occupation (or preoccupation) was that of a

researcher and an examiner of what was happening in his time.

In support of this untraditional interpretation of 7:14, one can appeal not only to cognates and the semantic range of all the lexemes, but also to Amos' oracles themselves which are as erudite as they are artistic. Amos demonstrated a breadth of knowledge which came as much by education as from direct revelation. His inquiries may have been the by-product of his success as a rancher, which accorded him leisure for an avocation of search and study. Far from being a jack-of-all-trades, Amos may well have been a master of two: ranching and research. Personal wealth from ranching may have been the "credential" which opened the doors of the royal chapel to him as a prophet; and his personal integrity in declaring the truth he learned may have closed those same doors against him. Being a בּוֹלֵשׁ "searcher" and a בּוֹקֵר "researcher" was preparation for Amos's becoming a prophet. His *avocation* became primary, culminating in a career change from *rancher* to *prophet*.

NOTES

1. The Septuagint reads the plural ἐγένοντο as though the Hebrew was היו rather than היה, with the initial דְּבְרֵי as the subject rather than עָמוֹס.

2. Theodotian also had difficulty with נֹקְדִים and simply transliterated it as νωκεδείμ (Hatch and Redpath 2: 956; Wolff: 116, citing Jerome's commentary, as *nocedim*).

3. The Septuagint reads καὶ Μωσα βασιλεὺς Μωαβ ἦν νωκηδ "and Mesha, king of Moab was a *nôqēd*," having only a transliteration of the Hebrew נוקד.

4. It should also be noted that the Arabic cognates of נבא / נביא
are: (1) نبيء (*nabîʾ*) or نبي (*nabî*) "a prophet who acquaints or
informs mankind, or who is aquainted or informed, respecting God
and things unseen" (Lane 2752–2753); or (2) نبو (*nabû*) / نبا (*nabâ*)
"to be in conflict, to irk, to offend"; or (3) نبه (*nabih*) "noble,
famous, distinguished, perspicacious," with نبا (*nabaʾ*) meaning
"news, information, intelligence, report" (Wehr 1100, 1104–1105).
On the interchange of א and ה, see GKC §19ᵃ.

5. Wolff (1977: 306) noted Richardson's proposal but followed
tradition. Andersen and Freedman (1989: 777) made no reference
to Richardson's proposal; but Driver's article (1955: 91–92) is
noted, though not discussed. Driver observed that "the simple *lōʾ*
'not' is used with interrogative force, which easily becomes as-
severative, strange as this may seem . . ." The literature on the
emphatic ל and לא continues to grow. In addition to references
cited by Richardson, note McDaniel (1968) 206–208; Dahood
(1975): 341–342); Whitley (1975: 202–204; and Huehnergard
(1983) 569–593, especially 591. See also Chapter XV, 129–130,
above.

6. Ackroyd (1956: 94) has well summarized the options on the
ambiguous בֶּן־נָבִיא,

> Either it means 'I belong to a prophetic family' where the
> word family may be equivalent to 'guild' or 'profession,'
> just as in the expression 'sons of the prophets' we have in
> such associations in Israel (cf. also I S 10⁵). Or it means
> 'I have the quality which belongs to a prophet,' just as
> בֶּן־חַיִל means 'a man who has the quality of חַיִל' and
> the בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים are 'beings which have the quality of
> אֱלֹהִים.'

7. See also Wolff (1979) 313, especially the final paragraph of his
excursus on "The Vocation of Amos," where he stated "Amos

establishes a sharp contrast . . . between a prophet by virtue of office . . . a salaried cult official and his own independent activity sanctioned by Yahweh alone."

8. For the semantic range of קוּם, see See BDB: 877 and Wehr 1979: 934–938, where the following definitions are included, "to come to pass, take place, be on-going; to happen."

THE MOBILE SHRINE IN
ZECHARIAH 5:5–11

INTRODUCTION

At first glance Zechariah's sixth vision in 5:5–11 appears to depict a woman sitting in a basket, requiring a very big basket or a very small woman. The אֵיפָה, according to various estimates (Meyers 1987: 296), was about a bushel, more or less, and was much too small a basket in which to seat a woman. Consequently, the *woman* has at times been exegetically miniaturized to a female *figurine* to accommodate the container. However, a closer examination of the text led some commentators to shy away from 'a woman in a basket.' Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 293) opted for a simple transliteration of the key word as follows:

זֹאת הָאֵיפָה הַיּוֹצֵאת. . . . וְזֹאת
אִשָּׁה אַחַת יוֹשֶׁבֶת בְּתוֹךְ הָאֵיפָה

"This is the Ephah which goes forth . . . .
and this is one woman seated in the Ephah."

In this study I present the evidence for interpreting Zech 5:7 as follows, with the key words in italics: "This is the *mobile shrine* . . . . and this is the '*first lady*' sitting in the middle of the *shrine*." The shrine would have been the counterpart to the אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת "ark of the covenant of Yahweh of hosts" (I Sam 4:4). The אֵיפָה יוֹצֵאת "*mobile shrine*" may have resembled and function somewhat like the sacred palanquins (*o-mikoshi*) used to transport a deity in Shinto festivals.

אֵיפָה MEANING "SHRINE"

Unrecognized by lexicographers and translators until this century was the fact that אֵיפָה had more than one meaning. Just as בתים could be בַּתִּים "measuring receptacles" (for liquids = the *bath*) or בָּתִּים "houses, receptacles, temples," and as עַיִן could be either an "eye" or a "spring" (of water), so the אֵיפָה could be "a bushel like container for dry goods" or "a room, cela, or shrine." Recognition that אֵיפָה could be a "shrine" was made by Marenof (1931: 264) who associated it with the shrine of the Sumerian goddess Nin-Girsu, known as the *E-pa* "summit house." Marenof suggested that *e-pa* became the Hebrew אֵיפָה in the same way Sumerian *e-gal* became the הֵיכָל "palace, temple." As noted, Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 297), with some ambivalence, embraced Marenof's interpretation and opted to transliterate אֵיפָה as "Ephah," with a capital "E" to indicate "the shrine frame of reference," rather than a straightforward translation of it as "shrine."[1]

What Marenof could not have known in 1932, and what was not mentioned by Carol and Eric Meyers in 1987, is that the masculine form (*'ap*) of אֵיפָה appears in the Ugaritic texts as a synonym for *ḥdrm* "rooms" and with *t̮ġr* "gate" (= the entrance / court of the gate" (Gordon 1965: 362, #264; 364, # 298). The absence of any cultic association of *'ap* at Ugarit is noteworthy. Translating it as "shrine," as proposed in this study, comes from context, especially the use of בַּיִת "temple" in 5:11 (like the בַּיִת used for the *temple* of Yahweh in I Kings 7: 12, 40–51).

The MT הַיּוֹצֵאת "the one going forth" suggests that the shrine was portable and mobile. In a vision even a room-size

shrine could have had mobility and have been large enough
for a woman or a life-size statue of a goddess.

The כִּכַּר עֹפֶרֶת, usually translated "lead weight" which
served as the roof of the shrine was probably just a simple
"circular cover." The עֹפֶרֶת is the equivalent of the Arabic
غفيرة (*ģufirat*) "cover"; and עפר can be the cognate of عـفر
(*ʿafar*) "dust" or غـفر (*ģafara*) "he covered/concealed," as in
the phrase غفر المتـاع في الوعاء (*ģafara ʾalmatâ ʿa fî ʾalwiʿ ā ʾi*)
"he concealed the things in a vessel" (Lane 1877: 2273).

The MT עֹפֶרֶת would be the normal feminine participle in
agreement with the feminine כִּכַּר. The extended discussions
in some commentaries about עֹפֶרֶת "lead" and כִּכַּר "talents"
seem gratuitous, and the failure to mention غـفر (*ģafara*) has
to be an oversight. The fact that a *circular covering* was
placed over the "mouth" of the אֵיפָה does not require the
אֵיפָה to be a vessel. The semantic range of פֶה "mouth" in-
cludes "end" and "top" (as in Pro 8:3, לְפִי־קָרֶת, "from the top
of rafters," or the MT לְפִי־קָרֶת "to the end of town").

THE MEANING OF עונם / עינם

Delitzsch (1920: 105) listed Zech 5:6 among the numerous
texts in which there was a confusion of י and ו, like Hos 10:
10 where the *Kethib* is עֹינֹתָם but the *Qere* is עונתם "their
sins." Although there is no *Qere/Kethib* for Zech 5:6, the
Vorlage of the Septuagint and the Syriac must have read
עונם, "their iniquity," whereas the *oculus eorum* "their eye"
of the Vulgate indicates a *Vorlage* with עינם. The English
translations vary with the KJV, NKJ, NAS, and YLT all

following the Hebrew עַיִן, and translating עֵינָם as "resem-blance," or "appearance" or "aspect." The RSV, NRSV, and NAS followed the Greek and Syriac and rendered עֵינָם as "iniquity" or "guilt." The NIV emended the text to עֲוֹן הָעָם "the iniquity of the people." Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 297) stated, "the MT need not be altered," but they never-theless emended עֵינָם to עֵינָהּ "its appearance," the femi-nine antecedent of *its* being the Ephah since there was no explicit antecedent for the masculine plural suffix ם.

The proposal here is that עֵינָם of the Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen* should be followed, but the stem עוֹן should *not* be restricted to עָוֹן "iniquity." Knowing how the vision ends helps in understanding how it developed. The mobile shrine was to be relocated by winged women to Shinar where a temple would be built for it—suggestive of the shrine atop a ziggurat. Knowing this, it seems obvious that the figure in the shrine was a goddess to be worship in Shinar—but not in Judah! The female figure hidden in the shrine had her rightful place of worship and her legitimate devotees for whom she was עוֹנָם "their help,"[2] with עוֹן being the cognate of Arabic عون (*ᶜawn*) "aid, assistance," used in reference to God's aid-ing a person—as in the prayer "O my Lord, *aid* me, and *aid* not against me" (Lane 1874: 2203; Wehr 1979: 771–772). The ambiguity of the plural suffix ם seems intentional. If the shrine was a cult center in Shinar, it would be עוֹנָם "their [Shinar's] help," but, when the shrine became a cult center in Judah, it then became עֲוֹנָם "their [Judah's] iniquity." The ambiguity of the ם is a clue to the *double entendre* of עוֹן.

אִשָּׁה אַחַת "FIRST LADY"

The feminine אִשָּׁה אַחַת "the first lady" functions like the masculine יוֹם אֶחָד "the first day" of Gen 1:5. The singularity of the person rests in the singular demonstrative זֹאת, as well as the singular form of the noun. In terms of number the אחת is superfluous since אִשָּׁה is morphologically singular. Thus, it seems best to interpret אִשָּׁה אַחַת as title of priority and/or status. If priority was the focus, it suggests a title for a goddess (with אִשָּׁה אַחַת being a circumlocution for אלה אחת or אלת אחת "first goddess." A reference to such a goddess may survive in the סֵמֶל הַקִּנְאָה of Eze 8:3, which can be translated "the image of jealousy" or as "the image of the creatress," since קנה/קנא can also mean "to create"—as well as "to acquire" and "to be zealous" (Gordon 1965: 479). Jeremiah's reference to the "Queen of heaven" (44:17–19, 25) would be another likely candidate for the title of אִשָּׁה אַחַת "first lady." Whether it was priority or status, אִשָּׁה אַחַת reflects a sarcastic modification by the angel of Yahweh of what must have been a title of reverence for the goddess and/or her image.[3]

For the devotees in Shinar the goddess figure in the mobile shrine would be הָרִשְׁעָה "the one making [the means of subsistence] abundant," but for the people of Judah in covenant with Yahweh she was הָרִשְׁעָה "the wicked one." There is surely another *double entendre* here. Hebrew רשעה means not only "wickedness," it can also be the cognate of Arabic رسغ (*rasaġa*) "he made ample, he made abundant" and the adjective رسيغ (*rasîġ*) "ample, abundant" (Lane 1867: 1081).

CONCLUSIONS

The sixth vision of Zechariah suggests several subtle word associations with dry or liquid measures: אֵיפָה "the *ephah*" and "shrine"; בַּת "the *bath*" and בֵּית "temple"; כֹּר "the *kor*" and כִּכַּר "circular." It also has two cases of *double entendre*: רִשְׁעָה "wickedness" and רַשְׁעָה "abundant," as well as עוֹנָם "their iniquity" and עוֹנָם "their help." It has one circumlocution with אִשָּׁה אַחַת "the first lady" meaning אֵלָה אַחַת "the premier goddess." Because the אִשָּׁה אַחַת was to be enshrined in Babylon there is no basis to interpret the removal of her image to Shinar as the symbolic legitimation for deporting Babylonian women from Judah.

Thematically this vision resonates with the henotheism assumed in Deut 4:19, 29:26 and 32:9 (MT). Other gods had their designated lands, but חֵלֶק יְהוָֹה עַמּוֹ יַעֲקֹב חֶבֶל נַחֲלָתוֹ "Yahweh's portion is his people, Jacob his allotted heritage."

NOTES

1. Petersen (1984: 254) limits his discussion of Marenof to a footnote, stating: "Ingenious though this suggestion was, it has not found general acceptance."

2. Note KBS II: 799, which cites the Arabic cognate عون [I, II, and IV] "to help," without citing any occurrences in Hebrew. The MT מעון or מעונך in Ps 71:3; 90:1; and 91:9 has been recognized by Ben Yehuda (1908: 3155), Zorell (1956: 455), Kopf (1958: 187–188), and Dahood (1968: 172, 322, 333) as being derived from עון, the cognate of عون "to help, give succor," and has been equated with the nouns معوان (*mi⁽wân*) and معونة (*ma⁽ûnat*) "help, aid." The

עני of Zech 9:9, coupled with נושע "savior," is probably from this root also.

3. Note Lane's (1863: 27) comment: "أحد ('*aḥad*), without the article, is used as an epithet specially in relation to God." The feminine אחת would appear to be an epithet in Hebrew for a goddess figure, even though אשה appears in lieu of the anticipated אלה or אלת.

XXVI

THE SETTING STAR
IN MATTHEW 2:9

INTRODUCTION

Commentators have puzzled over the need for a star to help the magi travel from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. Beare (1981: 80) commented, " . . . it is hard to imagine how a star could give any kind of guidance over such a short distance (ten kilometers), or how it could be imagined as standing still over a little village, and even over a particular cottage." Similarly, a few years later Davies and Allison (1988: 246) pondered, ". . . why would one need supernatural guidance to make the six mile trek from the capital to Bethlehem? And how could a heavenly light be perceived as standing over a precise place, seemingly a particular house?" Beare did not bother to answer the questions he raised, and Davies and Allison answered their two questions by adding a third, "Or do these questions stem from an unimaginative and overly literal interpretation of Matthew's text?" They indirectly answered their third question in the affirmative by calling attention to the very imaginative interpretations of Clement of Alexandria (died 215) and Chrysostom (407), among others, who equated the star with an angel or had the star descend until it actually stood over the infant's head.

However, there are some likely answers to the questions raised by Beare, Davies, and Allison. But, in lieu of wild imagination and a disregard of the literal meaning of the text, a bit of controlled philological inquiry permits the text to be read quite literally and logically.

THE GREEK AND HEBREW TEXTS

The text of Matt 2:9 in the *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* (Howard 1995: 6) probably holds the key. The relevant part of the Greek text to be compared with the Hebrew text reads

ὁ ἀστήρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ,
προῆγεν αὐτούς, ἕως ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη
ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον.

The *star* which they had seen in the East
went before them, until it *stood*
over the place where the child was.

Even though the verb ἱστάναι in the Septuagint was used to translate thirty-six different Hebrew words, there is no ambiguity about the meaning of ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστάθη "the star stood." But when a graphically similar phrase appears in Hebrew, there is unintentionally an ambiguity about the meaning the text. For example, Matt 2:9 in the Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* (Howard 1995: 6–7) reads

הכוכב אשר ראו במזרח
הולך לפניהם
עד בואם אל המקום
וכאשר באו בית לחם
עמד נגד המקום אשר שם הילד

the *star* which they had seen in the East
was going before them,
until they came to the place.[1]
When they entered Bethlehem
it *stood* before the place where the child was.

When הכוכב and עמד are joined as subject and verb (cf. Sir 43:10, στήσονται κατὰ κρίμα = עמד חק "[the stars]

stand as ordered"), the phrase may mean "the star stood." But עמד can have two other meanings. It can be the cognate of Arabic عمد (ʿamada) which is used with reference to the dawning of the day, as in the expression عمود الصبح (ʿamûdu ʾaṣṣubḥi) "the bright gleam of dawn, the dawn that rises and spreads, filling the horizon with brightness" (Lane 1874: 2153). Were this the cognate, הכוכב עמד could mean something like "the star gleamed," suggesting in the context of Matt 2:9 that when the magi came to Bethlehem a *burst of starlight* signaled the magi that they had reached their destination.

On the other hand, הכוכב עמד could mean that "the star set/disappeared." This would be the required meaning were the cognate of עמד the Arabic غمد (ǵamada) "to conceal" which is used (1) for *sheathing* a sword, (2) for thorns being *concealed* by leaves, (3) for wells having their water *covered* by dirt, (4) for the sky being *obscured* by clouds, (5) for a cloth put over something to *conceal* it from the eyes of another, (6) *for concealing* something with a veil, and (7) in the expression اغتمد الليل (ʾiǵtamada ʾallayla) "he entered into [the darkness] of the night" (Lane 1877: 2291). In light of this evidence it is reasonable to concluded that עמד, stem II, could also be used "to cover or conceal a star, to engulfed (a star) in darkness" or for a star "to set."

Moreover, the Syriac ܥܡܕ (ʿǎmad) "to set, to go down" is the cognate of غمد (ǵamada) and עמד, stem II, as proposed here. The כְּבוֹא־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ "about sunset" in II Sam 3:35 and I Kings 22:36, appears in the Syriac as ܟܕ ܕܥܡܕ ܫܡܫܐ (kad diʿĕmad šemšaʾ). The basic meaning of the Syriac root is "to plunge, to sink, to set" (used with the *sun* or *stars* or *day*), as well as "to immerse, to baptize" (R. Payne Smith 1901: 666; J. Payne Smith 1957: 416).

CONCLUSIONS

Although ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστάθη can only mean "the star stood," Hebrew עמד הכוכב can, in light of Arabic and Syriac cognates, mean (1) "the star stood," or (2) "the star gleamed" or (3) "the star set." Given the fact that the magi came from the East, it would be quite natural for the traditions of the magi to have been written or remembered in language of the East, namely, in Aramaic. Even though Jastrow (1903: 1086) does not cite any occurrences of עמד used in Western Aramaic for the "setting" of the sun or the stars, the Syriac (Eastern Aramaic) evidence is compelling.

With support from the Shem Tob Hebrew text of Matthew, the Hebrew *Vorlage* can be reconstructed and translated as

$$הכוכב אשר ראו במזרח הולך לפניהם . . .$$
$$כאשר באו בית לחם עמד$$
$$נגד המקום אשר שם הילד$$

The *star* which they saw in the East went before them
. . . . just as they came to Bethlehem
— right there where the child was —
it *set*.

When the Eastern tradition of the magi was introduced into Western tradition, the original meaning of this עמד—the cognate of غمد (ġamada) "to be engulfed in darkness" and ܓܡܕ (ʿĕmad) "to go down, to set"—was lost. And, as is obvious from the Greek text, the עמד in its *Vorlage* was understood as the more widely used verb meaning "to stand."

A star somehow standing over a manger, as though it were a laser beam from infinity, appears to be the result of a mistranslation of a Hebrew/Aramaic source. If it was in Hebrew the עמד should have been given the meaning attested in Jos

10:12–13, where the MT וְיָרֵחַ עָמָד ... וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ should be rendered "and the moon had been engulfed in darkness ... and the sun set."[2] If the source was in Aramaic it should have been understood as the Syriac ܥܡܕ (ʿĕmad) "to set."

The ambiguity of הכוכב ... עמד adds credibility to the tradition. It is most unlikely that the ambiguity would have originated in a fiction fabricated in Judean or Galilean Hebrew, in which case one would expect הכוכב בא "the star set" (the opposite of הכוכב הלך "the star went" or, in the language of Num 24:17, דָּרַךְ כּוֹכָב "the star marched forth").

The ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστάθη "the star stood" remains problematic. But recognition of a Hebrew *Vorlage* to Matthew opens up avenues of inquiry which are very productive. Hebrew homographs have long been the bane of the interpreter; but they frequently are the key for recovering the meaning of the text.

NOTES

1. This phrase has no equivalent in the Greek text tradition. It is a misplaced phrase belonging to the end of 2:7, to be read as

 וישאל מהם היטב זמן ראית
הכוכב להם עד בואם אל המקומו

he asked them well concerning the time the star
appeared to them until their coming into his territory.

The ו of המקומו came from the ו of the following וכאשר. The unrecorded answer probably set the age limit "from two years old and under," as mentioned in Matt 2:16.

2. See Chapter X above.

XXVII

WHAT NOT TO DO
WITH A LAMP

INTRODUCTION

The Greek synoptic gospels, along with the *Gospel of Thomas*, are in agreement that the place for a λύχνος / ⲎⲂⲤ [*hēbs*] "lamp" is on a λυχνία / ⲖⲨⲬⲚⲒⲀ [*luxnia*] "lamp-stand." The Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* concurs with the Greek and the Coptic traditions, stating that the נר "lamp" was placed on a מנורה "lamp stand." But there are five different ideas in the tradition as to what people do *not* do with a lamp, including the fact that people do not placed a lamp (1) under a bushel, (2) or under a vessel, (3) or under a bed, (4) in a hidden place (5) or in a cellar. The question to be addressed is whether Jesus' made multiple statements using different terms on different occasions, or did he make one statement which was interpreted in multiple ways in the Gospels and tradition. The six relevant texts for review follow (with the key words in bold font).

PROBLEMATIC TEXTS
Matthew 5:15

They do not light a lamp to put it in a **hidden place** (במקום נסתר) where it cannot shine, but they place it on a lamp stand (המנורה) so that it might shine for all in the house."[1]

Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a **bushel** (μό-διον),[2] but on a stand (λυχνίαν),[3] and it gives light to all in the house."[4]

Luke 8:16 and 11:33

No one after lighting a lamp covers it with a **vessel** (σκεύει),[5] or puts it under a **bed** (κλίνης),[6] but puts it on a stand (λυχνίας), that those who enter may see the light."

No one after lighting a lamp puts it in a **cellar** (κρύπτην)[7] or under a **bushel** (μόδιον), but on a stand (λυχνίαν), that those who enter may see the light."[8]

Mark 4:21

And he said to them, "Is a lamp brought[9] in to be put under a **bushel** (μόδιον), or under a **bed** (κλίνην), and not on a stand (λυχνίαν)?"

Gospel of Thomas Logia 33

No one lights a lamp and puts it under a **bushel** (ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ [*maage*]), nor does he put it in a **hidden place** (ⲙⲁⲉϥϩⲏⲡ [*maefhēp*]), but sets it on a lamp stand (ⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ [*luxnia*]) so that all who come in and go out may see its light.[10]

OBSERVATIONS

The first observation is that the Shem Tob text is not a translation of the Latin *sub modio* nor of the Greek ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον "under a bushel." Surprisingly, the במקום נסתר "hidden place" of Shem Tob agrees with the ⲙⲁⲉϥϩⲏⲡ [*maefhēp*] "hidden place" of *Logia* 33 and the κρύπτην "hidden/secret place, cellar" of Luke 11:33. If the text of Shem Tob were a translation from the Latin or Greek, as some scholars insist, it is very difficulty to explain why the translator misunderstood the common word μόδιον/*modio*,

"a measure for grain" and ended up with a "secret/hidden place."

Luke's different doublets, "vessel" and "bed" followed by "cellar" and "bushel," do not match Mark's doublet of "bushel" and "bed" or the doublet of "bushel" and "hidden place" in *Logia* 33. The "Q" source might account for Matthew's "bushel" and Luke's "bushel," but as currently defined, "Q" cannot account for Luke's four-fold "vessel," "bed," "cellar," and "bushel"—nor the "hidden place" in the Shem Tob text and in the Gospel of Thomas Logia 33.

Since "Q" provided no help in understanding the differences in this saying of Jesus, commentators have given only passing attention to them. Davies and Allison (1988: 477) compared Matt 5:15 with Luke 11:33 and simply raised the question: "But what of εἰς κρύπτην (= 'in a cellar', 'in a dark and hidden place' or 'grotto'; cf. Josephus, *Bell.* 5.330)?" There was, however, no answer given to the question. They simply made two assertions: (1) that κρύπτην is not found in the Septuagint and is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, "and so not obviously from Luke"; and (2) "one may doubt whether 'under the bed' (or: bench?) first stood in the saying." Mann (1986: 268) noted only that Matthew and Mark agree in substance, without any mention of the five variants in the tradition. He concluded, "The saying is somewhat enigmatic, for making the point that the function of the lamp is to give light does not accord well with the earlier text (4:12), which suggest that in some fashion the revelation is deliberately hidden."

ORTHOGRAPHIC AND LEXICAL ISSUES

All the variations of this saying can be accounted for by a written Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage* which was understood in different ways, depending of the reading of one letter as either a ר or a ד and a second letter as a י or a ו. The Hebrew Bible has a number of *Qere/Kethib* variants reflecting scribal confusion of י or ו, as in Prov 23:5 where the הֲתָעוּף was to be read as הֲתָעִיף "you make [your eyes] flutter,"[11] and the וְעִיף (*sic*) was to be read as יָעוּף/יָעוֹף "he will fly." A *Qere/ Kethib* variant reflecting a misreading of a ר and ד occurs in Jer 35:11, where the MT אֲרָם "Aram" was read as אֱדֹם "Edom" in the Syriac tradition.[12]

The variants "bushel," "vessel," "bed," "cellar," and "hidden place" may simply go back to a Hebrew/Aramaic word spelled either סיר/סוד or סוד/סיד. The ambiguously written word would have been one of the following well attested words:

(1) Syriac ܣܘܕܐ (*sawdāʾ* or *sûdāʾ*) "a measure for grain, less than a pound." The Hebrew/Aramaic cognate would be סודא or סוד.[13]

(2) Syriac ܣܘܕ (*sĕwad*) "a rug, a divan-cushion,"[14] which is related to the Arabic وساد (*wisâd*) "a pillow or cushion."[15] The Hebrew/Aramaic cognate would be סוד or סודא.

(3) Hebrew/Aramaic סיר (*sîr*) "a pot, water pot, a utensil for boiling," as in 2 Kings 4:38–41. It would be equal to Greek σιρός and Arabic زير (*zîr*)"[16]

(4) Hebrew סוד (*sôd*) "a foundation, a secret place, a base."[17]

CONCLUSION

The *Vorlage* of the Hebrew Matthew of Shem Tob probably had at one time בסוד "in a hidden place" in its text. Given the ambiguity of סוד, which could also be (a) "a foundation," (b) "a measuring container," or (c) "a cushion," the synonym סתר "secret place" replaced the original סוד in the *Shem Tob* text. The Greek Matthew understood the סוד/סור in its *Vorlage* to be סוד, (1) above. The uncertainty of the reading produced a doublet in Luke 8:16 derived from סיר and סַוד, (3) and (2) above. In Luke 11:33 a conflation of סוד and סוד, (4) and (1) above, appeared. Mark's Hebrew source read the סוד as סוד and סַוד, (1) and (2) above. However, the Gospel of Thomas reflects a tradition which conflated סוד and סוד, (1) and (4) above.

The κρύπτην "hidden place" of Luke 11:33, the מקום נסתר "hidden place" in Matt 5:15 of Shem Tob, and the ⲙⲁⲉϥϩⲏⲡ [*maefhēp*] "hidden place" of *Logia* 33 reflect the obvious: people do not light a lamp to hide the light. Were darkness preferred, lamps would not be lit in the first place. Were the saying focused on fire-safety, a reminder that careful people do not put a lighted lamp under flammable containers, cushions, or sleeping mats would make sense. But Jesus' focus was not on fire-safety. The μόδιον "bushel" and the κλίνης "bed," both of which could be flammable, are not likely to have been the intended meaning of the original סוד.

Luke's "covering the lamp with a vessel" (σκεύει = סיר),
instead of "putting the lamp under a vessel" may be a logical
adjustment since the סיר, as suggested by its Arabic cognate,
could have been a water jar which was nearly pointed on the
bottom, making it difficult to put anything under it. By turn-
ing the vessel upside-down, the wide upper part of the vessel
would easily cover and extinguish the lamp.

These observations and interpretations lead to the conclu-
sion that Jesus did not make multiple sayings about lamps on
lamp stands, but his one statement was open to multiple read-
ings once it was written down in a script in which a ר and ד
and a י and ו were easily confused.

NOTES

1. This is the translation of the Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn
Shaprut (Howard 1987: 16–17; 1995: 16–17). On the use in
Hebrew of the third person masculine plural for a personal indefi-
nite (i.e., "people generally") see GKC 144ᵉ.

2. Liddell and Scott: 1140, "= Latin *modius*, a dry measure, = 1/6
of the corn-measure called μέδινος. Arndt and Gingrich (1957:
527) defined this Latin loanword as "a peck-measure."

3. Liddell and Scott: 1067, "lamp stand."

4. Hill (1972: 116) conjectured, "The impersonal plural ('*men* light
. . .'), which is infrequent in Greek (save in special *legousi* ['men
say'] phrase) but common in Aramaic, and use of the definite
article ('under *the* measure . . . upon *the* lamp stand') to denote a
single person or thing as being present to the mind under given
circumstances (an acknowledged Semitism) suggest the Aramaic
origin and authenticity of the saying." The same conclusion was

expressed earlier by Black (1967: 126–127) and later by Gundry (1994: 77). See above, note 1, for the Hebrew use of the indefinite personal 3mpl.

5. Liddell and Scott: 1607, "vessel or implement of any kind."

6. Liddell and Scott: 961, "that on which one lies, couch, used at meals or for bed."

7. Liddell and Scott: 1000; Arndt and Gingrich: 455; Oepke 1966: 959, κρύπτω "to conceal something, to keep secret, to keep something from being seen; κρυπτός "hidden, secret, a hidden thing, a hidden place"; κρύπτη "a dark or hidden place, a cellar."

8. The phrase οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον is omitted by 𝔭⁴⁵ 𝔭⁷⁵ L Ξ 0124 f1 700 al syˢ sa (UBS: 260) and the NEB. Marshall (1978: 488) suggested that the phrase "could be due to assimilation to the parallels; but the structure of Mark 4:21 suggests that the original wording had two phrases as here (of which Matthew has omitted one)."

9. Gundry (1993: 212–216) suggested that the Greek ἔρχεται may reflect the Aramaic אתא in the ʾIttaphal form meaning "was [the lamp] *brought*?" W. Lane (1974: 165) rendered this verse quite literally, "Does the lamp come for the purpose of being placed under the measure or under a couch? Does it not come for the purpose of being placed on a lamp stand?"

10. Guillaumont 1959: 22–23. Crum 1939: 212–213, noting that ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ [*maage*] also means "ear." Some have conjectured that the scribe's intent was to write ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ / μόδιον "bushel."

11. Note עַפְעַף "eyelid," perhaps from "fluttering." While עוּף means "to fly" and עִיף means "to faint" (BDB 733, 746), עִיף and עוּף stem III (not cited in BDB) is the cognate of the Arabic عيف

and عوف (*ᶜyf/ᶜwf*) which Lane (1874: 2198, 2212) defined as "[birds that] circled over a thing, or over the water, or over carcasses or corpses . . . going to and fro and not going away, desiring to alight." This derivation is well supported by the Sumerian proverb cited by Scott (1965: 143) "Possessions are sparrows . . . in flight which can find no place to alight." The עִיף and עוּף in Pro 23:5 reflect paronomasia rather than repetition.

12. The confusion of ד and ר and the confusion of ו and י is widely attested with many examples compiled by Delitzsch (1920: 103–104 § 104[a-c] and 105[a-c]).

13. J. Payne Smith 364. On the loss of the א in Hebrew, see GKC §23[f].

14. J. Payne Smith 363. This word occurs in Hebrew and Arabic although the Hebrew is not cited in Jastrow or BDB. For the Arabic see the next note.

15. Lane 1893: 2940, "a pillow, or cushion upon which one reclines, or rests . . . anything that is used as a pillow or put beneath the head, whether of household-furniture or stones or earth." Hava (1915: 868) and Wehr (1979: 1250) cite the verb وسل (*wassad*) "to place a pillow beneath the head." The loss of the initial ו in the Syriac and Hebrew cognate would be like the loss of the י of יְסוֹד "foundation" in the by-form סוֹד "foundation" (BDB 696).

16. BDB 696. Liddell and Scott (1966:1601) defined σιρός as "a pit for keeping corn." Lane (1867: 1276) defined زير (*zîr*)" as "a large water jar, wide in the upper part and nearly pointed at the bottom."

17. Jastrow 961; for the variants יְסוֹד , מוֹסָד and מַסַד see BDB 414.

XXVIII

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE "PEARLS"
IN MATTHEW 7:6

I. INTRODUCTION

The aphorism "like a gold nose-ring in a wild pig's snout is a pretty woman who lacks good manners" (Prov 11:12) has influenced many interpretations of Matt 7:6. Given the fact that Jewish sentiment about swine could be summed up in the saying בית כסא מטולטל הוה חזירא, "a pig is a moving privy,[1]" Prov 11:12 obviously contains a ridiculously unreal image of a bejeweled pig to address the ridiculous reality of uncouth beauty. Similarly, it has been argued that Jesus, in stating "do not give dogs what is holy, and do not throw your pearls to pigs," utilized obviously unrealistic activities as a way of calling for proper discrimination in making judgements,[2] or proscribing the evangelizing of Gentiles,[3] particularly the Romans,[4] or the Samaritans,[5] or anyone indisposed or unprepared for the gospel.[6]

The enigmas of Matt 7:6 are not in the prohibitions per se, since the ban against the disciples' going to the Gentiles and the Samaritans is clearly given in Matt 10:6, "do not travel the road of the Gentiles, and enter not the towns of the Samaritans."[7] The difficulties are threefold: (1) the artificiality of the imagery, (2) the imbalance of two elements in the parallelism ("the holy" in parallel with "pearls"), and (3) the variations of the saying found in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*[8] and the 14th century Hebrew text of Matthew in Shem Tob's *Even Bohan*.[9]

Perles,[10] followed by Jeremias,[11] Schwarz,[12] and others,[13] suggested that τὸ ἅγιον renders an original Aramaic קְדָשָׁא "ear-ring, nose-ring." Their proposals provide suitable parallels and complete synonymous parallelism: "Give not a (precious) ring to dogs, and cast not your pearls before swine" and "Hang not (precious) rings on dogs, and adorn not the snout of swine."

While these retroversions of 7:6a do justice to poetic balance and parallelism, they are themselves problematic. They produce prohibitions against behavior which common sense precluded. They lack any literal significance and have no clear metaphorical meaning or relationship to the violence insinuated in 7:6b, "lest they rend you." However, when retroversion of all words in 7:6 are explored, more apparent parallels become evident and explicit non-enigmatic prohibitions emerge which resolve the differences found in the Greek text, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the Shem Tob text of Matthew.

One cannot be dogmatic about particular lexical possibilities or even the priority of Hebrew or Aramaic as the language of preference.[14] A strong case has been made for a Hebrew substratum for the Gospel of Matthew,[15] and a particularly good case can be made for Matt 7:6, since an aphorism pertaining to תורה "Torah" might well be have been given in the language of the Torah, even though the vernacular was Aramaic.

The retroversion of μαργαρίτας in the second prohibition to Hebrew תּוֹרָה or תּוֹרוֹת provides the key to understanding Matt 7:6, rather than the retroversion of τὸ ἅγιον to the Aramaic קדשא "ring." If טָהוּר "pure, holy," stands behind τὸ ἅγιον, as argued below, תּוֹרָה or תּוֹרוֹת provides alliteration

and an attractive wordplay. By contrast, the Aramaic אוֹרָיָּא "instruction, the Law" would provide alliteration but no word-play.[16]

In the discussion which follows Aramaic and Hebrew retroversions are provided and lexical support is drawn from Semitic cognates where appropriate. Immediately beneath the section headings II–V, below, appear the RSV translation and the Nestle-Aland Greek text, followed by a retroversion into consonantal Hebrew and Aramaic. These are followed by vocalized Hebrew and Aramaic retroversions (which remove all ambiguities in the consonantal text) and my translation of the retroversions.

II.

"Do not give what is holy to the dogs."

μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν

אל תתנו הטהור לכלבים

אל תוהב קדושא לכלביא

אַל תִּתְּנוּ הַטָהוּר לַכַּלָבִים

אַל תּוֹהֶב קְדוּשָׁא לְכַלְבָיָּא

"Do not give the holy (word) to the dog-keepers."

"what is holy" or "the holy (word)"

Michel[17] cited the biblical and rabbinic evidence for understanding τὸ ἅγιον in Matt 7:6 as a reference to sacrificial meat which was not to be used for dog food (Ex 29:33; Lev 2:3, 22:10–16; Num 18:8–19; and Deut 12:15).[18]

The Septuagint translators used ἅγιος to translate twenty-one words, sixteen of which are unrelated to the stem קדשׁ. For example, in Lev 10:14 the Septuagint reads ἐν τόπωι ἁγίωι "in (any) holy place" for MT בְּמָקוֹם טָהוֹר. Hebrew טָהוֹר "holy, pure" is an attractive option for a retroversion of τὸ ἅγιον in Matt 7:6. The rabbinic restriction אין משׁלחין טהרות ביד עם הארץ, "you must not send what is pure by the hand of a commoner,"[19] is similar enough to Jesus' prohibition that τὸ ἅγιον could well have rendered טָהוּר. The connotation of טָהוּר in Ps 12:7 provides an attractive parallel:

אִמֲרוֹת יהוה אֲמָרוֹת טְהֹרוֹת

"The commands of Yahweh (are) holy commands."

τὰ λόγια κυρίου λόγια ἁγνά (LXX 11:7).

In Ps 19:8–10 we have similarly,

תּוֹרַת יהוה תְּמִימָה . . . . מִרְאַת יהוה טְהוֹרָה

"The Torah of Yahweh is perfect . . .

the command[20] of Yahweh is holy."

The use of טָהוּר in Ps 12:7 and Ps 19:8–10 is analogous to these texts which have קדשׁ:

"his holy word"	(Ps 105:42)	דְּבַר קׇדְשׁוֹ
"his holy words"	(Jer 23:9)	דִּבְרֵי קׇדְשׁוֹ
"I swore by my holiness"	(Ps 89:36)	נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְקׇדְשִׁי
"he spoke by his holiness"	(Ps 60:8; 108:8)	דִּבֶּר בְּקׇדְשׁוֹ

A similar usage of ἁγίων νόμων and ἁγίαν γνῶσιν is reflected in II Macc 6:28–30, "I leave to the young a noble example of how to die . . . for the reverend and holy laws (τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἁγίων νόμων) . . . it is clear to the Lord in his holy knowledge (ἁγίαν γνῶσιν) . . . that I am glad to suffer these things." Thus, the מְרָאה, אִמְרָה, תּוֹרָה and דָּבָר of Yahweh are טָהוֹר in the same way that the γνῶσις and νόμος are ἅγιος. Any or all of these words, used in the singular, the plural, or as a collective could be rendered by the neuter collective τὸ ἅγιον.[21]

Consequently, even though τὸ ἅγιον in Matt 7:6 could mean sacrificial meat or ceremonially pure food, it is more likely an ellipsis for "the holy word of Yahweh," like the ἱερὰ γράμματα (2 Tim 3:15), the Aramaic אוֹרָיתָא, and the English "Scripture"—all meaning "sacred writings." Lachs[22] arrived at a similar conclusion (but differed with his retaining μαργαρίτας as a metaphor), stating: "The meaning is, do not teach Torah, i. e., that which is holy to the non-Jew . . . . Do not present that which is holy, i.e., the biblical passages or any nuggets of 'wisdom'." Additional support for the first part of Lach's conclusion is offered below in section III.[23]

"to the dogs" or "to the dog-keepers"

In Babylonian myth dogs functioned as agents of the gods and in Greek mythology κύων was a term used for the servants, agents, or watchers of the gods—like Pan who was the κύων of Cybele. A similar positive role given to dogs is encountered in Jewish tradition. According to Tobit 5:17 (MSS BA), 6:1 (MS S), and 11:5, a dog accompanied the angel Raphael on his mission to heal Tobit's blindness, to

bind the demon Asmodeus, and to be a "match-maker" for Sarah and Tobias. In Jewish lore golden dogs kept watch over the coffin of Joseph, and two brazen dogs were stationed at the temple gate to prevent the misuse of the Ineffable Name.[24]

However, κύων in the Greek world[25] and כֶּלֶב in the Semitic world were frequently terms of disparagement. The self-deprecating words of Hazael to the prophet Elisha, "what is your servant the dog . . ." (II Kings 7:13) are like those in Lachish Letter II, "to my lord . . . who is thy servant (but) a dog that my lord hath remembered his servant?"[26] Such expressions parallel self-effacing Akkadian confessions (e.g., "I am the dog of the king," "your slave, your dog, your subject," and "I used to be a poor man, a dead dog")[27] and Akkadian invectives and pejoratives like *minum sun[uma] ka-al-bu* "What are they? [Nothing] but dogs!").[28]

There is more than a hint of the pejorative in Jesus' reply to the Syro-Phoenician woman (Matt 15:26–27), "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. . . . It is not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the 'little dogs' (κυναρίοις)."[29] The type of food fit for the κυνάρια (both literally and metaphorically) can be found in Ex 22:30 of Targum Neophyti I: "you [Israelites] shall not eat flesh torn from a wild beast, killed in the field; you shall throw [תטלקון] it to the dog, or you shall throw it to the gentile stranger [נכרייה בר עממי] who is likened to a dog [דהוא מדמי לכלבא]," which is an expansion of the MT, "you shall not eat any flesh torn [by beasts] in the field, (but) you shall throw it to the dog."[30]

In Isa 56:10–11, Phil 3:2, and Rev 22:15 "dogs" refer to the wicked in general, while in Psa 22:17 and in Psa 59:7 they refer to the enemy, and in Enoch 89:41–50 they indicate the

Philistines in particular. But the pejorative use of כֶּלֶב was not restricted to strangers and gentiles in general.[31] A sexual nuance is evidenced in Arabic كلتبان (kaltabân) "pimp" and كلب (kaliba) "to function as a pimp."[32] In Deut 23:18–19, "dog" and "prostitute" are equated with the קָדֵשׁ and the קְדֵשָׁה, the male or female hierodule involved in cultic sexual activity.

The pejorative "dog" was used by Rabbi Yannai who said to an effusive dinner guest unable to answer questions on Scripture and Talmud, "a dog has eaten Yannai's bread!"[33] In a dialogue between Rabbi Akiba and his disciples, Rabbi Akiba recalled, "when I was an עם הארץ [a commoner] I said, 'I would that I had a scholar [before me], and I would maul him like an ass'." To this his disciples replied, "Rabbi, say 'like a dog'."[34] Although neither Akiba nor his disciples equated the עם הארץ with a dog, the עמי הארץ could well have been called dogs since they were elsewhere equated with vermin and beasts:

> Let him not marry a daughter to the עם הארץ, because they are detestable and their wives are vermin, and of the daughters it is said, "Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast" (Deut 27:21).[35]

The following Talmudic prohibition approximates a ban on entrusting the holy word to the עמי הארץ who, as noted, were called dogs:

> We do not commit testimony to them [i.e., to the עמי הארץ]; we do not accept testimony from them; we do not reveal a secret to them; we do not appoint them as guardians for orphans; we do not appoint them stewards

over charity funds; and we must not join their company on the road. Some say, "We do not proclaim their losses too."[36]

If human testimony could not be entrusted to the עמי הארץ, how much more so sacred tradition needed to be protected from profanation. Jesus' prohibitions in Matt 7:6a were apparently addressing this issue of protecting sacred texts and traditions—making the prohibitions more than a Halakic expansion on Ex 22:31, which deals simply with meat, or Ex 29:33, which deals with consecrated food. Jesus' prohibitions can be understood as a fence around the טהורה תורה (= תורה/ תורות), keeping it/them safe from undesirables like the עמי הארץ.

However, these prohibitions of Jesus may not have used the word meaning "dogs," either literally or figuratively. The Greek κυσίν of Matt 7:6 may reflect a misreading of the כלבים or כלביא in the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*. While כלבים or כלביא could mean "dogs," they could just as well be *qaṭṭal* noun forms used for a vocation or profession, like Syriac ܟܠܒܐ (*kallā bā'*) "dog-keeper" and the Arabic كلاب (*kallâb*) "dog trainer" (in contrast to كالب [*kâlib*] "owner of dogs").[37] If the original כלבים or כלביא in the *written* tradition stood for כַּלָּבִים or כַּלָּבָיָא "dog-keepers," rather than כְּלָבִים or כַּלְבַיָא "dogs," the Greek text should have read τοῖς ἔχουσιν κύνας instead of τοῖς κυσίν.

The retroversion and translation offered here, "do not give the holy (word) to dog-keepers," assumes the tradition intended כַּלָּבִים or כַּלָּבָיָא, and this interpretation restores an explicit literal prohibition to safeguard sacred tradition. The

restoration accords well with a Talmudic comparison which equated dog owners with swine herders: "the one who breeds dogs (המגדל כלבים) is like one who breeds swine (המגדל חזירים)."[38] Such breeders or owners were unfit to handle the תּוֹרָה (see below, notes 49–53).

III.

"nor throw your pearls before swine"

μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν

ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων

ואל תורו תורתכם לפני החזרים

ולא תאורון אורייתא דילכון קדם חזריא

וְאַל תּוֹרוּ תּוֹרַתְכֶם לִפְנֵי הַחֲזַרִים

וְלָא תְּאוֹרוּן אוֹרָיָיתָא דִּילְכוֹן קֳדָם חֲזָרָיָּא

"and do not teach your *torah*
in the presence of swine-herders"

"do not throw" or "do not teach"

In the Septuagint βάλλειν was used to translate twenty different Hebrew words, most of which could be used in a retroversion here. Even though אל תשימו appears in the Shem Tob text and ܘܠܐ ܬܪܡܘܢ [*welâ tarmûn*] appears in the Syriac, the verb of choice is יָרָה if one anticipates a wordplay and alliteration.[39] Hebrew יָרָה has a wide semantic range including "to throw, to teach, to rain, to shoot" and the following varied derivatives: תּוֹרָה "instruction," מוֹרֶה "teacher," מוֹרֶה "archer," and יוֹרֶה "rain." The negative

imperative, אל תורו, could mean "do not teach," or "do not throw," or "do not shoot." The choice depends upon the object of the verb, which in this case would most likely have been a synonym of, or a parallel to, τὸ ἄγιον.

"your pearls" (תּוֹרוֹתֵיכֶם) **or "your Torah"** (תּוֹרַתְכֶם)

Even though a tradition emerged that the temple candelabrum had 183 pearls and 200 precious stones, μαργαρίτας "pearls" is not a synonym of, or a parallel to, τὸ ἄγιον the holy."[40] In addition to the Greek loanword מַרְגְּלִיטִיס or מַרְגָּלִית, other Hebrew words for "pearl" are פְּנִינִים[41] and דּוֹר or תּוֹר. The latter noun is cognate to the masculine and feminine nouns in Arabic, در (*durr*), درر (*durar*), درة (*durrat*), درات (*durrât*), all meaning "a (large) pearl."[42]

Hebrew דַּר was used in Esther 1:6 in the description of the courtyard of the Susa palace: "[there was] . . . a mosaic pavement of porphyry, marble, mother-of-pearl [דַּר], and precious stones." The variant תּוֹר appears in Cant 1:10, "how beautiful are your cheeks with pearls, your neck with beads!"[43] The interchange of ד and ת is well attested in other words.[44] Interestingly, the interchange occurs with the homographs and homophones תּוֹר / דּוֹר "generation" in I Chron 17:17 ("you have shown me future generations") and its parallel account in II Sam 7:19, where תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם and תּוֹר הָאָדָם appear in these two texts instead of the anticipated דּוֹר הָאָדָם. These texts illustrate well not only the interchange of ד and ת but also a gender shift in parallel texts.[45]

The Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* behind the τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν of Matt 7:6 must have contained the Hebrew or Aramaic homograph תורתכם / תורתכן (sg.) or תורותיכם /

תורתיכון (pl.), which could mean either "your teaching(s), your *torah*" or "your pearl / pearls."[46] The retroversion of 7:6a to

"do not give the holy (words) . . ."   . . . אַל תִּתְּנוּ הַטְּהוֹרוֹת

"do not teach your teachings . . ."   . . . וְאַל תּוֹרוּ תּוֹרוֹתְכֶם

restores a very understandable prohibition and provides the desiderated parallel to τὸ ἅγιον.

Once כלבים and חזרים in the *Vorlage* were understood to mean "dogs" and "swine," rather than "dog-keepers" and "swine-herders" (see below), it is not surprising that תורה/ תורות was read as "pearl / pearls" rather than as "Torah" or "teachings." Any prohibition against teaching Torah to an animal, particularly to dogs and pigs, would have been considered inane.

The plural תורות, if original, could be a reference to the law and the prophets (as in Matt 5:17) or to the (a) תורה שבכתב and (b) תורה שבעל פה, i.e., the written and oral Torahs,[47] or to the Torah and the Halakah.[48] Either way, singular or plural, the prohibitions of Matt 7:6 were apparently concerned with the issue of protecting the Torah and Halakah, an issue which was frequently addressed in later Talmudic tradition, including:

(a) Wine reveals the secrets of God and men to foreigners (just as I revealed the commands of God and the secrets of my father Jacob to the Canaanite woman Bathshua); and God told us not to reveal them [the secrets] to them [the foreigners].[49]

(b) The teachings of the Torah are not to be transmitted to an idolater (גוי), for it is said: "He hath not dealt so with

any nation; and as for his ordinances, they have not known them" (Ps 147:20).[50]

(c) Whoever studies (engages in) the Torah in front of an עם הארץ is as though he cohabited with his betrothed in his [the עם הארץ] presence.[51]

(d) Just as this treasure (סימה) is not revealed to every-one, so you have no right to devote yourself [to the ex-position of the] words of Torah except before suitable people.[52]

(e) [R. Johanan said] "a heathen (גוי) who studies Torah deserves to die, for it is written, 'Moses commanded us a law for an inheritance' (Deut 33:4); it is our inheritance, not theirs."[53]

"to the pigs" or "before the swineherders"

References to dogs and pigs as a fixed-pair appear fre-quently in Semitic texts. Similar to English "fight like cats and dogs" is an Akkadian text which reads, "if dogs and pigs fight each other . . ."[54] This fixed-pair appears in Isa 66:3, "who breaks a dog's neck . . . who offers swine's blood," and in Tractate Sabbath 155b, "none is more poor than a dog, none is richer than a swine."[55]

The uncertainty in knowing if כלב is to be read כֶּלֶב "dog" or כַּלָּב "dog keeper" is also encountered with consonantal חזר, which can be either חָזָר (*scriptio defectiva*) or חַזָּר.[56] Even though מגדל חזירין and רעה חזירין were used for the "pig breeder" and "swine herder," Aramaic חֲזִירָא is also attested. One cannot preclude, therefore, the likelihood that Hebrew חזרים would be חַזָּרִים "swine herders."[57]

Talmudic discussion about rearing dogs in towns bordering on Israel paired dog-breeders and swineherds: "he who breeds dogs [מגדל חזירין] is like someone who breeds swine [רעה חזירין]." Both breeders could be referred to by the pejorative עם הארץ or ὄχλος, in a manner similar to that found in Jn 7:49, ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐπάρατοί εἰσιν, "this mob which does not know the Torah is accursed."

The extent to which precaution was made to keep swine herders away from the sacred traditions is reflected in a midrash telling of Diocletian's unhappy experiences when, in his youth, he came near the academy of Rabbi Judah.[58]

> Diocletian the emperor used to be a רעי חזירין "swine-herd" near Tiberias and whenever he came near Rabbi's school [סדריה דרבי] students would come out and hassle him [מחיים ליה].

When Diocletian become emperor, and these students were adults, they were summoned before him and admitted their harassment, "Diocletian the swineherd we did indeed insult [קילינו] but to Diocletian the emperor we are loyal subjects."

Jesus' refusal (Matt 8:28–34; Mk 5:1–20; Lk 8:26–39) to let the Gadarene demoniac become a disciple may also reflect his putting a "fence" around Torah and Halakah. It was one thing for Jesus, while in the vicinity of swine herds and swineherds, to heal the Gadarene and to instruct him, Ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς καὶ ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ κύριός σοι, "go home to your friends, and tell how much the Lord has done for you!" But it was another matter to accept a תַּלְמִיד "disciple" from a community renowned for its pig farms. In this respect swine herders were

treated differently than fishermen. It was not a matter of Jesus' withholding the "gospel" from the Gadarenes or the Gerasenes, but one of disinterest in having a תַּלְמִיד learning and discussing Torah and (his) Halakah from a community of swine herders.[59] To have responded otherwise to the Gaderene would have surely created insurmountable problems of credibility in the Judean community in which Jesus also ministered.

IV.

"lest they trample them under foot"

μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς

ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν

פן מטריפים אותה ברגליהם

די למא מטריפין יתה ברגליהון

פֶּן מַטְרִיפִים אוֹתָה בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם

דִּי לְמָא מַטְרֵיפִין יָתָה בְּרַגְלַיהוֹן

"lest, blaspheming it with their slander"

The second half of the aphorism reflects not so much a misreading of an original Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*, but a literal rendering of metaphors. The imagery of the Greek text simply creates a picture of the senseless loss of pearls, with no hint of the desecration of sacred traditions. Consequently, the Semitic metaphor behind the "trampling under foot," has gone unrecognized.

The Septuagint καταπατεῖν translates sixteen Hebrew words meaning "to tread, to trample," and these do not exhaust the lexical possibilities for reconstructing the *Vorlage*.

Burney's retroversion, following the Syriac text, has דוּס "to tread under foot, to transgress or violate" as in ܐܘܕܝܫ̈ܘ ܩܢܘ̈ܢܐ (ʾettedîšû qannûnè) "the canons were violated, set at nought."[60] But בּוּס "to trample, to despise" and its by-forms, or even דָּרַס could also be used.[61] Were דָּרַס "to tread, to attack with paws or claws" the word of choice, an implicit wordplay with דָּרַשׁ "to interpret, to expound" would be introduced: swineherds and dog-keepers would more than likely דָּרַס the Torah, rather than דָּרַשׁ it.

The verb טָרַף, chosen for the retroversion here, is supported *indirectly* by (1) the Coptic κοπρία of the Gospel of Thomas ("do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung-heap [κοπρία])" and (2) the יכרסמנו "they chew it" of the Shem Tob text.[62] At first glance it is somewhat difficult to relate יכרסמנו אותה לעיניכם "they chew it to your eyes" to καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν "to trample them with their feet." The verb כרסם "to bite, to nibble, to destroy" reflects the influence of Psa 80:14, "the boar (חֲזִיר) from the forest chews on it (יְכַרְסְמֶנָּה)."[63] If the Shem Tob text were a translation from the Greek, it would require a *Vorlage* having some form of καταπέσσω, καταπίνω, καταπονέω, or κατάποσις "to gulp, to swallow, to digest," or the like. But the Shem Tob text יכרסמנו is better explained by variations in a Hebrew or Aramaic substratum than by conjectured variants in the Greek tradition.

It is possible to account for the variations in Matt 7:6 in the Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic text traditions by a retroversion of καταπατήσουσιν to the root טרף/תרף stem I (with the interchange of ט and ת like תָּעָה and טָעָה "to wander, to err").[64] Aramaic טרף/תרף, stem I, means "to blaspheme, to

deviate from the right, to use obscene language," with the Aramaic בֵּית תּוֹרְפָּא meaning "pudenda."[65] In Hebrew the root appears in תַּרְפּוּת "foulness, obscenity, debauchery." By contrast, טרף/תרף, stem II (normally with a ט), means "to move with vehemence, to knock down, to prey, to strike or tear, to eat or devour."[66]

Although טרף/תרף (stem I) "to blaspheme" was intended in the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matt 7:6, Greek translators, followed by Syriac and Latin translators, opted for טרף/תרף (stem II) "to trample." This was a logical choice once חזרים was read as "swine" rather than "swineherds." By contrast, Shem Tob or his predecessors resolved the ambiguity of טרף/תרף stems I, II, and III (see below) by substituting כרסם, a synonym of טרף/תרף stem II, collocated with the חזיר "boar" in Ps 80:14 (noted above).

Similarly, the κοπρία "dunghill" in the Coptic Gospel reflects a *Vor*lage with טרף/תרף (stem I), a synonym of צוֹאָה "excrement, filth." Although תְּרַפְּיוֹן "laxative" is found in post-Biblical Hebrew, מטרף "dunghill" (= מַדְמֵן and מַדְמֵנָה "dunghill" in Jer 48:2 and Isa 25:10) is *not* found in Biblical Hebrew. However, the causative participle מטרף/מטריף "blaspheming" could have been understood as a noun with the locative מ preformative, "a place of filth," i.e., a dunghill.

Moreover, the לעיניכם, which displaced ברגלהם in all but one manuscript of the Shem Tob Matthew, can be traced to the stem טרף stem III. Widely attested in Arabic are طرف (ṭarafa) "to eye, to wink, to move the eyelids" and (ṭarf) "eye" (= עין = טרף).[67] The עיניכם "your eyes" in the Shem Tob text is a *false* correction of the מטרפיכם / טרפיכם "your blasphemies" in the primitive Hebrew Matthew. Thus, the

לעיניכם and יכרסמו in the Shem Tob text can be viewed as a doublet for the original מטריפים (or variant יטרפו), with the ל and כם of לעיניכם being secondary additions in the Shem Tob tradition.

Consequently, the canonical καταπατήσουσιν "they trample," the Coptic κοπρία "dunghill," as well as the Shem Tob יכרסמו "they eat" and לעיניכם "to your eyes," can be accounted for by recognition of the stem טָרַף / תָּרַף in a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matthew. Therefore, the conclusion of Perles and Lachs that μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν "lest they trample" was *not* part of the Jesus' original saying (since it presupposes the mistranslation of Hebrew וְאַל תּוֹרוּ as μηδὲ βάλητε "nor throw") cannot really be sustained.[68]

"under their feet" or "with their slander"

The Hebrew רָגַל "to slander" (which is a denominative of רֶגֶל "foot") is very helpful in understanding ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν. The verb רָגַל appears in the MT of II Sam 19:28, "he has slandered [וַיְרַגֵּל] your servant to my lord, the king," and in Psa 15:3 "who does not slander [לֹא רָגַל] with his tongue." The Shapel of Syriac ܪܓܠ (rĕgal) means "to ensnare," and the Arabic رجل (rigl) is a synonym of قاذورة (qâḏûrat) "a man of foul language and evil disposition who cares not what he says or does."[69]

Even though the original ברגליהם "with their slanderings" survives in only one Shem Tob manuscript, there is sufficient support from the Greek text tradition for its being in a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matthew. To be sure, the phrase "with

their feet" is an anomaly with the verb כרסם "to chew." How-
ever, רגל is a very appropriate modifier of טָרַף / תָּרַף, stem I,
"to blaspheme," once רגל is recognized as רָגַל "to slander"
rather than רֶגֶל "foot."

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V.

"and turning they rend you"

καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς

וחוזרים יקרעו אתכם

וחזירין יקרעון יתכון

וְחוֹזְרִים יִקְרְעוּ אֶתְכֶם

וְחַזִירִין יִקְרְעוּן יַתְכוֹן

"and disavowing it, they malign you"

</div>

"turning" = "changing one's mind" = "disavowing (it)"

The imagery in Matt 7:6, as interpreted here, is more than
a literal about-face of frightened dogs and scared pigs turning
to attack those who throw gems at them or put nose-rings on
them. In the Septuagint στρεφέιν "to turn" translates גלל, גרר,
הפך, פנה, שבב, שוב, and שית. But στρεφέιν in Matt 7:6 was
probably a translation of Hebrew/Aramaic חָזַר "to go round,
to return, to revoke," which appears in the Shem Tob text.
Opting for חָזַר "to change" provides a nice wordplay with חַזָּר
"swine herder."[70] The nouns חֲזָרָה and חֲזִירָה and the verb
חָזַר, may indicate someone's making an about-face, having a
change of heart, or making a retraction or a reversal of judge-
ment.[71] In Matt 7:6 the change of heart would be analogous to
the "about-face" mentioned in *Pesaḥim* 49b: "he who has

studied and then abandoned the Torah hates the teacher more than any עם הארץ ["commoner"] hates the teacher."[72]

The Shem Tob manuscripts BCH, in contrast with manuscripts ADEFG, have אותה following the verb חזר. Thus, there is some uncertainty whether the idea expressed was originally "changing [their minds] they malign you" (following the participle and aorist of the Greek text) or "they disavow *it* [3fs = the Torah] to malign you" (following the imperfect and sequential infinitive of Shem Tob).

In the Septuagint ῥήγνυμι "to shatter, to rend" translates בקע, הרס, פתח, and קרע. Of these verbs, קרע (which appears in the Shem Tob text) was used literally and figuratively in Biblical texts. Examples include Hosea 13:8, "I will tear open their breast . . . I will maul them like a lion," and Psa 35: 15b–16a, "smiters gather about me, and they whom I did not know 'tore me to pieces' [קָרְעוּ] and did not desist from slandering me [בְחֹנְפִי, for MT בְּחַנְפֵי], my encircling mockers gnashed their teeth at me."[73]

In the retroversion of Matt 7:6, the literal meaning of קרע "to maul" would make sense if the subjects of the verbs were literally "dogs" and "swine." But the metaphor קָרַע "to malign, to slander" is required if κυσίν and χοίρων are themselves metaphors, or (as proposed above) go back to a *Vorlage* with כַּלְבִים "dog-keepers" and חֲזָרִים "swine herders."

VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The prohibitions in Matt 7:6, if they were spoken by Jesus in Hebrew, could have been written in a consonantal text as

אל תתנו הטהור לכלבים ואל תרו תורתכם לפני החזרים
פן מטריפים אותה ברגליהם וחזרים אתוה יקרעו אתכם.

Were they given in Aramaic, they could have been

אל תוהב קדשא לכלביא ולא תאורון אורייתא דלכן קדם
חזריא די למא מטרפין יתה ברגליהון וחזירין יקרעון יתכון.

There are *unintentional* ambiguities in these consonantal reconstructions, even though *scriptio plena* has been used. Several of the words can have more than one meaning, depending on the vocalization. If these reconstructions approximate the *Vorlage*, the translators of the Greek text read the כלבים and חזרים in the *Vorlage* as חֲזִירִים and כְּלָבִים "dogs" and "pigs." But כלבים and חזרים could just as readily have been read כַּלָּבִים and חַזָּרִים "dog-keepers" and "swineherds." With the exception of Aramaic אוֹרָיְיתָא "Torah," the unpointed retroversions can be translated into *koine* Greek precisely as Matt 7:6 appears in the Greek text, recognizing that singular/plural differences could simply reflect *scriptio defectiva*/*scriptio plena* variations.

If these retroversion into Hebrew and Aramaic prove reasonable, the following vocalizations warrant serious consideration. The Hebrew reconstruction can be vocalized as

אַל תִּתְּנוּ הַטָּהוֹר לַכְּלָבִים וְאַל תּוֹרוּ תּוֹרַתְכֶם לִפְנֵי הַחֲזִרִים
פֶּן מַטְרִיפִים אוֹתָה בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם וְחוֹזְרִים יִקְרְעוּ אֶתְכֶם.

The Aramaic reconstruction, with the same meaning, can be

אַל תּוֹהֵב קְדוּשָׁא לְכַלְבַּיָּא וְלָא תְּאוֹרוּן אוֹרָיְיתָא דִּילְכוֹן קְדָם
חַזְרָיָא דִּי לְמָא מַטְרֵיפִין יָתָה בְּרַגְלֵיהוֹן וְחַזֵּירִין יִקְרְעוּן יַתְכּוֹן.

These pointed retroversions can be translated:

Do not give the Holy (Word) to dog-keepers,
and do not teach your *Torah* before swine-herders,
lest, blaspheming it with their slander
and disavowing it, they malign you.

If the כלבים and חזרים are "dog-keepers" and "swine-herders," the meaning of the prohibition is straightforward. According to Talmudic tradition, reciting the *Shema*ᶜ in the proximity of dung was prohibited.[74] Consequently, prohibiting those who worked with offal and filth from handling τὸ ἅγιον, i.e., הַתּוֹרָה הַטְּהוֹרָה "the holy *Torah*," appears quite reasonable. Even though the keepers of dogs and swine contributed indirectly to the production of Torah scrolls (since canine and porcine excrement was used in the process of tanning the leather for the scrolls),[75] they were not to deal with the text of the Torah or its interpretation.

Like the healed Gaderene demoniac (who was told, "go home to your kinfolk and declare to them how much the Lord has done for you"), the כַּלָב and the חַזָּר was able to become a שְׁלִיחָא/שָׁלִיחַ, an "apostle,"[76] witnessing to one's personal experience of God's grace, as in Mk 5:19, Ὕπαγε . . . καὶ ἀπάγγειλον "go . . . and declare." But dog-keepers and swine-herders could not become תַּלְמִידִים or διδάσκαλοι "disciples" studying Torah and Halakah.

The prohibitions in Matt 7:6 are similar to the following ones in the Manual of Discipline:[77]

Do not admonish or dispute with the "men of the pit"[78] [אנשי השחת], conceal the counsel of the Torah in the

midst of the "men of perversity" [אנשי העול], but admon-
ish with true knowledge and righteous law those who
chose the way . . . . Now these are the rules of the way for
the wise man in these times, with regard to his love as
well as his hate. Let there be eternal hatred toward the
"men of the pit" [אנשי השחת] in the spirit of secrecy.
(DSD ix. 17)

Josephus recorded that an Essene swore to communicate to
no one the doctrines of the sect except in the manner in which
they were received, even on pain of death.[79] Thus, Jesus'
virtual silence before Pilate (Matt 27:11–14; Mk 15:2–5; Lk
23:2–5) was consistent with his putting a fence around the
Torah and (his) Halakah when he was in Pilate's court in the
presence of כלבים and חזרים—figuratively speaking—whose
intentions were to impugn and malign him.

It seems highly doubtful, therefore, that the prohibitions of
Matt 7:6 were intended as (1) riddles couched in the imagery
of bejeweled animals or (2) humorous figures of speech per-
mitting one to proscribe, as one pleased, the proselytizing of
Gentiles, giving the Eucharist to the those who were not bap-
tized (*Didache* 9:5), or keeping "nuggets of wisdom" from the
Samaritans or the Romans.

This "reappraisal of the pearls" leads to the conclusion that
the pearls in Matt 7:6 originated in a misunderstanding in the
Matthean tradition of תורה "Torah" as תורה / דורה "pearl or
mother of pearl." The shift *from* "pearls" *to* "Torah" restores
Jesus' prohibitions as an explicit ban on activities that could
compromise the Torah and Halakah. This is precisely the kind
of tradition one might expect Matthew to have included in his
gospel given his agenda and his initial readers—who would

have appreciated Jesus' assertion, "think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them" (Matt 5:17).

NOTES

1. Schwab (1969: 38) translated, "a pig which is a moving uncleanliness." Note also Simon and Epstein (1960: 25a), where it is stated, פי חזיר כצות עוברת "the mouth of the swine is like moving filth."

2. Bruce 1983: 86–87.

3. Albright and Mann 1978: 84.

4. Gnilka 1986: 258. It should be noted with Krause (1914, 5: 15) that "there is reason to believe that this [symbolization of Rome as a pig in rabbinic literature] came into prominence only since the time of Hadrian and the fall of Betar (135 C.E.) since, in order to insult the Jews, the image of the pig was attached to the south gate of Jerusalem which had been transformed into the Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina" (cited by Braverman 1978: 94). Epstein (1885: 33) called attention to Rome's worship of deities associated with Mars, which was depicted as a swine. Ginzberg (1925, 5: 294, n. 162) noted that the association of the Romans and pigs is rooted in the Roman legions' emblem of the wild boar.

5. Lachs (1987:139) identified the "dogs" as the Samaritans and the "swine" as the Romans. If Lachs were correct, it would be difficult to account for the affirmative Samaritan stories (like the Samaritan woman at the well [John 4:4–30] and the parable of the good Samaritan [Luke 10:29–37]), as well as the influential role of Stephen, who, according to Spiro (1967: 285–300), was a Samaritan.

6. Sabourin 1982: 427.

7. Beare (1981: 342) thinks Matt 15:26, "It is not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs," is a retrojection into the life of Jesus of attitudes held by zealous members of the Jewish Christian community in the apostolic age. In this respect, Beare differs with Michel (1966: 1102–1004) and Bultmann (1961: 107) who regard Matt 7:6 as one of the "*profanen Meshalim die wohl erst durch die Tradition zu Jesuworten gemacht sind*."

8. Guillaumont (1956: 48–49); Robinson (1977: 128). Logia 93 reads, "do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung-heap (κοπρία)."

9. Howard (1995: 28–29). Matt 7:6 reads (with variants appearing in brackets)

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אל תתנו בשר קדש לכלבים

ואל תסימו פניכם [פנינכם, פניניכם]

לפני חזיר [חזירים, החזירים]

פן יכרסמנו [יכרסמנה] אותה [אותם] לעיניכם [ברגלהם]

ויחזרו אותה לקרע אתכם.

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This was translated by Howard as follows (with "you" and "yours" being masculine plurals):

Do not give holy flesh to dogs
nor place your (pearls) before swine
lest (they) chew (them) before you and turn to rend you.

Howard's translation is a good example of making the Shem Tob text follow the canonical Greek text. A literal translation, including variants in brackets, is "do not give holy flesh to dogs nor place your face [your pearl, your pearls] before a pig [pigs, the pigs] lest they chew it [them] to your eyes [with their feet] and they turn it to rend you." (See also note 49.)

10. Perles (1926: 163–164) following the Syriac of Gen 24: 47, he translated, "*Hängt den Hunden keine Ringe an und legt nicht eure Perlen am Rüssel der Schweine,*" from the retroversion:

לא תתלון קדשא לכלביא ולא תרמון מרגניתכון באפי חזיריא.

11. Jeremias 1963: 271–275 and 1966: 83–87. His retroversion was

לא תהבון קדישא לכלביא

ולא תרמון מרגלייתא דילכון באפי חזיריא

"Legt den Hunden keinen Ring an

und hängt eure Perlen (schnüre) nicht an die Rüssel

der Schweine."

Jeremias rejected the earlier proposal of Zolli (1938: 154f) that the μαγαρίτας reflects an Aramaic חרוזיא "beads" (after חֲרוּזִים in Canticles 1:10) in a wordplay with חֲזִירִיא. Nevertheless, as argued below, Canticles 1:10 provides the clue for the interpretation of μαργαρίτας in Matt 7:6.

12. Schwarz 1972: 18–25. He proposed, "*Legt eure Ringe nicht den Hunden an; Und hängt eure Perlen nicht den Schweinen um,*" based upon the Aramaic retroversion:

לא תהבון קדישיכון לכלביא ולא תרמון מרגליכון לחזיריא.

13. Fitzmyer (1979: 14–15) considered the קְדָשָׁא retroversion plausible in light of 11QtgJob 38:8, "they gave him each one a lamb and a ring (קדש) of gold." Note the reservations of Black (1967: 200–201).

14. See Grintz 1960: 32–47, and Fitzmyer (1979: 7, 22, 45–46) who asserted,

> As for the language that Jesus would have used, the evidence seems to point mainly to Aramaic. There is little cogency in the thesis of Harris Birkeland and others who maintain that it

was normally Hebrew . . . . Presumably, Jesus used Hebrew on occasion. (22 n. 36)

Hurst (1986: 71) noted, "One of the most important results of recent research into Aramaic close to the time of Jesus is the knowledge that we still know so little of the language spoken by Jesus." One must question the assumption that Jesus was mono-lingual. If he was multilingual it could still be asserted we know so little of the *languages* spoken by Jesus.

15. See Howard 1986: 49–63, which deals with the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew by Jean du Tillet, and 1987: 155–160. (See above, note 9, for a summary of the evidence supporting a Hebrew substratum for Matthew. With reference to the Shem Tob text of Matthew, Howard (1987: 180) noted:

> The evidence as a whole presupposes a Hebrew text of Matthew that existed from ancient times and was used among the Jews for polemical purposes against Christians. Through centuries of use this text went through a process of evolution which included stylistic modifications and changes designed to bring the text into closer harmony with the canonical text used by Christians.

16. See Howard 1987: 194–201; 1995: 184–190 for a list of puns, word connections, and alliteration in the Shem Tob text of Matthew.

17. Michel 1966, 3: 1102.

18. Even though בשׂר קדשׁ appears in the Shem Tob text, τὸ ἅγιον need not be understood simply as "sacrificial flesh."

19. *Tosefta D'Mai* II:20 (Zuckermandel 1963: 48).

20. Following Dahood (1966: 123–124) who attached the final ם of the preceding ענים to יראת יהוה to read מראת יהוה. He cited

the Ugaritic *mrʾ* (see Gordon 1965: 437, #1543) (cited as *UT*) and Aramaic אמר "to command."

21. See GKC §123[b]. On the collective in Greek, see Robertson 1914: 404 and 1310.

22. 1987: 138–139.

23. See Goulder 1974: 278. His conclusion, "to a Christian his fellows are ἅγιοι; to utter a false report of them . . . would be like casting them to the dogs," reflects the difficulty in making sense out of the aphorism when viewed as a metaphor.

24. Braude and Kapstein 1975: 211; and Ginzberg 1925, 5: 15–16. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Terumot* 46a [8:7]), Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi debated whether the friend and helper alluded to in Prov 16:7 was the dog or the snake (see Avery-Peck 1988: 392–393). Note the discussion and bibliography on the significance of dogs from Mesopotamian to Greece in Thompson 1970: 83–87.

25. See Liddell and Scott 1966: 1015, sub II; and on the use of ὗς "wild pig" as a pejorative, see 1904. Note also Scholz 1937: 7ff, (cited by Nussbaum 1986: 414, 510). Margalith (1981: 491–495) argued that ". . . it may be assumed that *kalbu* [in Mesopotamian texts] was not a metaphorical self-abasing use of the quadruped's name, but simply a synonym of 'slave.' It is thus that we find the word used in the Old Testament. . . ." See also Firmage 1992, 6: 1130–1135 ("Dogs") and 1143–1144 ("Pigs").

26. Pritchard 1955, 322.

27. Gelb 1959–1971, 8: 69–70. (Cited as *CAD*.)

28. *CAD* 8: 72. See also Thomas 1960: 410–427; Paul 1993: 242–244.

29. Like the servant of Lachish Letter II, the woman accepted the pejorative and deprecated herself in order to receive favorable attention. However, it is surprising that the non-pejorative diminutive κυναρίον was used rather than κύων. This may reflect a misreading of כליב (= כָּלִיב) "mad dog, importune beggar" as the diminutive כליב (= כְּלִיב) "little dog" in the "primitive" Hebrew Matthew. On the diminutive, see GKC, §86ᵍ; Fitzmyer 1965: 361; and Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington 1978: 184. For the Arabic cognate of כָּלִיב "dog, beggar," see Lane 1885: 2626c. The woman was indeed a כְּלִיבָה "a mad dog = persistent beggar," as well as a כַּלְבָּה "a dog = gentile." Her reply, "even 'beggars' eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table," recalls the beggar Lazarus' waiting for crumbs from Dives' table (Matt 15:27; Luke 16:20). Although κυναρίον "little dog" seemingly has its counterpart in τέκνον "little children" (see Michel 3: 1104), the semantic range of τέκνον in the New Testament precludes certainty that in Matt 15:26 it means "children" rather than "disciples" or "the children (of Israel)."

30. See Díez Macho 1970: 147, 474.

31. See Abrahams 1929: 195–196, on the midrash on Ps 4:8, "if it be thus with dogs . . . and the nations of this world are to be compared to dogs, as is said, 'yea, the dogs are greedy' (Isa 56:11)."

32. Lane, 1885: 2627b and 2625a. In Greek κύων, χοῖρος, and ὗς were used with double meaning in obscene humor for male/female genitalia (see Henderson 1975: 127, 131–133).

33. *Leviticus Rabbah* 9: 3 (Freedman and Simon 1951: 108–109.

34. Pesaḥim 49b (Epstein 1935: 237 (cited as Soncino ed.).

35. Pesaḥim 49a, Soncino ed., 236.

36. Pesaḥim 49b, Soncino ed., 238.

37. These nouns are comparable to Aramaic תַּוְרָא "ox-driver, cattle-dealer," Hebrew פָּרָשׁ (*parraš) "horseman" and דַיָּג "fisherman," Arabic جمال (jammâl) "an owner or attendant of camels," and Ugaritic ḥazzar "swine herder." On the qaṭṭal form, see Moscati 1964: 78. For the lexical items, see Jastrow 1656 ; BDB 832; UT 402; and Lane, 1865: 461b.

38. Kirzner and Epstein 1964: 83a.

39. See Lachs' statement (1987: 139) "The Semitic original of Gr. ballō is toru from the root yaro [sic], which means 'to teach' and also 'to throw'."

40. Ginzberg 1968, 4: 321. On the pearls of the gates of Jerusalem (Isa 54:12 and Rev 21:21), see Dalman 1971: 76.

41. This appears in one manuscript of the Shem Tob text as פני. The missing נ appears to have been erroneously included in the suffix of the verb יכרסמנו (see above, note. 9).

42. Lane, 1867: 863c; BDB 204. On the interchange of medial ד and ת, note the stems בדל and בתל "to separate."

43. The תּוֹרִים and חֲרוּזִים in Cant 1:10 have been discussed by Pope (1977: 343–344) who appealed to Arabic خرز (ḥaraz) "neck ornament of beads strung together" to explain the Hebrew חֲרוּזִים. He did not relate תּוֹר to Arabic درر (durar) "pearl," but opted for "bangles" from תּוֹר "to turn." His citation of midrashic exegesis which identified the תּוֹרִים with the Written Law and the Oral Law, is noteworthy.

44. See, for example, Mendenhall 1975: 163–166, who was followed by Mc Daniel 1983: 108–109; 2003: 74–75.

45. See Curtis 1910: 231 for a summary of the problems with this text. Compare Myers 1965: 128–129 and references cited there.

46. It is of interest that five manuscripts of the Shem Tob text have אותה, i.e., the particle אֶת with the feminine singular suffix; only one manuscript has אותם with the masculine plural suffix (see above n. 9).

47. *Shabbath* 31a, Soncino ed., 139. For a discussion of the oral law at this time see, Neusner 1987.

48. The repeated *feminine* אותה ("it" = "pearl / face") in Shem Tob is noteworthy in support of an original singular noun here. The singular אותה's are unexpected in light of the plural τοὺς μαργαρίτας. They may reflect an original singular element in the primitive Matthean tradition. Shem Tob MSS E and F omit אותה but have a 3fs suffix on the verb (יכרסמנה), whereas MS H, with אותם, reflects the Greek plural.

49. The Testament of Judah 16:4. See Sparks 1984: 546; Kee 1983: 799; and Charles 1913, 1: 320–321.

50. *Ḥagigah* 13a; Soncino ed., 75.

51. *Pesaḥim* 49b, Soncino ed., 237.

52. Jerusalem *Abodah Zarah* 2:7, cited from Neusner 1986, 33:93.

53. *Sanhedrin* 59a, Soncino edition, 400. Rabbi Meir's objection is noteworthy, "whence do we know that even a heathen who studies the Torah is a High Priest? From the verse, 'which if man do, he shall live in them' [Lev 18:5]." See also *Abodah Zarah* 3a, Soncino edition, 5.

54. *CAD*, Vol. 8, 70. Akkadian *ḫanziru* and *ḫaziru* are from the roots עזר and חזר "to help," unrelated to חזיר "swine." The Akkadian *ḫumsiru* is a synonym of the Sumerian loanword *šahû*.

55. Soncino ed., 796; note also, "food may be placed before a dog but not before a swine," 795.

56. In Ugaritic *ḫzr*, in contrast with *ḫnzr* "pig," refers to either the "swine" (χοῖρος) or the "swine herder" (συφορβός). The Ugaritic text 1091: 6 lists the *ḫzr*[*m*] in parallel to a guild designating some type of personnel. Similarly, *ḫzr* appears as a collective noun in Ugaritic text 1024: rev 4, *ṯmn . ḫzr w . arb^c . ḥršm*, "eight swine-herds and four craftsmen." See *UT* 401, # 948 and 403, #977, and compare Dahood (1968: 259) who views the Ugaritic *ḫzr*, as a metaphor. On *ḫnzr*, see Lane, 1865: 732a. Hebrew/Aramaic חֲזִיר (which could be a diminutive [see above, note 28]) was used for Greek χοῖρος "young pig" and δέλφαξ "mature pig."

57. See above, note 37.

58. *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis 63:8 (Freedman and Simon 1951: 563–564, and Edleman 1891: 148–149). The verb מחי can be stem I, "to interfere, to protest, to try to prevent, to forewarn" or stem II, "to smite, to strike, to slap" (Jastrow, 759). Compare Avery-Peck (1988, 6: 421) who translates the parallel in the Jerusalem Talmud, "Diocles the swineherd—the students of R. Judah the patriarch would make fun of him (מהוניה)."

59. On the הלכה and גמרא, see Jeremias 1971: 204–214; and Davies 1964: 392 and 396, n. 1.

60. Burney 1925: 169. Note also R. Payne Smith 1878, 1: 859; J. Payne Smith 1903: 88; and Jastrow, 290.

61. The by-forms are בסא ,בזה ,בזא and בוז. Aramaic דרס means "to trample" and "to treat harshly" (Jastrow 324b; *CAD* 3, 110); the Arabic cognate carries the meaning "to efface, to obliterate" (Lane 1867: 870).

62. See notes 8 and 9.

63. For Hebrew כרסם and Aramaic קרסם "to cut, to trim, to bite, to nibble," see BDB 493 and Jastrow 1424.

64. Note the Aramaic interchange of ת and ט in the following: טִירְפָּא "a document conferring the right of seizure of a debtor's property," and תּוֹרֶף "that which makes a debt collectable" (Jastrow, 535 and 1658). The following interchanges are very similar: Arabic تـرفة (*turfat*), طريف (*taṭrîf*) and تـرفة (*turfat*) all mean "a rare and pleasing present or food," and the Hebrew שקט (*šāqaṭ*) is related to the Arabic سكـت (*sakata*), "to be silent, to be at rest, to be tranquil," with the ת/ט and ק/כ interchanges (see Lane 1863: 304a; 1874: 1844c, 1845a; 1872: 1389–1390, respectively).

65. BDB 382–383 and Jastrow 555–557, 1658, 1702. This stem with the ט appears in the Wisdom of Ahiqar:

אשתמר פמך אל יהוה טרפי[ם]
guard your mouth,
let it not be (for) obscenities/ blasphemies.

Compare Cowley (1923: 215) "keep watch over your mouth, let it not be [thy] destruction [ך]טרפי (?)"; and Lindenberger (1983, 73–74, 235 n. 160 and 1985, 2: 500) "But keep watch over your mouth, lest it bring you to grief!" For the Arabic cognate, see Lane 1863: 304.

66. BDB, 382; note the Shem Tob text of Matt 7:15, זאבים טורפים "tearing wolves."

67. Lane, 1874: 1842. For additional examples of resolving long-standing cruces in the Biblical text, see McDaniel 1983: 262–264.

68. Lachs 1987: 140. Perles (1926: 164) stated,

Der Schluss des Verses μήποτε . . . ὑμᾶς hat wohl nicht im Aramäischen gestanden, sondern ist erst eine erklärende Glosse zu dem auffälligen griechischen Text, nach welchem man die Perlen den Schweinen nicht vorwerfen soll.

69. Lane 1867: 1045a and 1885: 2498c; J. Payne-Smith, 528.

70. The verb is transitive in the Shem Tob text, followed by אותה.

71. Jastrow, 444, 446.

72. Soncino ed., 237, which is here paraphrased because of its terseness. For στραφέντες, see Arndt and Gingrich 1957: 779.

73. Following Dahood 1966: 209, 214. On Ps 35:15, see BDB, 902b "to malign." Arabic قرع (qaraᶜa) means "to impugn the character of someone, to censor, to abuse, to despise, to repel, to reject, to speak against" (Lane, 1893: 2987).

74. *Babylonian Talmud*: Berakoth 25a; see above, n. 1.

75. *Babylonian Talmud*: Berakoth, 25a:

ולא יקרא אדם ק״ש כנגד צואת אדם ולא כנגד צואת חזירים
ולא כנגד צואת כלבים בזמן שנתן עורור לתוכן.

For other references, see Ginzberg 1935, 3: 6.

76. For the "solemn technical sense" of ἀπόστολος, see Agnew 1986: 75–96.

77. Burrows 1951, 2: 21ff.

78. Arabic سخط (saḥaṭ) "to be displeased, to be angered, to show discontent or hatred" (Lane, 1872: 1324c) suggests a wordplay. Note Shem Tob's reference to religious adversaries in similar language, "In this way glory will come to the Jew who debates with

them [the נוצרים "Christians"] whenever he captures them in their own pit (בשוחתן)" (Howard 1987: 177).

79. *Jewish Wars* II. 8. 7:

> A candidate to join their sect . . . [must swear] to be ever a lover of truth and to expose liars; . . . to conceal nothing from members of the sect and to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death . . . . He swears, moreover, to transmit their rules exactly as he himself received them . . . and in like manner to carefully preserve the books of the sect.

Cited from Thackery 1926–1965: 376–377. See Leaney 1966: 231.

ADDENDUM

The sixth codex of the Nag Hammadi texts, entitled *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, contains a story about Jesus and his disciples which seemingly utilized a wordplay upon תורה "Torah" and דורה / תורה "pearl." This wordplay lends support to the retroversion of μαργαρίτης to תורה "Torah," as argued in this chapter. According to the story (Tractate 1, 1–12, 22), the resurrected Jesus appeared to the disciples disguised as a pearl merchant named Lithargoel, meaning "glistening gazelle-stone [of God]").

The Hebrew roots underlying this name reflect a wordplay on the name Penuel / Peniel, which was taken to mean "pearl of God," as though the פנו / פני here was the equivalent of פני in the *Kethib* of Prov 3:15 and 8:11, "(Wisdom) is more precious than pearls (פניים /פנינים). (The variant spellings of פנינים in the Shem Tob text are פניניכם and פניכם [Howard 1995: 45–46]). Krause (1972: 51) stated,

> "Er wird zwar (S. 5,18) mit 'der leichte Gazellenstein' übersetzt, jedoch is diese Übersetzung falsch. Lithargoêl bedeutet 'der Gott ('ēl) des hellglanzenden (ἀργός) Steines (λίθος)' und das ist der Gott der Perle."

In disagreement with Krause, Parrot (1979: 214) responded, "Krause takes Lithargoel to be a god's name. However, names construed in a similar fashion tend to be those of angels . . . and in later usage Lithargoel was an angel."

Although Lithargoel had no pearls, he went about the port-city on the island crying, "Margarites! Margarites!" (with the Coptic text having the Greek μαργαρίτης in col. 2: 32 and 3: 12). When the disciples obeyed Lithargoel and made their way to his city (named "Nine Gates") to receive a pearl at no cost (col. 4: 12), Lithargoel offered them not μαργαρίτης "pearls" (i.e., תורות / דורות) but more תורות "teachings / *Torah*, stating

> Continue in endurance as you teach . . . give to the poor of the city [of "Habitation"] what they need in order to live, until I give them what is better, which I told you that I will give for nothing (col. 10: 4–12). . . . Do you not understand that my name, which you teach, surpasses all riches, and the wisdom of God surpasses gold and silver, and precious stone(s)? (col. 10: 24–30).

This story, obviously, was not about intentional deception by a "pearl" merchant who had no pearls. It was a didactic drama based on a *double entendre*. This Greek tale which was translated into Coptic was apparently derived from a Hebrew original in which there was a wordplay on תורות "pearls" (which were *not* offered by Lithargoel) and תורות "teachings" which were freely given.

However, while the author of the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve* appears to have used an intentional Hebrew wordplay with תורה / דורה (= תורה = פנינים = μαργαρίτης), the "pearls" in Matt 7:6 ("do not cast your pearls before swine . . .") originated from an unintentional misreading of תורה "Torah" in the "primitive" Matthean Hebrew tradition as דורה / תורה "pearl, mother of pearl." A translation shift from "pearls" to "teaching" (= *Torah*) would restore Jesus' prohibitions in Matt 7:6 from being at best an

ambiguous metaphor to an explicit ban on activities that could compromise the sacredness of the Torah and his own teachings and halakah. This is precisely the kind of tradition one might expect Matthew to have included in his gospel given his agenda and his initial readership (as noted above 272–273).

XXIX

WHO SHOULD BURY THEIR DEAD?
MATTHEW 8:22b

INTRODUCTION

Matthew 8:22b

ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς
Leave the dead to bury their dead.[1]

ועזוב המתים לקבור מתיהם [2]
and let the dead bury their dead
(Howard 1995: 35)
and let the next of kin bury their dead
(McDaniel)

The enigmatic phrase "let the dead bury the dead," written without vowels in an Aramaic and Hebrew fashion, would be *lt th dd bry th dd*," which makes the phrase all the more obscure. The English *dd* is very ambiguous because it can mean not only *dead* but also *dad*, *dud* (= a person who 'bombs out' or an unexploded shell), *dude* (= a fop or city-slicker at a ranch), *dodo* (= a bird, or a fogy, or a dullard), *deed* (= a document or an action), as well as the verb *did*. The options available to the interpreter of *lt th dd bry th dd* are many, including: (1) "let the dude bury the deed" or "let the dad bury the dodo ," or "let the dud bury the dude," or "let the dad bury the dead," or "let the dead bury the dead," etc.— all of which could be "spiritualized" as quaint proverbs about the "spiritual dude, dud, and dodo" who is to bury a "dead dad"

or a "doodad" (assuming a dittography of a *d* in the *Vorlage* of this last example).

The difficulties in interpreting המתים לקבור מתיהם is analogous, though the options are fewer. At first glance the Greek and the Hebrew texts above appear to express the same idea. But upon closer examination the Greek and Hebrew texts may well express different ideas, as is reflected in my translation of the Hebrew when compared to that of Howard. The Greek words in Matt 8:22 are as unambiguous as the clause they compose has been inexplicable. On the other hand, two of the four Hebrew words, המתים and מתיהם, are ambiguous. Removal of the definite article, the plural possessive suffix, and the plural endings produces the base מת. Hebrew lexicons now list two meanings for מת: (1) the noun מַת "a male, a man" (related to the Egyptian *mt*, "male, man, written with a hieroglyphic phallus), a cognate of Ugaritic *mt*, Akkadian *mutu*, and Ethiopic መትሕ [*mĕtĕ*] "husband"); and (2) the participle מֵת "a dead (man)," derived from the cognate of Arabic مات (*mâta*), Syriac ܡܝܬ (*mît*), and Aramaic מִית "to die" (BDB 559, 607) and related to the Egyptian *m(w)t* "a dead man" (Gardiner 1966: 443, 568). However, מת may also be derived from the ע"ע stem מתת (like תם and תמם "complete"), a lexeme which was noted in the lexicons of Castell (1669: 2166) and Simon (1793: 956) but has gone unnoticed in more recent lexicons (BDB 607; KBS 653).[3] The definitions of מתת given by Castell and Simon, reviewed below, support the translation of the המתים in Matt 8:22 given above. In turn, this translation of the Hebrew text has significant implications for the interpretation of the Greek text of this verse.

PROPOSED ARAMAIC *VORLAGEN*

Davies and Allison (1991: 57) understated the case when they noted that the seven Greek words in Matt 8:22 and Luke 9:60 are "so scandalous, many scholars have refused to take them at face value." As I have surveyed the literature, including the studies of Klemm (1969–1970) and Kingsbury (1988), it appears that no one has taken the Greek text at face value, including Davies and Allison who professed "that it is prudent to accept the text as it stands," and then concluded that Jesus "simply asserts that the disciple should leave it [the burial] to others." But to interpret νεκρούς as "others" is *not* to accept the text as it stands, but is one more attempt, in the words of Davies and Allison (1991: 57), "to convert a dramatic and memorable imperative into a palatable pedestrian utterance."

Some scholars argued that the Greek reflects a (mis)translation of an Aramaic *Vorlage* which may have read in part אתא לך בתרי ושבוק מיתייא קברין מיתיהון (Dalman 1935: 153; Jeremias 1971: 132) which corresponds to the Greek; or שְׁבוּק מִיתַיָא לִמְקַבְּרֵי מִיתַיָא "*Laß die Toten den Totengräbern*" ("Leave the dead to the grave diggers") (Schwarz: 1981: 275). Other proposed corrections in translation include the following (in chronological order):

Let the dead past bury its dead.[4]

Laß die Toten ihrem Totengräber
Leave the dead to their 'grave-diggers.'[5]

Let the undecided bury their dead.[6]

Let the young men bury the dead.[7]

Leave it to the men of the town.[8]

The city will bury the dead.[9]

Albright and Mann (1971: 95), assuming a Hebrew *Vorlage* and recognizing that Hebrew הַמֵּתִים means "the dead" or "the dying," translated the phrase "let the dying bury the dead." However, all of these reconstructions have been dismissed by Davies and Allison (1991: 57), by Kingsbury (1988: 55), and by Keener (1999: 275). Kingsbury noted, "The Achilles' heel of this interpretation is, of course, that the reconstructed Aramaic original is a pure figment of scholarly conjecture."

PARAPHRASTIC INTERPRETATIONS

But the reconstructions of an Aramaic *Vorlage* for Matt 8:22 and Luke 9:60 are not the only figments of scholarly conjecture evoked by these verses. Many interpreters, unimpressed with the Aramaic reconstructions, keep ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς as the *ipsissma verba* of Jesus, only to confess that Jesus did not mean literally what he said. What he said was seemingly a kind of רָז (the Persian loanword meaning a "secret" or "mystery") which required an interpretation (פְּשַׁר), like the מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין "50 shekels, 50 shekels, a shekel, and a half shekel" in Dan 5:25. As a result, some interesting paraphrastic interpretations have emerged from commentators who, following in Daniel's footsteps, have offered their פְּשַׁר in order to reveal the intent of Jesus' command to the disciple.[10]

A survey of some of the paraphrases of what Jesus said or meant, follows in a list from the shortest to the longest

quotation. Although the Greek text has Jesus using seven words, the interpretations, even with ellipses, range from eight to sixty-two words.

> [Follow me,] That business must look after itself.[11]

> Let the 'spiritually dead' see to such concerns.[12]

> Cut yourself adrift from the past when matters of present interest call for your whole attention.[13]

> Leave the matter of his father's burial to take care of itself.[14]

> Those who are wholly consecrated to God have even more important things to do.[15]

Leave the spiritually dead to bury their own physical dead; that is, Leave the spiritually dead to care for thy aged father till his death and burial; they can do the work.[16]

He [Jesus] is teaching that Christian undertakers are better undertakers than those who are unsaved . . . if we must make a choice between being undertakers or disciples, we must do the latter and leave the former to the unsaved.[17]

"You may attend to that duty if no other will do it, but if you go you must act as one who is not a member of the family, one who is really exempt (cf. Matthew 17, 22–27), remaining, in principle, untainted by their deaths and by their mourning. The "dead" will do their best to bury the dead, but you are not one of them.[18]

These interpretations reflect but another genre of "figments of scholarly conjecture," to borrow Kingsbury's phrase, which tell the reader more about the interpreters than about the text or Jesus's intent.

THE HEBREW מתת

The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut, dated around 1400 C.E., which contains elements from an older, if not an original, Hebrew gospel tradition,[19] has simply ועזוב המתים לקבור מתיהם. But the Hebrew may not be as simple as it appears at first glance, for המתים . . . מתיהם may well involve paronomasia rather than repetition. As noted in the *Introduction*, מתים can mean "men" or "dead men" or "next of kin." It is this last definition of מת which requires further attention.

Although Castell (1669: 2166) and Simon (1793: 956) referenced מתת, the stem has received scant attention since. Castell noted (1) the Ethiopic cognate ም'ት/አም'ታት [*mĕtĕ /ʾămĕtătĕ*] meaning "*maritus*" (husband), "*sponsus*" (fiancé/bride-groom), "*sponsa*" (fiancée/bride), and (2) the Arabic مت (*matta*) "*miscuit*" (a mixed marriage), "*familiam saturavit*" (an extended household), and "*gradus consanguinitatis, ob quem connubium non potest iniri* (a blood relative whom one cannot marry)."

Lane (1885: 2687c–2688a) defined the verb مت (*matta*) as "he sought to bring himself near [to another], or to approach [to him], or to gain access [to him], or to advance himself in [his] favour by relationship . . . by affection, or by love." The noun مابة (*mâttat*) meant "anything that is sacred or inviolable . . . which renders one entitled to respect and reverence . . . a thing whereby one seeks to bring himself near." Lane noted بيننا رحم مابة (*baynanâ raḥimun mâttat*) "between us is a near/inviolable relationship." These definitions survive to the present in literary Arabic, where مت (*matta*) means "to

seek to establish a link to someone by marriage, become related by marriage . . . to be most intimately connected with someone," and the noun ماية (*mâttat*) means "close ties, family ties, kinship" (Wehr 1979: 1045).

In Exo 4:24 the MT reads וַיִּפְגְּשֵׁהוּ יְהוָה וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הֲמִיתוֹ which has been translated "Yahweh met him and sought to kill him." In light of the Ethiopic and Arabic cognates of מתת—and simply by changing הֲמִיתוֹ to הֲמִיתוֹ—the text would mean "Yahweh met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship."[20]

Castell considered the names Amitti (אֲמִתַּי / Αμαθι) and Matthew (מתתיה / Μαθθαῖος) to be derived from this stem.[21] If so, מתת was not only in the vocabulary of Zipporah and Moses (Exo 4:24), it accounts for the name מַתַּתָה (Μαθαθα) in Ezra 10:33, as well as the Levitical name מַתִּתְיָה (Ματτα-θιας, Μαθθατ, and Ματταθα). Supporting the derivation of מתתיה from מתת, rather than נתן, are the names Ahijah (אֲחִיָה) "Yah is my brother/kin" and Reuel (רְעוּאֵל) "kin/ friend of God." Hebrew מתת, like its Arabic and Ethiopic cognates, denoted a familial relationship, similar to אָח "kin, brother, relative" and רֵעַ "friend, fellow, kin." Thus, while מתתיה can mean "gift of Yah," it can also mean the "family of Yah" or the "relative of Yah," like the affirmation in the name Abijah (אֲבִיָּה) "Yah is my father" and Ahijah (אֲחִיָה) "Yah is my kinsman."

CONCLUSION

Consequently, the ועזוב המתים לקבור מתיהם in the text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut, cited above, has at least four

possible meanings: (1) "let the men bury their dead"; or (2) following Howard, "let the dead bury their dead"; or (3) reading with Albright and Mann, "let the dying bury their dead"; or as I prefer, (4) "let the *relatives*/the *next of kin* bury their dead." While the disciple requesting the delay in following Jesus was a son of the deceased, there is no evidence to insist that he was the only relative or the next of kin.

Once מתת is restored in the lexicons of Biblical Hebrew and identified as the verb used in Exo 4:24, as well as appearing in the names מַתִּתְיָה and מַתַּתָּה, the Hebrew text of Matt 22:8b can be read as Jesus' providing a realistic alternative for someone who is away from home when a death in the family occurs: "other relatives can handle the burial," or "[in your absence] let the next of kin bury their deceased."

Because Hebrew was and remains a language of discourse for rabbis and their disciples, Jesus could have spoken to his bereaved disciple in Hebrew. If so, he may have used words similar to those which appear in the Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew*: עזוב המתים לקבור מתיהם. But the ambiguity in the written text would not have been present in the spoken word since vowels are a requisite for speech. The המתים of the written record stood for הַמַּתִּים "the relatives" —rather than הָאֲמַתִּים "the men" or הַמֵּתִים "the dead." The use of הַמַּתִּים from the root מָתַת and מֵתֵיהֶם from the root מות presents a wordplay rather than repetition.

What Jesus said in Hebrew was clear and simple. But once it was written down in Hebrew it became automatically ambiguous since vowels were not recorded along with consonants. Of the four possible ways to read המתים, a Greek translator opted for τοὺς νεκρούς "the dead," thereby transforming a very practical suggestion of Jesus into an

impossible proverb, which in turn has led to many implaus-
ible interpretations.[22]   It is a bit ironic that many who disdain
the idea of an Aramaic or Hebrew *Vorlage*—insisting that
Jesus meant for his disciples to let the "spiritually dead" bury
their loved ones—turn to the clergy for funeral services and
burial rites.

NOTES

1. Luke 9:60 contains the same phrase, Αφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, but the rest of the verse differs consider-
ably, reading σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ
θεοῦ "but as for you, *go* and proclaim the kingdom of God," for
Matthew's Ἀκολούθει μοι "*follow* me."

2. The Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut; see Howard 1987:
34–35; 1995: 34–35.

3. Not to be confused with the misprint מתה for מתה on 654a.
Note Dillman's reference (1955: 183) to the stem מתה.

4. M'Neile 1915: 110. By misreading the infinitive לְמִקְבַּר as the
participle לִמְקַבֵּר, it was thought to mean "'Leave the dead *to him
that buries* dead bodies,' i.e., Leave your father's body to be buried
by anyone who will do it."

5. Perles 1919: 26 and Abrahams 1924: 183, who reconstructed the
phrase as שבוק למיתיא מקבר מיחיא.

6. Black 1950: 219–220 reconstructed the Aramaic as ʾithai bath-
rai wishᵉboq mᵉthinin qabrin mithyanin, which could have been
translated into Greek as ἄφες τοὺς νωθροὺς (?) θάψαι τοὺς (ἑαυ-
τῶν) νεκρούς.

7. Herrmann 1981: 283. This assumes a misreading in the Greek tradition of νεκροὺς "dead men" for νεανίας "young men."

8. Köhler 1987: 91.

9. Basser 1993: 89. See Goldenberg 1996: 64–83 for a critique of Basser's proposal. Gilad Gevaryahu (private communication, 1993) noted (1) the absence of מתא "city, town" in the western Aramaic dialects could simply mean that most documents from the period under review have not survived or are in poor condition, whereas the use of מתא in the eastern dialects suggests more documents survived, not necessarily that מתא was used more than קרתא "town"; (2) contact between the Babylonian and Palestinian Jewish communities was so routine that elements in the respective dialects could have easily have migrated from one community to the other, without showing up in the texts which survived; and (3) in poetry or for paronomasia a word from another dialect may be borrowed.

10. Note also McCane's argument (1990: 31–43) that the disciple wants to participate in a customary second burial service for his father. Important also is Bockmuehl's critique (1998: 553–581) of Hengel's (1981: 3–15) and Sanders's (1987: 252–255) proposal to read this saying as Jesus's rejection of ritualism and his annulment of the fourth commandment. Sanders (1985: 255) concluded

> At least once Jesus is willing to say that following him superceded the requirements of piety and the Torah. This may show that Jesus was prepared, if necessary, to challenge the adequacy of the Mosaic dispensation.

11. Manson 1949: 73.

12. Keener 1999: 275.

13. Allen 1912: 82.

14. Kingsbury 1988: 59.

15. Bockmuehl 1988: 581.

16. Howard 1950: 351.

17. Yeager 1977: 36.

18. Derrett 1985: 226.

19. See Howard 1987 and 1995; and Hewitt 2000.

20. הָמֵת or הָמֵית would be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מתת "to bond (by marriage)," whereas הָמִית or הָמֵת would be the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive of מות "to die." For a more detailed examination of Exo 4: 24–26, see Chapter V.

21. Other lexicographers derive אֲמִתַּי *Amitai* from אָמַן "to confirm, to support" or אֱמֶת "truth," and מַתִּתְיָה(וּ) *Matthew* from מַתָּת "gift" and נָתַן "to give," as if it was just a variation of other names derived from נָתַן, like נְתַנְיָה(וּ) *Netanyah*(*u*) and מַתַּנְיָה(וּ) *Mattanyah*(*u*) (BDB 54, 682).

22. The different translations of רע in the versions provides a good analogy of translation errors in other texts. The נָמוּ רֹעֶיךָ in Nahum 3:18 was rendered in the LXX ἐνύσταξαν οἱ ποιμένες σου "*your shepherds* (= רעה, stem I) *slept*," but the Peshiṭta has ܢܡܘ ܚܒܪ̈ܝܟܝ (*nāmw ḥabraiky*) "*your friends* (= רעה, stem II) *slept*." In Micah 4:9 the MT תְרִיעִי רֵעַ "*you commit evil*" was translated in the Septuagint as ἔγνως κακά "*you have known evil*" (=רעע, stem I, and reading תריעי as תדיעי), and the Peshiṭta has ܥܒܕܬܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ, (ᶜ*ābadty bištā*ᶜ) "*you committed evil*." However, Targum Jonathan has אַתְּ מִתְחַבְרָא לְעַמְמַיָּא "*you made friends* (= רעה, stem II) *with the gentiles*."

XXX

"I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END"
MATTHEW 10:34–36

INTRODUCTION

Matthew 5:9

μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται

Blessed are the peacemakers
for they shall be called the sons of God.

Matthew 10:34

μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν·
οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν

Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth;
I have not come to bring peace, but a sword.[1]

Matthew 26:52

τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
Ἀπόστρεψον τὴν μάχαιράν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς·
πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ
ἀπολοῦνται

Then Jesus said to him,
'Put your sword back into its place;
for all who take the sword will perish by the sword.'

These statements of Jesus are impossible to harmonize, although there have been some attempts to minimize the tension, if not a contradiction, in these verses. Luz (2001: 109) summarized well the difficulties, stating

> The sword saying is difficult. Its content is "dangerous and almost unbearable" and seems "more appropriate to the Qurʾan than to the Gospels." It does not fit well with the greeting of peace that the disciples are to bring into the houses (10:13) and the image of the disciples as peace makers (5:9, cf. Mark 9:50). It is more appropriate for the Christ of the Apocalypse who carries the sword in his mouth (Rev 1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:15, 21).[2]

Albright and Mann (1971: 129) paraphrased 10:34, "Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war." They thought the saying was spoken in Aramaic, which they reconstructed as לָא אֲתֵת לְמִרְמֵי שְׁלָמָא אֶלָּא חַרְבָּא,[3] with the לָא . . . אֶלָּא "not . . . but" reflecting "some confusion in oral tradition into Greek" for the original לָא . . . וְלָא "*neither . . . nor*,"[4] thereby making Jesus *neither* a pacifist *nor* a militarist.

Davies and Allison (1991: 218), without comment, called attention to the Aramaic retroversion of Albright and Mann, preferring instead just to recognize a "Semitism" in the expression βαλεῖν εἰρήνην "to cast peace" and to recognize Luke's "division" for Matthew's "sword" as a secondary element in the tradition.[5]

Whereas Albright and Mann thought Matt 10:34 suffered from several omissions, Davies and Allison, followed by Luz (2001: 108), considered 10:34–35 to be "an indissoluble unit that faithfully preserves words of Jesus." They concluded that 10:34 means

> the advent of the kingdom must not lead to a utopian view of the here and now: the enthusiastic extremes of 'over-realized eschatology' must be avoided. Tribulation is still the believer's lot.

While Jesus's words in 10:34 in Greek sound like an announcement of a جهاد (*jihâd*) "war," they become altered in their interpretation by Davies , Allison, and many others into a جاهد (*jâhid*),[6] i.e., when Jesus stated that he was "casting a sword upon the earth," he was actually announcing the impending "difficulty, distress, and affliction" which his disciples would experience. Luz (2001: 110) phrased this idea in terms of the "active sword" versus "the passive sword," with Jesus saying the sword would not be drawn actively *by* him or *by* his disciples, but *against* him and his disciples. In other words Jesus was not calling for his disciples to do what Moses commanded the Levites to do for God: "put every man his sword (שִׂימוּ אִישׁ־חַרְבּוֹ) on his side, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor" (Exo 32:27). To the contrary, the "passive sword" Jesus spoke of referred to the anticipated suffering, woes, and tribulation which would be inflicted upon his followers.

On the other hand, Buchanan (1996: 467) argued for Matt 10:34 being Jesus' call for an active sword. He reasoned:

> It seemed to many that the only way to obtain freedom and be ruled by their own king was to overpower Rome with military force. . . . There were extreme nationalists on the one side and those who had made peace with Rome and were profiting from this relationship on the other. . . . The peace required without revolution was the peace that collaborators had made with Rome. Neither Jesus nor his followers were prepared to endorse that kind of peace. To break this sabotage that was called peace, Jesus came to introduce a war. . . . The religious zeal of nationalist Jews prompted them to believe that they could succeed as others had done. Jesus was evidently involved in these aspirations.

Buchanan reaffirmed notions of Jesus's being a political zealot, which were made popular by earlier critics like Reimarus and Brandon — whose interpretations had been subjected to a brief but careful critique by Black (1970: 116–117). Black espoused a variation along this line, stating

> While not a political Zealot, Jesus could perhaps be claimed as an apocalyptic Zealot, proclaiming a final impending War against Belial and all his followers in heaven and on earth, even in the same family.

Keener (1999: 329), in disagreement with Black, noted that "sword" is standard metonymy for violence and war in Jewish literature and need not be so narrowly interpreted as Black proposed.[7] Keener concurred with Davies and Allison that Jesus' sword referred to the suffering of Jesus' followers.

What commentators have failed to notice is that in Matt 10:34 Jesus was addressing two "messianic expectations" articulated by John the Baptist: (1) Matt 3:2, "repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and (2) Matt 3:11–12,

> but he who is coming after me . . . will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather his wheat into the granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.

Since the kingdom of God was at hand, John the Baptist expected the imminent end of the earth, coupled with the messiah's fiery retribution upon the unrepentant. The Greek text of Matt 10:34 could be read simply as Jesus's changing the weapon of retribution from *unquenchable fire* to an *insatiable sword*, in which case Luke 21:8–35 could serve as commentary:

they will fall by the edge of the sword . . . when you see these things taking place, you know that the kingdom of God is near . . . this generation will not pass away till all has taken place.

A HEBREW *VORLAGE*

The Aramaic *Vorlage* reconstructed by Albright and Mann, לָא אֲתֵת לְמִרְמֵי שְׁלָמָא אֶלָּא חַרְבָא, is ambiguous when the vowels are removed. The consonantal reconstruction, לא אתת למרמי שלמא אלא חרבא, could be translated, "I did not come to *impose retribution* nor wage war."[8] The ambiguities are even greater when considering a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut[9] provides several clues for reconstructing the Hebrew *Vorlage* which would account for differences between Matthew's "sword" and Luke's "divisions," as well as demonstrate how ambiguous Jesus's saying may have become when it was written in consonantal Hebrew. The best Shem Tob manuscripts[10] read, שבאתי לשים בארץ, whereas six other manuscripts read שבאתי לשום(לשים) שלום בארץ, which equals the Greek text. At first glance the two best manuscripts seems simply to have omitted the word שלום "peace." However, the manuscripts may reflect an entirely different textual tradition because שים can mean more than "to set, to cast." This possibility is suggested by texts where סום (= שׂוּם) means "to finish, to end," as in *Arakhin* 10[b], פתח בחליל ומסיים באבוב "[the *Mishnah*] begins with *ḥalil* and ends with

abbub," and in *Baba Mᵉtsiᶜa* 76ᵇ, סַיְימוּהָ קַמֵיה "they cited it before him to the end."[11]

Following this line of evidence, the best Shem Tob manuscripts could have Jesus saying, "think not that I have come *to bring the end* (= לְשִׂים) on earth."[12] The six other Shem Tob manuscripts (with לשים שלום שלום or לשום שלום) could have the same meaning were the שלום read as שלם—on the assumption that the original שלם was vocalized as שלום to bring it into conformity with the Greek εἰρήνην "peace."

A *Vorlage* with אל תחשבו שבאתי לשם שלם בארץ could be read several ways, given the ambiguity of שלם, which could mean any of the following:

šlm	"peace"	שלם	שָׁלוֹם	*shalôm*[13]
šlm	"recompense"	שלם	שִׁלֵּם	*shillēm*[14]
šlm	"retribution"	שלם	שִׁלּוּם	*shillûm*[15]
šlm	"end, Finis"	שלם	שֶׁלֶם	*shelem*.[16]

What appears as repetition in the Greek text, βαλεῖν εἰρήνην . . . βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, could come from a *Vorlage* with paronomasia rather than repetition. If the original saying included the words לשם שלום . . . לשם שלם, the meaning could have been "Do not think that I have come to bring *retribution* (שִׁלּוּם) on the earth, nor have I come to bring the *end* (שֶׁלֶם)." Were these Jesus' words, he would have disagreed with John the Baptist that the end was near and the messiah would soon torch the earth in retribution upon the sinners. Such disagreement could have contributed to John's doubts

about Jesus, which led him to inquire of Jesus, "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?" (Luke 7:20).

If the Hebrew saying of Jesus did not mention "peace," did it speak of a "sword"? The answer must be, "Probably not!"[17] In the first place, Greek μάκαιρα need not mean "sword." The ξίφος was used for the straight sword and ρμφαία indicated a large, broad sword." The μάχαιρα was used for a knife, a carving-knife, a sacrificial knife, as well as a dirk, a dagger, an assassin's weapon, and a short sword or cavalry saber. The μάκαιρα was the base word for a variety of knives, from the butcher's cleaver, to the instruments of the surgeon and the barber.[18]

Moreover, neither μάχαιρα nor חֶרֶב can account for Luke's having διαμερισμόν "division" instead of the μάχαι-ραν in Matthew. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Matthew and Luke had חלף rather than חרב, the differences in the Gospel tradition become transparent and the ambiguity of חלף could account for the misunderstandings reflected in the Greek texts. The ambiguity of consonantal חלף can be summarized as follows:

1. *ḥlp* "knife"   חלף   חוֹלֵף   *ḥôlef*
                            חלף   חַלִּיף   *ḥallîf*[19]

2. *ḥlp* "sharp spear"   חלף   חָלִיף   *ḥalîf*[20]

3. *ḥlp* "butcher knife"   חלף   מַחֲלָף   *măḥālaf*[21]

4. *ḥlp* "change"   חלף   חִלּוּף   *ḥillûf*[22]

5. *ḥlp* "reversion"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥēlef*[23]

6. *ḥlp* "substitution"   חלף   חֲלִיפָה   *ḥălîfāh*[24]

7. *ḥlp* "differences"   חלף   חֲלָף   *ḥilôf* [25]

8. *ḥlp* "dissension"   חלף   חֲלָף   *ḥilôf* [26]

9. *ḥlp* "contention"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥilf* [27]

10 *ḥlp* "covenant"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥēlef* [28]

11 *ḥlp* "friendship"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥēlef* [29]

12. *ḥlp* "brotherhood"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥēlef* [30]

13. *ḥlp* "league"   חלף   חֵלֶף   *ḥēlef* [31]

14 *ḥlp* "a sincere friend who swears to his companion that he will not act unfaithfully with him" = חָלִיף   *ḥalîf* [32]

In light of these lexical options, the original saying could have included a wordplay, as well a *double entendre*, to convey the following message:

> Do not think that I have come to bring
> - upon the earth retribution (שִׁלּוּם),
> - nor have I come to bring the end (שֶׁלֶם).
> But [I have come] to
> - *make a change* (חלף),[33]
> - *establish a covenant community* (חלף).[34]

THE CURETONIAN VARIANT

Although the Old Syriac (Syrˢ) reads like the Greek text, "do not think that I came to bring peace on earth; I did not come to bring peace but a sword,"[35] the Curetonian (Syrᶜ)[36] has the doublet ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܢܐ ܘܣܝܦܐ (*pelgûtā ᵓ dreᶜyānā ᵓ wĕsaypā ᵓ*), meaning "*the division*[37] of opinion[38]

and the sword."[39] This doublet can readily be explained by a Hebrew *Vorlage* with the ambiguous חלף, meaning (1) חלף (ḥilâf) "difference of opinion" (the cognate of Arabic خلاف [ḥilâf]), and (2) חלף (ḥallîf) "knife."[40]

This "division of opinion" in the Curetonian text also appears in Luke 12:51 as διαμερισμόν "division, division of opinion," discussed above, where it was noted that Luke's διαμερισμόν "division" *cannot* be explained easily as a variant of Matthew's μάχαιραν "sword," although it can readily be explained as a different understanding of the ambiguous חלף in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

MATTHEW 10:35–36

ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι
ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
καὶ θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς
καὶ νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς

For I have come to divide
a man against his father,
and a daughter against her mother,
and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law;
and a man's foes will be those of his own household.

Shem Tob Text of 10:35–36

באתי להפריד האדם
הבן מאביו והבת מאמה
והאויבים להיות אהובים

> I have come to separate mankind:
> the son from his father,
> and the daughter from her mother;
> and the enemies are to become loved ones.

The Shem Tob text is obviously not a translation of the Greek text. The Greek preposition κατα "against," repeated three times, calls to mind the hostility found in Micah 7:6, "For the son dishonors his father, the daughter will rise up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: those in his house *shall be* all a man's enemies." But the tone in the Shem Tob text is gentle by comparison, requiring only the kind of separation often found when a man "forsakes father and mother and cleaves unto his wife." (Gen 2:24).

The Shem Tob text has the verb פרד for the Greek διχά- ζω "to separate, to divide one against another, to turn someone against someone"[41] The Arabic cognate of פרד is فرد (*farada*) "to separate, to be single, to be alone, to be singular, to be unique" (Lane 1877: 2363–2365; Wehr 823–824). Lane noted that in stem II this verb means, "he applied himself to the study of practical religion, or the law, and withdrew from [the rest of] mankind, and attended only to the observance of the commands and prohibitions [of religion]," with the noun مفرد (*mufarrid*) meaning "those who are devoted to the commemoration of the praises of God." Noteworthy also is the adjective فردى (*faradî*) "personal, individual, individualist, individualistic."

To the degree that nuances which survived in classical Arabic were common with their cognates in classical Hebrew, the division envisioned by Jesus would have been for individual freedom to participate in a religious community of his

avowed followers. Following the Hebrew text tradition, the new covenant community would not be against (κατά) anyone, not even against one's enemies, for enemies could now be embraced as family members, i.e., members of the covenant family for whom Jesus was Lord.

If חלף and פרד were in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek Matthew and the Greek Luke, they would provide the first hint from Jesus of a church, individualism, and a monastic lifestyle.

NOTES

1. Luke 12:51 reads δοκεῖτε ὅτι εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ; οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ διαμερισμόν, "Do you think that I have come to give peace on earth? No, I tell you, but rather division" (RSV). Plummer (1922: 334–335) commented only on the ἀλλ᾽, preferring to read it as ἄλλο and translating, "I came not to send *any other thing than* division" (Plummer's italics) and concluded simply, "Jesus does not wish his followers to live in a fool's paradise. . . . In this world they must expect tribulation."

2. Luz's two quotations are from Brenz (1567: 438) and Black (1970: 115).

3. The חרב in the reconstruction could have varied meanings in addition to "sword" or "war" (which are the cognates of Arabic حرب [ḥarb]), including חֶרֶב, the cognate of Arabic خرب (ḥarîb) "desolation," or חֹרֶב "drought," which has no Arabic cognate. (See BDB 351–353; Lane 1865: 540, 715–717.)

4. In their notes Albright and Mann translated, "Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war. *But I have come to divide*

the just from the unjust . . . a man against his father . . ." (italics
mine), assuming that a simple homoioteleuton (from the first "I
have come" to the second "I have come") was responsible for the
loss of the italicized words. The lacuna (indicated by the repeated
three dots) are Albright's and Mann's way of indicating that "there
has obviously been an omission here, but we do not know what it
was at this stage—presumably the Micah passage [7:6] was quoted
in full."

5. Luz (2001: 110) noted, "While 'to cast' peace is a Semitic term,
using 'I cast' with 'sword' is linguistically quite unusual." On the
"Semitism" of "casting peace" see (1) Jastrow's references (1903:
965, 1535) to שׂוּם (= סוּם) "to place, to put" as in *B'rakhoth* 39ᵇ,
שׂמת שלום "thou hast made peace," and in *Sanhedrin* 99ᵇ, משׂים
שלום "causing peace," and (2) סוּם (= שׂוּם) "to attach," as in
אומה שמסיימים לה שׁלום "a nation to which peace is as-
signed" (*Cant. R* to VII, 1). In the Septuagint βάλλω "to cast" is
used frequently to translate שׂים/ סוּם, as in Num 22:38, Jud 6:9,
Jer 40:10 [LXX 47:10]; and Ezek 21:22 [LXX 23:24], where
βαλεῖν χάρακα is used twice to translate לשׁוּם כרים "to set up
battering rams." (Hatch and Redpath [1954: 189] list 20 different
words in Hebrew translated by βάλλειν.)

6. See Lane 1865: 474, where this term is defined as "striving,
labouring, or toiling," used in the phrase جاهد جهد (*jahd jâhid*)
"intense labor, severe difficulty or distress."

7. In Hebrew it may not be a matter of metonymy since חרב
"sword" and חֶרֶב "desolation, violence" are from two distinctly
different roots. The former is a cognate of Arabic حرب (*ḥarb*),
while the latter is the cognate of خرب (*ḥarîb*). See above, note 3.

8. See Jastrow 1563, שָׁלוֹם "payment, punishment"; J. Payne Smith 156, ܐܩܪܒܘ ܐܪܒܐ (ḥarbā ʾʾarmîw) "they waged war."

9. See Howard 1987, 1995, and Hewitt 2000.

10. British Library Ms. Add. no. 26964 and its replica, ms C.

11. See Jastrow 965 for the verb סוּם and 977 for the noun סִיּוּם. On the interchange of ס and שׁ, see GKC 6ᵏ.

12. On the elision of the ה of the *Hiphᶜîl* infinitive, see GKC § 53�q.

13. BDB 1022–1024; Jastrow 1586; J. Payne Smith 581–582.

14. BDB 1022; J. Payne Smith 581.

15. BDB 1024; Jastrow 1563, "requital, retribution, compensation, payment, punishment."

16. BDB 1022; Jastrow 1585, "to be whole, complete; to end, cease," used in the *Niphᶜal* meaning "has ended (must die)." J. Payne Smith 581, "to come to the end of life"; ܐܠܟܬܐ ܗܠܟܬ "the kingdom came to an end" and ܗܠܟܬ ܠܗ ܥܠܡ "the world has come to an end." Note especially the use of תַּשְׁלִימֵנִי "you bring me to an end" in Isa 38:12 and 13.

17. The saying of Jesus in Luke 12:49, "I came to cast fire (πῦρ) on the earth . . ." could have come from a Hebrew *Vorlage* which had "I will cast אור on the earth," meaning "I will cast *light* upon the earth." The אור in Isa 44:16; 47:14; and Ezek 5:2, was translated as πῦρ "fire" rather than as "light." Elsewhere אור appears in onr hundred fifty places meaning "a light, to enlighten, to light."

18. Liddell and Scott 1085, 1190, and 1574. In the Septuagint, μάχαιρα translated חֲנִית "spear," מַאֲכֶלֶת "knife," בַּרְזֶל "iron," as well as חֶרֶב "sword."

19. Jastrow 469. Note Jud 5:26 and Job 20:24 where חָלַף means "to pierce, to pass through."

20. Lane 1865: 628 and 797c, where خليف (ḥalîf) is recognized as an error for حليف (ḥalîf).

21. BDB 322; Jastrow 762; Klein 219 "slaughtering knife" from the root "to pierce, be sharp."

22. BDB 322; Jastrow 469, 472; J. Payne Smith 144; Wehr 297; Lane 1865: 792, 798, noting especially the English loanword "Caliph" meaning "vice-regent, lieutenant, substitute, one who has been made or appointed to take the place of him who was before him." Note also Klein 219, "change, pass away, change religion."

23. Jastrow 472.

24. BDB 322.

25. Lane 1865: 796; Wehr 298.

26. Wehr 297–299.

27. Lane 1865: 796, 798.

28. Lane 1865: 627. Arabic حلف (ḥilf) would be analogous to the Hebrew *segolate* סֵפֶר (*sipr). The feminine خلفة (ḥilfat) is also attested. According to Simon (1793: 564, citing Schultens), حلف (ḥalafa) is the cognate of the חֲלִיפוֹת in Psa 55:19–20,

אֵין חֲלִיפוֹת לָמוֹ וְלֹא יָרְאוּ אֱלֹהִים
שָׁלַח יָדָיו בִּשְׁלֹמָיו חִלֵּל בְּרִיתוֹ:

There were no *oaths of allegiance* from them,*
and they did not fear God.
He stretched forth his hands in retribution;
they (plural with LXX) had profaned his covenant.
(McDaniel)

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἀντάλλαγμα
καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν θεόν
ἐξέτεινεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι
ἐβεβήλωσαν τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ

For they suffer no *exchange*,
and they have not feared God.
he has reached forth his hand with retribution;
they have profaned his covenant.

*See GKC 103[f] for reading לָמוֹ as a plural, and *UT* 425, #1337, for לְ "from."

29. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235. KBS (321) cited חלף stem II, the cognate of Arabic حلف (*ḥalaf*) "sharp, high coarse grass, a writing reed." However, حلف (*ḥalafa*) "to swear an oath, to establish a brotherhood, to unite in a covenant" and حلف (*ḥîlf*) "confederacy, league, covenant" go unmentioned in KBS, even though these cognates were cited in earlier lexicons, like those of Castell (1669: 1255–1260) and Simon (1793: 564). The name Alphaeus, (Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου) in Matt 10: 3, which appears in Hebrew as חַלְפַּי, in Syriac as ܚܠܦܝ (*ḥalpay*), and in the Arabic as حلفى (*ḥalfî*), is to be derived from this stem. See Jastrow 457.

30. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235. The בְּנֵי חֲלוֹף "sons of the covenant" in Prov 31:8 is another likely occurrence of this cognate in Hebrew. Especially noteworthy in the context of this proverb is that حلف (*ḥalif*) which means "the act of confederating, or making a compact or confederacy, to aid, or assist; and making an agreement . . . the object was to aid the wronged, and for making close the ties of the relationship, and the like . . . ." The verse should be translated, "Open your mouth for the dumb, for the rights of all who are sons of the covenant." The Arabic translation of ברית frequently used حلف (*ḥalif*), as in Jud 9:46 where the MT בְּרִית

בֵּית אֵל appears in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton (1657) as بيت ايل ليتحالفوا (*bayti ʾil liyataḥalafû*) "ut ibi conjurarent conspirarentque."

31. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235.

32. Lane 1865: 627.

33. The cognate of خلف (*ḫillûf*) cited in Lane 1865: 792, 798.

34. The cognate of حلف (*ḥēlef*), cited in Lane 1865: 627. If this reconstruction is on target, this could be the first hint of the church.

35. Reading ܫܝܢܐ (*šaynāʾ*) for "peace" and ܣܝܦܐ (*saipeʾ*) for "sword." The Peshiṭta reads ܚܪܒܐ (*ḥarbāʾ*) rather than ܣܝܦܐ (*saipeʾ*). This variant was noted by Hill (1972: 194), but without his distinguishing between Codex Sinaiticus (Syr[sin]) and Codex Curetonianus (Syr[cur]).

36. William Petersen noted,

> If one ignores the Diatessaron (which is the oldest gospel text in Syriac), then three recensions of the gospels in Syriac exist. (A) The oldest of these three is the *vetus syra* or "Old Syriac," which exists in two manuscripts: Codex Sinaiticus (Syr[s] or Syr[sin], dated to the mid- or late-fourth cent.) and Codex Curetonianus (Syr[c] or Syr[cur], early fifth cent.). It must be pointed out that these two manuscripts do *not* appear to be related; rather, each seems to represent a more or less independent translation of a Greek archetype (the Greek archetype apparently differed, as well); that this is the case is demonstrated by the differences in (1) word order, (2) vocabulary choice, (3) handling of passages in the Greek which required circumlocution in the Syriac, etc.

37. J. Payne Smith 446–447.

38. J. Payne Smith 546.

39. J. Payne Smith 375–376.

40. Lane 1865: 796; Wehr 298. The Curetonian ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܢܐ
(*pelgûtā' dreᶜyānā'*) could also translate חלף which would be the
cognate of خلف (*ḥilf / ḥulf*) "contention, division, dissension."

41. Liddell Scott 403; Arndt and Gingrich 186.

XXXI

THE MISREADING WHICH LED
TO THE "HATE" IN LUKE 14:26–27

INTRODUCTION

In the Torah, the Gospels, and the Epistles a number of texts can be collated into a litany of commandments to love one's "neighbor" (אָח[1] or רֵעַ[2] or πλησίον[3] or φίλων[4] or ἀδελφούς[5]) and even one's enemies (ἐχθροὺς[6]). The litany would include

Leviticus 19:17

לֹא־תִשְׂנָא אֶת־אָחִיךָ בִּלְבָבֶךָ

You shall not hate in your heart anyone of your kin. (NRS)

Leviticus 19:18; Matthew 19:19, 22:39;
Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27;Romans 13:9; James 2:8

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֲךָ כָּמוֹךָ

καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν

You shall love your kinfolk as yourself.

Leviticus 19:34

הַגֵּר הַגָּר אִתְּכֶם וְאָהַבְתָּ לוֹ כָּמוֹךָ

The stranger who sojourns with you . . .
you shall love him as yourself.

Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:35

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . . ὅπως γένησθε
υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς

Love your enemies . . . so that you may be
sons of your Father who is in heaven.

John 13:34–35
I give you a new commandment, that you love one another.
Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another.
By this everyone will know that you are my disciples,
if you have love for one another.

John 15:12–13, 17
This is my commandment,
that you love one another as I have loved you.
Greater love has no man than this,
that a man lay down his life for his friends (φίλων).
You are my friends (φίλοι) if you do what I command you.
. . .This I command you to love one another.

Romans 13:10
ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται·
πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.
Love does no wrong to a neighbor;
therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

Hebrews 13:1
Ἡ φιλαδελφία μενέτω.
Let brotherly love continue.

I John 3:11–4:21
This is the message which you have heard from the
beginning, that we should love one another (ἀλλήλους)
. . . . We know that we have passed out of death into
life, because we love the brethren (ἀδελφούς). He who
does not love abides in death . . . . Beloved, let us love
one another (ἀλλήλους), for love is of God, and he who
loves is born of God and knows God. . . . He who does
not love does not know God; for God is love. . . . If we

love one another (ἀλλήλους), God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. . . . God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. . . . If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother (ἀδελφὸν), he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother (ἀδελφὸν) whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? . . . And this commandment we have from him, that he who loves God should love his brother (ἀδελφὸν) also.

I Corinthians 13:13

νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα·
μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love.

THE IMPERATIVE TO HATE

The affirmation by Jesus (Mark 12:29–34) that the commandment to love one's neighbor (i.e., kith and kin) as oneself (Lev 19:18) is on par with the commandment to "love the LORD your God with heart, soul, and strength" (Deut 6:4), and that "there is no other commandment greater than these" —coupled with Luke 10:28 that these two commandments are the keys to eternal life—create serious problems for understanding Luke 14:26, which records Jesus' imperative to hate everyone in one's family. The problematic verse reads

τις ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ
τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν
γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς
ἀδελφὰς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ,
οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής.

If any one comes to me and does not hate
his own father and mother and wife
and children and brothers and sisters,
yes, and even his own life,
he cannot be my disciple.

It appears as if Pro 8:13, יִרְאַת יְהוָה שְׂנֹאת רָע "the fear of Yahweh is to hate *evil*," was being restated by Jesus to mean יִרְאַת יְהוָה שְׂנֹאת רֵעַ "the fear of Yahweh is to hate your *kith-and kin*"—which negates the entire litany of love.

CONJECTURES OF COMMENTATORS

Many commentators have appealed to "the less offensive but still accurate"[7] parallel in Matt 10:37 to interpret Luke, which states, "He who loves father or mother more than me (Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ) is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me (ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ) is not worthy of me." Whereas in Luke 14:26 Jesus required a person to hate his own life (τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ), according to Matt 10:38, Jesus said "whoever does not bear his cross" (οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ) and follow me is not worthy of me."[8] The two phrases are not synonymous.

A sampling of scholarly conjecture reveals that no one thinks Jesus literally meant what he is alleged to have said in Luke 14:26. The following sampling of statements, cited in chronological sequence) are typical.

> . . . Jesus is here regarding the well-beloved ones whom he enumerates as representatives of our natural life, that life, strictly and radically selfish, which separates us from God. Hence He adds: *Yea, and his own life also*; this word

forms the key to understanding of the word *hate*. At bottom, our *own* life is the only thing to be hated. Everything else is to be hated only in so far as it partakes of this principle of sin and death. . . . (Godet 1881:139)

In most cases these two [natural affection and loyalty to Christ] are not incompatible; and to hate one's parents *as such* would be monstrous (Mt. xv. 4). But Christ's followers must be ready, if necessary, to act towards what is dearest to them as if it were an object of hatred. Comp[are], Jn. xii. 25. Jesus, as often, states a principle in a startling way, and leaves his hearers to find out the qualifications. (Plummer 1922: 364)

The term "hate" demands the separation of the disciple, and the warning not to love anyone or anything more is the test. This abnegation is to be taken, not psychologically or fanatically, but pneumatically and christocentrically. (Michel 1967: 691)

. . . in this context 'hate' is not primarily an affective quality but a disavowal of primary allegiance to one's kin. In a way consistent with other teaching in Luke, then, Jesus underscores how discipleship relativizes one's normal and highly valued loyalties to normal family and other social ties. (Green 1997: 565)

Μισέω, 'to hate', is usually said to have its Semitic sense, 'to love less'[9]. . . . it should be noted that the Hebrew śānēʾ has the sense 'to leave aside, abandon', and this sense may be present: cf. the use of ἀρνέομαι in 9:23 diff. 14:26, and the use of ἀφιμι in 18:29 par. Mk. 10:29. The thought is not of psychological hate but renunciation. . . . Luke retains the hyperbolic form which is an authentic part of Jesus' teaching. (Marshall 1978: 592–593)

The Saviour, of course, does not mean that he who desires to follow him must hate his parents and other loved ones as such, but certainly that if loyalty to Him clashes with

loyalty to them he is to treat his loved ones in this con-
nection as *though* they are persons whom he hates. But
even when he acts thus towards them . . . he must continue
to love them . . . in accordance with Christ's law of love.
(Geldenhuys 1979: 398)

To hate is a Semitic expression meaning to turn away
from, to detach oneself from. There is nothing of that emo-
tion we experience in the expression "I hate you."
(Craddock 1990: 181)

The statement by Marshall and by Craddock that Hebrew
שָׂנֵא /śānē᾽ has the sense "to leave aside, abandon, turn away"
finds absolutely no support in the Semitic lexicons. The stem
שָׁנָה / שָׁנָא (šānâ / šānā᾽) can mean "to change, to remove, to
depart" (see below), not שָׂנֵא /śānē᾽. In the Septuagint μισεῖν
"to hate" never translated שָׁנָה / שָׁנָא, although it regularly
translated שָׂנֵא (Hatch and Redpath 1954 2: 929). The sense
of "abandon" or "forsake" can be recovered only if it is recog-
nized that what Jesus said became garbled, thanks to norma-
tive Hebrew / Aramaic spelling which used the שׂ for the *s* (ś)
and the *sh* (š) sibilants, so that *sānē᾽* "to hate" and *shānā᾽*
"to withdraw" were spelled שנא, automatically—though
unintentionally—creating a garbled written record of a per-
fectly clear oral statement.

THE AMBIGUITY OF שנה AND שנא

Thus, the μισεῖ "hate" in Luke 14:26 reflects the difficul-
ties in interpreting some statements of Jesus once they were
written in Hebrew or Aramaic. In oral tradition there could
have been no confusion of *lo-yis-na᾽* "he does not hate" and
lo-ye-shan-neh "he does not forsake" (phonetic spellings).[10]

The Hebrew/Aramaic לא ישנא could have either meaning, with the reader being forced to interpret. Interpretations could be lexicographically correct *without* being true to the intent of the speaker. This is especially true with שנה and שנא.

The ambiguity of the שנה and שנא, much to the consternation of the interpreter, permits the following choices.

(1) שָׂנֵא "to hate," the cognate of Syriac ܣܢܐ (*sĕnāʾ*), Arabic شَنَأَ (*šanaʾa*) "he hated" and شَنِئَ (*šunîʾa*) "he was hated," Aramaic שְׂנָא / סַנָא, Ugaritic *šnʾ* (Jastrow 1005, 1604; J. Payne Smith 1957: 382; Lane 1872: 1603; Gordon 1965: 492).

(2) שָׁנָה / שְׁנָא "to change" the cognate of Syriac ܫܢܐ (*šĕnāʾ*) "to change from one place to another, to remove, to depart . . . [as a metaphor] to leave, to fall off from, to desert," and Ugaritic *šnw* "to go away, to break out, to hasten" (Castell 1669: 3788; J, Payne Smith 1957: 382; Gordon 1965: 492; KBS 4: 1597; BDB 1039).[11]

(3) שָׁנָה "to repeat, to do again" and שְׁנִי "second," the cognate of Aramaic תְּנָא "to repeat, to teach," Syriac ܬܢܐ (*tĕnāʾ*) "to repeat, to tell" and Arabic ثنى (*ṯanaya*) "to fold, to double, to repeat"; שִׁנְאָן "repetition" (BDB 1040; KBS 4: 1598; J. Payne Smith 1957: 616; Lane 1863: 356–360).

(4) שָׁנָה / שְׁנָא (a) "to glean, to sparkle, to shine, (b) to facilitate, to make easy," and (3) "to exalt, to promote, be of high rank," a cognate of Arabic سنو/سنى (*sanay*

/ *sanaw*) "he ascended, he exalted" (see # 6, below) and שָׁנִי "scarlet" (BDB 1040; KBS 4:1599; Lane 1872: 1448–1449; Wehr 1979: 509).

(5) שָׁנָא / שָׁנָה, the cognate of Arabic شنأ (*šanaʾa*) or شنئ (*šaniʾa*) "he gave him his right or his due" (Lane 1872: 1603, not cited in BDB, KBS, or Jastrow).

(6) שָׁנֵא / שָׁנָה, the cognate of Arabic سنو / سني (*sanay* / *sanaw*) "he treated him with gentleness . . . behaved well with him in social intercourse . . . endeavoring to conciliate one" [form 3]; "he raised, exalted, or elevated, him" [form 4]; and " he sought to please, content, or satisfy, such a one" [form 5] (Lane 1872: 1449; Wehr 1979: 509; not cited in BDB, KBS, or Jastrow).

A clear example of the ambiguity of שׁנא / שׁנה is found in Ecc 8:1 where the MT reads וְעֹז פָּנָיו יְשֻׁנֶּא "and the hardness of his countenance is *changed*." But the Septuagint reads καὶ ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ μισηθήσεταί "a shameless countenance will be *hated*." Moreover, a Talmudic tradition in *Taᶜănith* 7ᵇ (Epstein 1948: 29; Jastrow 1604), seemingly in support of the Septuagint against the MT, stated: "Do not read ישׁונא / *y'shunne*" [changed] but ישׁנא / *yissane* [hated]."

The שׁנא in Psa 127:2, כֵּן יִתֵּן לִידִידוֹ שֵׁנָא "for [God] gives to his beloved sleep (= שֵׁנָה)" has been translated by Emerton and Seybold (cited in KBS 4: 1595) as "He [God] certainly gives status / respect to the one whom he loves," which draws upon definitions (4c) and (6), above. The שׁנה in Est 2:9, וַיְשַׁנֶּהָ . . . לְטוֹב "and he advanced her . . . to the best

place," became in the Septuagint ἐχρήσατο αὐτῇ καλῶς "he treated her well" and in the Peshiṭṭa ܚܦܐ ܠܗ . . . ܘܠ "and he separated/distinguished . . . her above." These reflect definitions (4c) and (6), above.

THE AMBIGUITY OF ולא ישנא

A Hebrew *Vorlage* of the phrase καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ "and he not hate his father" (Luke 14:26a) would have been ולא ישנא את אביו. But, whereas the Greek phrase is perfectly clear, the Hebrew phrase is clearly ambiguous. First, the לא need not be the negative particle לֹא. It could well be the emphatic לֻא "verily, truly, indeed" which appears in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew in 19:22b, הבחור הלך [זעף] לפי שלא היה לו קרקעות רבות "the young man went away (angry)[12] because he *indeed* had many properties" (Howard 1995: 94–95).[13]

The presence of the emphatic לא in Matt 19:22 suggests that it could also have been in the *Vorlage* of Luke 14:26. Assuming that שנא in the *Vorlage* meant "hate," Jesus may well have meant, "If any one comes to me and he *truly* (or *actually*) hates his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple." In this case the Greek text should have used the emphatic οὖν "really" rather than the negative οὐ "not" —with only a ν being the difference in Greek between "really loving" or "not loving"—similar to the difference in Hebrew between the לא being read as *lô'* or *lu'*. Were the οὐ emended to οὖν, 14:26 could be added to the biblical litany of love.

On the other hand, שנא in the *Vorlage* of 14:26 need not mean "hate." Of the definitions listed above, שָׂנֵא (2) "to

change, to go away, to withdraw" would provide a reasonable alternative which would be compatible with the litany of love. Forsaking one's own family for a new love has its roots in the creation story: "a man leaves / forsakes (יַעֲזָב) his father and his mother and cleaves (וְדָבַק) to his wife, and they become one flesh" (Gen 2:24). The forsaking of kith and kin (saying "good-bye") for a new love required no hate, just change, separation, new commitments and priorities. Jesus' call for the forsaking of all others in order for one to become a disciple appears in Matt 19:29 and Luke 14:33, which support the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of Luke 14:26 with שְׁנָא/שׁנא "to leave, to forsake" rather than שָׂנֵא/שׂנא "to hate."[14]

Jesus' response to the rich young ruler who inquired about eternal life included the commandment to honor one's father and mother (Matt 19:19; Luke 18:20; Mark 10:19). Jesus severely chastised the Pharisees and scribes for circumventing this commandment, stating

> God said, "Honor your father and your mother," and, "Whoever speaks evil of father or mother must surely die." But you say that whoever tells father or mother, "Whatever support you might have had from me is given to God," then that person need not honor the father. So, for the sake of your tradition, you make void the word of God. (Matt 15:4–6)

In light of the emphasis on honoring one's parents— which clearly includes financial assistance[15]—the שְׁנָא / שָׁנָה in Luke's *Vorlage* could be definitions (5) "to give someone their right or due" and (6) "to treat someone with gentleness, conciliation, and esteem." Had Jesus said אם יבא אלי איש ולא ישנא את אביו, he could well have meant "if a man comes to me and *does not treat* his father with *gentleness*" or

"if he a man comes to me and does not *rightfully support* his father." These definitions would apply equally well with all family members mentioned by Jesus, including oneself— validating self-esteem and self-support, as well as wife-support, child-support, and conciliation among siblings.

While on the cross, just before he died, Jesus made provision for his mother's welfare after his death.

> When Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved standing near, he said to his mother, "Woman, behold, your son!" Then he said to the disciple, "Behold, your mother!" And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home. (John 19:26–27)

This was not an act of hate (שָׂנֵא) on Jesus' part, nor was the beloved disciple, in obedience to Jesus' earlier command, likely to start hating Mary once she became "Mother." To the contrary, Jesus and the beloved disciple were making it possible for Mary to receive what was her right and due (שָׂנֵא). This interpretation brings Luke 14:26 into the biblical litany of love and into conformity with the family responsibilities spelled out in Pro 28:24 and I Tim 5:4 (cited in note 15).

LUKE 14:27

ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου,
οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής

Whoever does not carry the cross
and follow me
cannot be my disciple.

Luke's earlier quotation of Jesus's similar statement in 9:23, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily (καθ' ἡμέραν) and follow me,"

makes it certain that carrying / bearing a cross was something that could and should be done repeatedly. Consequently, it was not a call for martyrdom which could only be done once.

The Hebrew *Vorlage* of 9: 23 and 14:27 may well have had תְּלָא/תָּלָה—which was translated σταυρωθήτω "be hanged, impaled, or crucified" in Est 7:9. Once Jesus' statements were interpreted in the light of his crucifixion, the תָּלָה/תְּלָא was understandably read as the synonym of צלב "a pole, stake, or cross" used for hanging, impaling, or crucifixion, even though, as Schneider (1971: 578) noted, "Cross-bearing in the sense of *patibulum ferre* finds no parallel in Semitic at all."

However, if תְּלָא/תָּלָה was in the *Vorlage* used by Luke it was probably the cognate of (1) Arabic تلاء (*talâʾ*) "a bond, or an obligation, by which one becomes responsible for the safety of another, . . . responsibility, or suretiship, . . . the transfer of a debt, or of a claim by shifting the responsibility from one person to another" and اتلى (*ʾatlay*) [form 4] "he gave him his bond, or obligation, by which he became responsible for his safety" and (2) Arabic تلو / تلا (*tilw / talâ*) "follower, companion" and "he followed, or went, or walked, behind, or after. . . he imitates such a one, and follows what he does; and follows him in action" (Lane 1863: 313–314).

With these definitions in focus the original meaning behind Jesus' statement, "whoever *does not carry the cross* and follow me cannot be my disciple," may well have been "whoever does *not bear responsibility* and does not *imitate me* cannot be my disciple." There may well have been multiple layers of meaning to the statement:[16]

- *to fulfill obligations* for the support of one's parents,
- *to be lovingly responsible* for kith, kin, and sojourner,
- *to be a bonded imitator* of Jesus in *word* and in *deed*.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The enigmatic statement of Jesus in Luke 14:26 calling for his disciples to hate their family members and themselves is in stark disagreement with the biblical litany of love outlined in the *Introduction*. Therefore, a Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage* was reconstructed in order to see what options were available for an interpreter working with unpointed and unvocalized written sources of Jesus' sayings. The Greek οὐ μισεῖ "not hate" would easily have translated לא ישנא. But לא ישנא could also have meant οὖν μισεῖ "truly hate" if the verb were שָׂנָא—meaning people who truly hated their family members could *not* become Jesus' disciples.

However, the verb שנא (or its by-form שנה) should have been read with a *sh* sibilant (שׁ) rather than the *s* (שׂ). By reading שָׁנָה / שָׁנָא at least five different definitions become transparent, three of which are contextually appropriate in light of the larger litany of love. It is my opinion that Jesus' use of שָׁנָא / שָׁנָה (rather than שָׂנָא / שָׂנָה "hate") carried multiple layers of meaning which included:

- "to forsake, to say good-bye, to depart"
- "to rightfully support, to give what is due,"
- "to treat with kindness, respect, and conciliation."

Therefore, it appears that Jesus' original oral statement meant "Whoever comes to me and does not say good-bye to father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life, cannot be my disciple." But it was a *good* good-bye. The separation, grounded in love, carried responsibilities for those left at home. Kinfolk were to receive their due in kindness, conciliation, and support, as assuredly as Jesus cared for his mother by appointing a guardian upon his

impending death. While self-indulgence may be a symptom of self-hate, self-denial was to become an exercise in self-love.

To interpret Pro 8:13, יראת יהוה שנאת רע "the fear of the LORD is to hate a neighbor" would not be totally wrong, but it would not do justice to the context or to the intent of of personified Wisdom who was speaking. Similarly, the translation of אם לא ישנא as "if he does not hate" would not be totally wrong. But it appears to have been an early misreading of a saying of Jesus which did not do justice to the biblical litany of love, other teachings of Jesus, and the example he set in his responsible relationship to his own mother.

NOTES

1. אָח "a brother or half-brother born of the same mother or father" was also used for kinship in a wider sense meaning a "relative, kinfolk, fellow, equal" (BDB 26; Jastrow 38). As noted by Jastrow אָח could be gender inclusive, as in the Midrash *Canticum Rabbah* VIII: 1 where שני אחים "two brothers" is use for "brother and sister." The Arabic cognate أخ (ʾaḥ) can also mean "a friend, an associate, a fellow, or a companion" (Lane 1863: 33).

2. רֵעַ and its by-form מֵרֵעַ mean "friend, companion, fellow, best man, loved one." In Lam 1:2 רֵעֶיהָ appears as a synonym of אֹהֲבֶיהָ "her lovers"; and in Cant 5:16 in appears in parallelism with דּוֹד "beloved, loved one." In Jer 3:20 רֵעַ has the meaning of "husband," similar to the Ethiopic cognates መርዐ (mărěʿā) "marriage" and መርዐዊ (mărěʿāwī) "bridegtoom" (Dillman 1955: 310; BDB 946).

3. In the Septuagint πλησίον translated רֵעַ, or a variant form thereof, 122 times and אָח four times, as well as twenty-three times

as the translation of nine other Hebrew words (Hatch and Redpath 1148–1149).

4. Φίλος "beloved, dear, friend, kith and kin" (Liddell and Scott 1939). In the Septuagint it translated רֵעַ, or a variant form thereof, thirty-seven times and אָהֵב ten times, as well as eight times for the translation of four other Hebrew words (Hatch and Redpath 1431).

5. Ἀδελφός "brother, kinsman, colleague, fellow, associate" (Liddell and Scott 20). In the Septuagint it translated אָח over four hundred times, as well as fifteen times for the translation of five other Hebrew words, including the רֵעַ in Gen 43:33 (Hatch and Redpath 20–23).

6. The basic meaning of ἐχθρός [passive] is "hated, hateful (of persons or things)," [active] "hating, hostile," and "enemy" wherein the active and passive meanings coincide (Lidell and Scott 747–748 *sub* ἐχθαίρω, ἔχθός, ἔχθρα). In the Septuagint ἐχθρός generally translates אָיַב or אֵיבָה "enemy," but in nine texts it translated שָׂנֵא (Exo 23:5; Job 8:22, 31:29; Psa 9:13, 40:7, 80:15 [LXX 81:15], 118:7 [LXX 117:7]). The reading of Matt 10:36 in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (Howard 1995: 46–47) is of particular interest: והאויבים להיות אהובים "and the enemies are to become loved ones."

7. Davies and Allison 1991: 221, where it is noted that "service to one's teacher comes before service to one's father" (*Baba M'tsiʿa* 2.11). However, the Talmud required the father to be served first if he was a sage. The passage reads (Epstein 1935: 204–205):

> But if his father is a sage, his father takes precedence. If his father and his teacher were [each] carrying a burden, he must [first] assist his teacher to lay it down, and then assist his father. If his father and his teacher are in captivity, he must [first] redeem his teacher and then his father, but if his father is a sage he must [first] redeem his father and then his

teacher. (See also Goldschmidt 1933: 579–580, [2, 11, folio 33a].)

Davies and Allison cited Hill's (1981: 195) conclusion, "This verse is not an attack on family relationships and natural attachments, but it is a clear insistence that following Jesus is more important than family ties . . . ."

8. The Gospel of Thomas Logia 55 retains elements common to Matthew and Luke. It reads, "Whoever does not hate his father and his mother will not be able to be a disciple (ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ / μαθητής) to Me," and (whoever does not) hate his brethren and his sisters and (does not) take up his cross (ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⳁⲟⲥ) in My way will not be worthy of Me." The ⲥⳁⲟⲥ here is an abbreviation of ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ = σταυρός "a cross, stake, or pale" used for crucifixion and used as a metaphor for voluntary suffering (Liddell and Scott 1635; Crum 1939: 546). (For Logia 55, see Guillaumont 1959: 30–31.)

9. Citing Luke16:13 par Matt 6:24; Gen 29:31–33; Deu 21:15–17; 2 Sam 19:7; Pro 13:24; Isa 60:15; Mal 1:2f.; Rom 9:13; 1 John 2:9; SB I, 434.

10. There were, however, dialectal variations with the sibilants as in the *Sibboleth / Shibboleth* incident in Jud 12:6. Mistakes with sibilants could be costly. An analogy in English is the command (written in Semitic style with consonants only): *st yrslf !* It could mean "suit yourself!" or "shoot yourself!"

11. Note, for example, Matt 4:12 where ἀνεχώρησεν "he withdrew" was translated in the Peshitta as ܫܢܐ (*šanî*). For the interchange of שָׁנָה and שָׁנָא compare II Kings 25:29 and Jer 52:33.

12. The זעף "angry" is missing in three, possibly four, of the nine available manuscripts of the Shem Tob Matthew.

13. Howard rendered the שלא היה לו קרקעות רבות "because he did not have much property." But, in light of

(1) the Greek text reading ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά "for he had great possessions," here and in Mark 10:22,

(2) the parallel passage in Luke 18:18 having ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα "for he was very rich," and

(3) Jesus' following this encounter with an aphorism about how hard it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven

the לֹא of 19:22 must surely mean "verily!" For bibliography on the emphatic לֹא/ל, see Chapter XIV, note 10, and KBS 510–511.

14. When John 12:25, "He who *loves* his life loses it, and he who *hates* his life in this world will keep it for eternal life," is read in he light of John 15:13, "Greater *love* has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," the "hate" (= שָׂנֵא) of 12:25 may have originated in a misreading of שָׁנָא "forsake / abandon" in the original. Brown (1966 1: 474) noted,

> Underlying John xii 25 is an independent variant of a saying attributed to Jesus, a variant comparable in every way with the variants represent in the Synoptic tradition [Mark viii 35; Luke ix 24; Matt x 39; Matt xvi 25; Luke xvii 33]. Dodd even suggests that John's form is in some ways closer to the original Aramaic saying than is any of the Synoptic patterns.

15. Davies and Allison 1991: 523, where attention is called to Prov 28:24 ("He who robs his father or his mother and says, 'That is no transgression,' is the companion of a man who destroys"); and I Tim 5:4 ("If a widow has children or grandchildren, they should first learn their religious duty to their own family and make some repayment to their parents; for this is pleasing in God's sight").

16. For a summary of six different traditional interpretations—from understanding it as the equivalent of ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς "take my yoke upon you" to its being marked with a *Tau* (✝) as a sign of protection and possession—see Schneider 1971: 578–579.

XXXII

THE MEANING OF "MARY," "MAGDALENE," AND OTHER NAMES

INTRODUCTION

The idea that Mary Magdalene was a penitent prostitute became crystallized on Sept. 14, 591, when Pope Gregory the Great gave a sermon in Rome in which he identified Mary Magdalene in Luke 8:2 with the unnamed sinner in Luke 7:37, who "previously used the unguent to perfume her flesh in forbidden acts," and with the Mary of Bethany mentioned in John 11:1[1]

The reason for Gregory's identifying these three women as the same person may have been due to the proximity in sound of the name Magdalene and the Greek noun μαγδᾰλιά, which was a later form of ἀπομαγδαλιά "*the crumb* or *the inside of the loaf*, on which the Greeks wiped their hands at dinner, and then threw it to the dogs: hence, *dog's meat* [dog food]." (This custom may lie behind the Syro-Phoenician woman's reference to the "crumbs" (= ψιχίων = פִּתִּים = small pieces of bread) thrown or fallen from the master's table which the dogs ate.)[2]

᾿Απομαγδᾰλιά appears in Sophocles' *Fragmenta 34* with the meaning of "dirt washed off" (Liddell and Scott, 209, 1071).[3] With this latter definition and the shortened μαγδᾰλιά in focus, it could be said that the sinful woman of Luke 7:37 had her "*dirt washed off*" (= ἀπομαγδᾰλιά) when Jesus forgave her, making her a "magdalene" in the Greek sense of μαγδᾰλια. As a result, the Greek μαγδᾰλιά—which was at best only insinuated in Luke 7:37—became erroneously associated with the Hebrew/Aramaic *Magdalene* of Luke 8:2, whose seven demons disappeared—like dirt wiped off.

Μαριαμ and Μαρία

The uncertainty about the derivation of the names *Miriam* (מִרְיָם) and *Maria* / *Mary* (מָארִיאָה),[4] matches the uncertainty of the derivation of *Magdalene* (מַגְדְּלִינָה). Among the many proposed derivations of *Miriam* (מִרְיָם) (arranged from the least likely, in my opinion, to the most probable) are:[5]

(1) מר "bitter" and ים "sea" meaning "bitterness of the sea," which, by reversing the word order, becomes "sea of bitterness," and then by equating the יָם "sea" with מַיִם "water," Miriam could mean "bitter water," perhaps an allusion to Exo 15:23, מַיִם מִמָּרָה כִּי מָרִים הֵם, "the waters from Marah for they were bitter," a phrase which follows the "Song of Miriam" in 15:21. In the Midrash the question was asked, "Why was she called Miriam?" and the answer was, "on account of bitterness" (*Seder Olam Rabbah*, III).[6]

(2) מרא "to be fat" (perhaps related to Arabic مري [*marî*] "to be digestible"), requiring the shift of the א to the consonantal י found in the name מִרְיָם. However, מְרִיא was used only for well-fed animals, usually for sacrificial "fatlings" (BDB 597), making it very unlikely that מְרִיא was the base for Miriam's name.[7]

(3) מרה "to rebel, to be contentious" (exemplified by Num 12:1, "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses"), with the י of מִרְיָם reflecting the original י of this ל"י verb and the final ם being a noun suffix. The participle מְרָאָה would have been an appropriate epithet for Miriam after her confrontation with Moses, but was hardly her name at birth.

Deut 21:18–20 calls for the stoning of the rebellious (מֹורֶה) son, precluding any likelihood that this stem would have been used for any child's name, either before or after the introduction of Mosaic law.8

(4) רים the cognate of the Akkadian *rimu* "to give,"9 which would require a prefix מ like the מ of מַתָּן "gift," for מִרְיָם to become another noun meaning "gift." Also, for this to be the derivation of מִרְיָם, the י of רים would have to be read as consonant rather than as a vowel.

(5) מרם the cognate of Arabic مرام (*marām*) and مروم (*marûm*) "wish, desire, craving, aspiration, longing, sought for" (Lane 1867: 1194–1195; Hava 1915: 279; and Wehr 1979: 428). Ross (1962: 402) cited مرام (*marām*) as meaning "the wished-for child," but there is no reference in the lexicons to a *child*, per se, being the object of the desire. Without the addition of a י it is difficult to equate מָרָם with מִרְיָם. If the final מ of מִרְיָם is not a suffix but a part of the stem, it is impossible to relate מרם *to Mary* (Μαρία) or to *Martha* (Μάρθα), which do not reflect a final מ stem.10

(6) The Virgin Mary was referred to as *stella maris*, "star of the sea," a title which was commonly credited to Jerome (d. 420), but Jerome actually called Mary *stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," as though it were derived from מַר "drop" and יָם "sea." The *stella maris*—if not an error of *stilla* for *stella*—suggests an association of Miriam with מָאֹור "luminary" and יָם "sea," an epithet for Mary which was used by Isidore of Seville (d. 636); Alcuin (d. 804); and Rhabanus Maurus (d. 856).11

The combination of מָאוֹר "luminary" and יָם "sea" may have contributed to the Talmudic tradition (*Soṭa* 12ᵃ) which gave Miriam three additional names:

> [Miriam was called:] 'Zeroth' because she became the rival [*ẓarah*] of her contemporaries [in beauty]. 'Zohar' because her face was like the glistening of the sea [*ẓĕhar yam*]. 'Ethnan' because whoever saw her took a present [ʾ*ethnan*] to his wife.

The צְהַר יָם "glistening of the sea" (dividing צהרים into two words) would be the equivalent of מָאוֹר יָם (= מִרְיָם). Cohen (1938: 59), following the textual tradition of having only one word here, read צֹהֲרִים "noon," requiring the gloss "[beautiful]" to give meaning to the rather senseless "her face resembled noon."[12]

(7) מרא "beloved" related to the Egyptian *mri'* "to love" and *mrwty* "the well-beloved."[13] Zorell (1906: 356) conjectured that the -*am* ending in *Miriam* was an alternative form of the -*iah* ending (which stands for *the Yah* = *Yahweh*) found in Hebrew names. If so, *Miriam* meant "one loving Yahweh" or "one beloved by Yahweh." However, because the Canaanite sea god was named Yamm, it would have been difficult to know if מרים meant "one loving Yah" or "or one loving Yamm." Gardiner (1936: 197) expressed his serious doubts about this Egyptian derivation.

(8) מַרְיָם the cognate of Arabic مريم (*maryam*) "a woman who loves the discourses of men but does not act vitiously or immorally, or commit adultery or fornication" (Lane 1867: 998, 1204). It is a proper name, perhaps

from رام (*râm*) "a purely white antelope," used for a beautiful woman (in contrast to the Hebrew רְאֵם "a fierce wild ox."). This derivation would be a perfect fit for מִרְיָם. Her participation with Moses and Aaron in the early Israelite triumvirate (Mic 6:4) could well have earned her the title מַרְיָם, providing a pun on—if not the derivation of—the name מִרְיָם. Similarly, as discussed below, Mary Magdalene, in view of her many discourses with Jesus and her fellow disciples—which were free of sexual overtones—would also have qualified her for the מַרְיָם epithet.

(9) מַר "man, master, lord" and מָרְתָה "Martha, lady, mistress" (BDB 1101; Jastrow 834). This Aramaic root is the cognate of Arabic مرء (*mar*) and أمرؤ (*ʾimraw*) "a man or human being,"[14] with its feminine counterparts being أمرء (*ʾamraʾa*) and أمرأة (*ʾimrât*) "a woman, a perfect woman" or "an excellent woman" (Lane 1885: 2702–2703).[15] The *am* ending in *Miriam* is a suffix like the –*am*/–*om* in the names Amram (עַמְרָם), *Gershom* (גֵּרְשֹׁם), and *Milcom* (מִלְכֹּם).[16] The –*am*/-*om* suffix could be either feminine or masculine, as evidenced by the –*om* ending of עֵרֹם (from עוּר "to be naked") in Eze 16:7 (וְאַתְּ עֵרֹם וְעֶרְיָה "and you were naked and bare"), where the three words are clearly feminine singular.[17] This derivation would mean that *Miriam* (Μαριαμ), *Martha* (Μάρθα), and *Mary* (Μαρία = مارية = *Mâriyat*) have the same derivation and differ only in terms of which suffix was used to indicate the feminine gender: ם_ or ה_ or תָה_.[18] This derivation would also account

for Mary's being called "Notre Dame/Our Lady" and for her being esteemed by the church fathers and in the Roman Catholic tradition as the "perfect woman."[19]

Μαγδαληνή and Μαγδώλος

The uncertainty about the derivation *Magdalene* matches the uncertain derivation of *Miriam and M*aria, discussed above. The possible derivations of *Magdalene* include the following (without any significance to the order):

(1) מִגְדֹּל and מַגְדַּל "tower, turret,"[20] used as the place name *Migdol* (Hebrew) and *Magdala* (Aramaic); and מַגְדְּלָאָה, used as a surname of several rabbinic scholars from Magdala (Jastrow 726).[21] The *–ene* ending of *Magdalene* is an adjectival ending like the *–ene* ending on *Nazarene*, corresponding to the ־יתָא ending of מַגְדְּלִיתָא "one from Magdala." Of the many places named *Magdala*, or having a name hyphenated with *Migdol*, Mary's *Magadala* has been identified with *Migdol Nûnîya* (מגדל־נוניא) "the Fish Tower," known in Greek sources as Tarichea ("Center of Fish Salting") which was situated about three miles north of Tiberias at the place known by its Arabic name *Mejdel* (مجدل).[22]

Mary Magdalene's *Magdala* should not be confused with the *Magdala* near Jerusalem from which a certain scribe "set his candles in order every evening of the Sabbath, went up to Jerusalem, prayed there, returned and lighted up his candles when the Sabbath was now coming in" (*Midrash Rabbah Lamentations* [Lightfoot 1658: 375]). However, the מַגְדַּל צַבָּעַיָּא "Tower of

Dyers," also near Tiberias (Jastrow 1259), must be considered as a possible hometown for Mary Magdalene. According to the *Midrash Rabbah Lamentations* (Freedman 1951: 162),

> There were three cities whose taxes were carried to Jerusalem in wagons because of their great weight. The names of these three cities were Kabul [south east of Acco], Shiḥun [near Sepphoris],[23] and Magdala [near Tiberias].[24] Why was Kabul destroyed? Because of their discords. Why was Shiḥun destroyed? Because of their magic arts. Why was Magdala destroyed? Because of their harlotries (מפני זנות).[25]

If the זנות in this midrash means "idolatries" rather than "harlotries," and if the Magadala refers to מִגְדַּל צַבָּעַיָּא, the disappearance of Mary's seven demons suggests a shift in her religious practices rather than her being penitent for sinful sexual activities. Since there were many places named *Migdol* and *Magdal*, as there were other places named *Tarichea* ("Fishtown"), identification of her hometown remains uncertain at best—assuming that *Magdalene* refers to a place—and traditions must be perpetuated cautiously.

(2) מְנַדְּלָא" governess, caretaker" (Jastrow 213, 218, 321), with Hebrew variants גַּדֶּלֶת or גּוֹדֶלֶת, from גָּדַל "to be high, to grow," which, in the *Paᶜel*, means "to rear [small children (דַּרְדַּק)], especially children of a primary class."

(3) מְנַדְּלָא "hairdresser," with Hebrew variants גַּדֶּלֶת or גּוֹדֶלֶת, from גָּדַל "to weave, to twine, to plait, to dress hair" (Jastrow 213, 218). In Syriac ܓܕܠ (*gĕdal*)

means "to twist, to plait, to interweave." In the Arabic-
Syriac lexicon of Bar-Bahlul (c. 953 C.E.) it was stated
that Mary was called Magdalene because her hair was
braided (ܡܓܲܕܠܵܐ [*mĕgadlaʾ*] (J. Payne Smith 60–61).[26]
The Arabic جدل (*jadala*) can also mean "to twist tight,
to braid, to plait (Lane 1865: 392–393; Wehr1979:
137).[27]

A Talmudic tale in Ḥagigah 4[b] illustrates just how easy
it was to confuse מְנַדְלָא "hairdresser" and מְנַדְלָא
"caretaker." On one occasion, the Angel of Death said to
his messenger, "Go, bring to me Miriam Magdala [in-
tending it to be מְנַדְלָא 'the hairdresser']." However, the
messenger went and brought Miriam Magdala [misun-
derstood as מְנַדְלָא 'the caretaker']. When the Angel of
Death called the mistake to the attention of his messen-
ger, saying, "I told thee Miriam, the מְנַדְלָא ['the hair-
dresser'], the messenger volunteered to restore Miriam
מְנַדְלָא ['the caretaker'] back to life." But the Angel of
Death opted for an easier solution, saying to the messen-
ger, "Since you brought her, let her be added [to the
dead]."[28]

(4) מַנְדְלָא or מַנְדּוּלָא "a petite woman," which would
have been the cognate of the Arabic مجدولة (*majdûlat*)
"a woman of beautiful compacture, of beautiful compact
make," which is the feminine counterpart of مجدول
(*majdûl*) "a man of slender, slim, spare, lean make"
(Lane 1865: 392–393).

(5) מְנַדְלָא "a cheerful woman" (an Aramaic *Paᶜel* parti-
ciple), which would have been the cognate of the Arabic
جذل (*jaḏala*) "to be glad, joyful, happy, exuberant," and

the noun and adjective جذلان (*jaḏlân*) and جذل (*jaḏil*) "joyful, glad, happy, cheerful, in high spirits" (Lane 1865: 397; Wehr 1979:139). Because the Arabic ذ (*ḏ*) appears in Hebrew as ז but as a ד in Aramaic, מְנַדְלָא would be the Aramaic cognate.

(6) מְנַדְלָא "deliberator, a debater," which would be the cognate of (1) Arabic جدال (*jidâl*) and مجادلة (*mujâda-lat*) "he compared evidences [in a discussion with an-other person . . .] in order that it might appear which of those evidences was preponderant, and the doing of this is commendable if for the purpose of ascertaining the truth," and (2) Arabic جدل (*jadal*) "a term of logic, a syllogism composed of things well known, or conceded; the object of which is to convince the opponent, and to make him understand who fails to apprehend the pre-mises of the demonstration."

   The gnostic community must certainly have understood *Magdalene* to be derived from מְנַדְלָא "she who dis-cusses for the purpose of ascertaining the truth." In the gnostic text *Pistis Sophia* thirty-nine of the sixty-four questions addressed to Jesus by his disciples are attrib-uted to Mary Magdalene, who readily admitted to her persistence in questioning Jesus, saying, "I will not tire of asking thee. Be not angry with me for questioning everything," to which Jesus replied, "Question what thou dost wish" (I: 24). In the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Phillip, and the Gospel of Mary, Mary Magdalene is depicted as the beloved disciple who had such intense discussions with Jesus that it created tension with some of the other disciples, especially Peter.[29] In

this literature Mary Magdalene received truth directly from Jesus, after which she sought to convince her fellow disciples and make then understand what they failed to apprehend.[30]

On the other hand, جادل (*jâdal*) may be quite negative, meaning "he contended in an altercation, or disputed, or litigated, by advancing what might divert the mind from the appearance of truth and of what was right" (Lane 1865: 392). With this definition in mind, the גְּדֹלוֹת and חֲלָקוֹת in Psa 12:4 can be read as abstract nouns גְּדֹלוֹת and חֲלָקוֹת, with negative nuances like the cognate جادل (*jâdal*). So interpreted, the verse reads:

$$\text{יַכְרֵת יְהֹוָה כָּל־שִׂפְתֵי חֲלָקוֹת}$$
$$\text{לָשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדֹלוֹת}$$

May the Yahweh cut off all lips of *spuriousness* (and every) tongue speaking *contentiously*.[31]

Recognition of גָּדוֹל "contentious and deceitful" in this Psalm—even though negative—would add support to the idea that גָּדוֹל "honest discursive discourse" was an available term in Hebrew which could provide a meaningful derivation for *Magdala*.

MARY MAGDALA AND SAṬDA

A very terse Talmudic tale in *Sabbath* 104[b] was thought by many, including zealous Christian censors, to have identified Mary Magdalene with Mary, the mother of Jesus, because it speaks not only of an adulterous Magdalene,[32] but identifies

her as the mother of a man who had been crucified. The un-
censored text reads as follows:[33]

> 'And thus they did to *Ben Saṭdaʾ* in Lydda (לוד), and
> they hung him on the eve of Passover. *Ben Saṭdaʾ* was
> *Ben Pandira*.[34] Rabbi Ḥisda said: The husband (בעל)
> was *Stadaʾ*, the paramour (בועל) was *Pandira*. But was
> not the husband *Pappos* Ben Judah?—His mother's
> name was *Saṭdaʾ*. But his mother was *Miriam*, a dresser
> of woman's hair [מגדלא נשיא]—As they say in *Pum-
> baditha*,[35] "This woman was turned away from her hus-
> band" [סָטִיַת דא מבעלה] (i.e., committed adultery).[36]

The names in this text require comment, otherwise the
dialogue in the paragraph could be easily misunderstood.
According to Jastrow (972), *Saṭda* (סוֹטְדָּא/סַטְדָא) was a
surname for Jesus of Nazareth and was probably a Greek
name like Σταδιεύς.[37] Given the occasional interchange of ת
and ט[38] and the absence of a prosthetic א, the Aramaic סַטְדָא
is more likely to be the Persian loanword استاد (ʾustâḏ),
which Castell (1669: col. 28 [Persico-Latinum]) defined as
"praeceptor, magister, peritus, ingeniosus." This Persian loan-
word also appears in Arabic meaning "a master; a skillful
man, who is held in high estimation; a preceptor; a tutor; a
teacher, a craftsmaster . . ." (Lane 1863: 56, citing the
"Proverbs" of El-Meydánee [d. 1140 C.E.]).[39]

The Greek/Latin name *Pappos* "governor, tutor," as well
as "grandfather" (Lewis 1964: 725), found in the quotation
above, would have been partially synonymous with *Saṭda*—
the two names referring to the same person but in different
languages. This interpretation of the names could well pro-
vide an explanation for the statement in *Sanhedrin* VII: 25[d]

("so they did in Lydda, when they made two scholars lie in wait for him [*Ben Saṭda*]"), indicating that *Ben Saṭda* was met by two of his peers or tutorial colleagues. Were *Ben Saṭda* a reference to Jesus, the name *Saṭda* would have to refer to (1) Joseph as a craftsman, which would be like the use of استاذ (*ʾustâḏ*) in the Persian translation of the חֹשֵׁב "an ingenious worker" in Exo 26:1, "with the work of an *ingenious worker* you shall make them [the appliqué of cherubim for the tabernacle curtains]," or (2) to Jesus as "ingenious teacher" by recognizing בֶּן סַטְדָא as a descriptive modifier like בֶּן־חַיִל "the son of strength," i.e., "a mighty man" (BDB 121), rather than reading it as a patronym.

The name *Pandira* / *Panṭira*) was noted by Jastrow (1186), but no derivation was suggested. The clue for the meaning is to be found in *Shabbath* 104[b] which states:

> It is tradition that Rabbi Eliezer said to the Wise, "Did not *Ben Saṭda* bring spells from Egypt in a cut which was upon his flesh?" They said to him, "He was a fool (שׁוטה), and they do not bring proof from fools."

In light of the Arabic cognate فندر (*fandar*) "plump, wanting in courage, heavy, and stupid" (Lane 1877: 2449), it is obvious that פנדירא /*Pandira* "stupid" is a synonym of שׁוטה "fool." Were פדירא / *Padira* attested in the Hebrew text,[40] the cognate would be فدر (*fadir*) "foolish, stupid, unsound intellect or understanding"(Lane 1877: 2351), which would make פדירא an equally striking synonym of שׁוטה "fool."

What can be learned from this Talmudic text is summarized as follows:

(1) A certain *Miriam* was a woman's hair dresser (*magdala*) about whom Babylonian Jews reported: "this one

(דא) departed (סְטָת) from her husband," thus qualifying her for the name *Saṭda* (דא + סְטִית = סַטְדָא, i.e., a feminine pronoun + a feminine verb = a feminine name).

(2) This *Miriam Magdala*, alias *Saṭda*, was the wife of a man named *Saṭda*, but his name was obviously not composed of a feminine pronoun and feminine verb like the alias of his wife. His name meant "Ingenious/Teacher/Tutor." But the husband *Saṭda* also had an alias, namely, *Pappos* which also meant "Teacher/Tutor," as well as "Papa." The son of mother *Saṭda* and father *Saṭda*— who was obviously called *Ben Saṭda* — ended up with an antonym as his alias, namely, *Ben Pandira* "Stupid/ Fool," which was to say that the "Son of Ingenuity" became the "Son of Stupidity," and perhaps for what some saw at least as stupid behavior he was crucified on the eve of Passover at Lydda.[41]

(3) Rabbi Ḥisda made it clear that the derogatory epithet *Ben Pandira* was not only the alias of *Ben Saṭda*, but it was also the epithet given to the paramour of "Miriam the hairdresser," who was certainly not the Mary Magdalene encountered in the Gospels nor Mary the mother of Jesus.[42] The Roman *Diospolis* (= Lydda = לוד), where *Ben Saṭda* was hanged, was a day's journey west of Jerusalem, precluding, on the basis of place alone, any possible association of this text with the Gospel traditions of Jesus' crucifixion at Golgotha.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

While the focus of this study has been on the names *Miriam* (מִרְיָם), *Mary/Maria* (מאריאה), and *Magdalene* (מגדלינה),

reference has also been made in the text or endnotes to the derivation and meaning of nine other names. In summary they can be reviewed as follows (in alphabetic order):

(1) *Aaron* (אַהֲרוֹן) "rod, staff," the cognate of Arabic هراوى (*harâwa*) "rod, staff, scepter," enhanced with a prosthetic א.

(2) *Dalmanutha* (Δαλμανουθά) "seaman's wall," a compound name from the Aramaic דילמא "wall" and the Greek loanword ναύτης "sailor, seaman," which appears in Arabic as نوات / نوتـى (*nutiyy* / *nawwât*) "a sailor upon the sea."

(3) *Magadan* (Μαγαδάν) "highland," from the stem נגד "to be conspicuous," with a locative מ prefix, having the nuance of the Arabic cognate نـجد (*najd*) "high or elevated land."

(4) *Moriah* (מוֹרִיָּה) "Yahweh is my Lord," the equivalent of אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ, with מר / מרא being equivalent to the Aramaic מר "lord" and the cognate of Arabic مروء (*murû*) "man" and مرؤ (*marû*ʾ*a*) "manly perfection."

(5) *Pandira / Panṭira* (פַּנְטִירָא / פַּנְדֵּירָא) "stupid," the cognate of Arabic cognate فندر (*fandar*) and its by-form فـدر (*fadir*) "stupid, fool."

(6) *Pappos* (Πάππος) "governor, grandfather, tutor."

(7) *Ṣabaʿîm* (צבעים) (1) "dyers," the cognate of Arabic صبغ / صباغة (*ṣibġ* / *ṣibâġat*)" and (2) צבעים "religious laws," the cognate of Arabic صبغة / صبغ (*ṣabġ* / *ṣibġat*) " religious law, religion."

(8) *Šiḥin* (שִׁחוּן) "small salt fish," the cognate of Arabic صحناء (*ṣiḥnâʾ*).

(9) *Saṭda* (סַטְדָא) "an adulteress," from a popular etymology based upon the Aramaic דָא and סַטִית, meaning "this one forsook [her husband]."

(10) *Saṭda* (סַטְדָא) "ingenious, teacher, tutor, craftsman," the Persian استاذ (*ustâḏ*) borrowed as a loanword in Aramaic and Arabic.

Of the nine proposed derivations of מִרְיָם (Μαριαμ) noted in this study, only the last one permits a common derivation for *Miriam*, *Mary* and *Martha*, which are simply variant feminine forms of the Aramaic cognate מָרֵא / מַר "man, lord." *Martha* is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *Maria*, and *Miriam* is an older Hebrew form of the name having a suffixed *-am*, analogous to the suffixed *-on* on the name of Solomon (which is based on the word *Shalom*). All three can mean simply "Lady" or have the nuance attested with the Arabic امرأة (*ʾimrat*) "an excellent / perfect woman."

The seven possible meanings of *Magdalene* can be found in the following contrived sentence: "the petite (מגדלה) governess (מגדלה) became the cheerful (מגדלה) hairdresser (מגדלה) deliberating (מגדלה) at the tower (מגדל) named Magdala (מגדלה)." Tradition has focused on the last two meanings, i.e., "the *tower* named *Magdala*" which has been identified with a site about three miles north of Tiberias now named *Mejdel*. But in gnostic traditions Mary Magdalene became renown for her forensic faculties when questioning Jesus and in deliberations with her fellow disciples.

While "Mary the hairdresser" of Talmudic tales received the epithet *Saṭda* "adulteress," the Mary Magdalene of the Gospel texts and gnostic tradition deserved the epithet *Saṭda* "ingenious, tutor" in her quest for truth and her efforts to tutor the disciples following her conversations and encounters with

Jesus. It is most unfortunate that the chance similarity of the Greek *magdaliá* "dirt washed off" and the Aramaic *magdalaʾ* —with all of its positive definitions—became *intertwined* (=מנדלה) in Western traditions about Mary Magdalene, soiling her name and her reputation.

NOTES

1. Onesti (2000: 106–107). The effect of Gregory's sermon has been long lasting, as Onesti noted:

> But what Gregory did in associating Mary of Magdala with Luke's unnamed sinful woman who anointed Jesus was to set the stage for Magdalene interpretation in the West for the next fifteen hundred years. In is unclear why Gregory would make such a biblically inaccurate association between these women. Yet, despite the lack of textual support in any Greek or even Latin biblical manuscript, Gregory's series exercised tremendous influence on the history of exegesis in regard to Mary of Magdala.

There are now numerous efforts being made on the internet to reverse Gregory's damage to Mary Magdalene's reputation.

2. The verb πίπτω was used for the throwing of dice as well as for falling down or casting oneself down, suggesting that the morsels of bread could have been tossed to the dogs as well as those crumbs that accidentally fell from the table.

3. Rare words in the literature and the lexicons does not mean that the words were rare in the language, especially when they were apocopated non-literary terms. The word ἀπομαγδαλιά appears twice in one passage in Aristophanes' *Knights* (lines 411 and 415), but something as common as a "napkin" (bread used to clean the fingers and then thrown to the dogs) must have been widely used.

4. The Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* has two spellings of Mary Magdalene. In Matt 27:56 מאריאה מגדלינה (= *Maria Magdalene*) appears, but in Matt 28:1 it reads מרים מגדלינה (= *Miriam Magdalene*), suggesting that *Maria* and *Miriam* were fully interchangeable. (For the Shem Tob text of Matthew, see Howard 1995: 146–149.)

5. Bardenhewer (1895), in a book I have not seen, reportedly dealt with seventy different meanings of the names *Mary* and *Miriam*. For a shorter list, see Ross 1962: III, 402.

6. I am indebted to Mr. Gilad Gevaryahu for this reference and a similar passage in *Yalkut Shimoni*, *Shemot* 165, ". . . Miriam, because in those days the Egyptians started to embitter the life of the sons of Israel." The equation of יָם "sea" and מַיִם "water" and then with בְּאֵר "well" appears to lie behind a tradition in *Taᶜnith* 9ᵃ (Goldschmidt 1933, III: 432; Rabbinowitz 1938: 38), where it is noted, "when Miriam died, the well disappeared, as it is said, *And Mirian died there* [Num 20:1], and immediately follows [the verse], *And there was no water in the congregation*." If the יָם of מִרְיָם could suggest a בְּאֵר, the מר of מִרְיָם could be associated with the cognate of Arabic مر (*marra*) "it passed away, it passed along" (Lane 885: 2699). These associations could well have contributed to the traditions about the Well of Miriam roving about and eventually ending up in the Sea of Tiberias (see Ginzberg 1968, 3: 49–54).

7. Compare Maas (1912), who preferred this derivation, stating that "Orientals consider the idea of being well nourished as synonymous with beauty and bodily perfection, so that they would be apt to give their daughters a name derived from *mara*. Mary means therefore *The beautiful* or *The perfect one*." According to Gardiner (1936: 195) this was Bardenhewer's preferred derivation. But it is hard to imagine calling anyone a sacrificial "fatling." If so, it is easy to understand why *Miriam* was not a popular woman's

name for well over a thousand years.

8. The *Targum* on Micah 6:4 has a wordplay on מֹורָה and מִרְיָם, with the notation that "Miriam was a teacher (מֹורָה) for women."

9. See von Soden 1981: 986–987, where *rīmu* and *rīmūtu* are cited with the meaning "Geschenk."

10. Note also Bauer's preference (1933: 87, note 2) for the stem רים/רום meaning "wünschen, Wunsch, Wunschkind, gewünschter Gegenstand." Lane (1867: 1194), Hava (1915: 279), and Wehr (1979: 428) define مرام (*marām*) as "wish, desire, craving, sought, sought for," with no reference to a child being the object of the desire. Ross (1962: 402) stated that مرام (*marām*) meant "the wished-for child." (See also note 13.)

11. For further discussion see the article by A. J. Maas, available at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15464a.htm and the article from the Marian Library of the International Marian Research Institute at http://www.udayton.edu/mary/questions/yq/yq17.html.

12. See Jastrow 722 for מָאֹור and 1265 for צֹהַר, both meaning "light, light-hole, opening, window," and צָהַר "glistening." The sexual overtones associated with the אתנן "gift, hire [of a harlot]" indicates that צהר also had sexual overtones, like the Arabic cognate ظهارية (*zuhâriyat*) "coitus, a certain mode, or manner, of compressing" (Lane 1874: 1930). The Arabic مئّير (*ma'îr*) "coitus" (Lane 1863: 136–137) could have contributed to the מִר of מִרְיָם having a sexual nuance hinted at in the אתנן of *Sotah* 12a.

13. Gardiner (1966:569) cited *mrwt* "love, wish" and *mrwyty* "the beloved."

14. The names מְרָיָה (Neh 12:2), מֹורִיָה (Gen 22:2), and מְרָיֹות (I Chr 5:32) can be derived from מר/מרה "man, master, lord, Lord"

(Jastrow 834). מְרִיָה and מְרִיוֹת could be the cognates of theArabic مروعة (*murû'at*) and مروة (*muruwat*) which are variant spellings of the word meaning "manliness, manly perfection" (Lane 1885: 2702–2703). In light of the use of מרא in Dan 2:47, מָרֵא מַלְכִין "Lord of kings" and in Dan 5:23, מָרֵא־שְׁמַיָּא "Lord of heaven," מוֹרִיָה (*mārîyâ > môrîyâ*) would be the equivalent of אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ "Yahweh is my Lord." See below, the discussion on derivation number 9 in the list. Devila stated (1985) that "the actual meaning [of *Moriah*] is unknown," even though there is a folk etymology which associates it with the root רָאָה "to see" and the name *Yah*.

15. The initial *'alif* of امرأة (*'imrât*) is a "conjunctive *'alif*" (Wright 1962: 20–21), corresponding to the prosthetic א in Hebrew, which means it is not a part of the stem. The usual feminine -*ât* ending of *'imrât* corresponds to the rare feminine –*am* ending of *Miriam*. Just as this Arabic cognate brings clarity to the meaning of Miriam, another cognate, هراوى (*harâwa*) or هراوة (*harâwat*) "stick, scepter, staff, rod" and هراء [*hirâ'*] "shoot of a palm-tree" (Lane 1893: 2889; Hava 1915: 826; Wehr 1979: 1203;) brings clarity to the meaning of אַהֲרֹן "Aaron." The proverbial "Aaron's rod" is rooted in his name. The initial א of אַהֲרֹן is a prosthetic א, mentioned above, which was added to the Hebrew הֲרֹן. The final ן of אַהֲרֹן is a suffix, mentioned below in footnote 18. Thus, אַהֲרֹן is from the stem הרו* "to beat with a rod" and הַרְוֹן* (*harwon > harôn*) "staff, rod, scepter." Just as *Miriam* has the rare –*am* ending instead of the usual –*at* termination, *Aaron* has the –*ôn* ending found in proper names like *Solomon*. Aaron's rod appears in Exo 7:8–13, 18–20; 8:5–7, 16–19; and Num 17:6–8. Another example of a "rod or staff" appearing as a noun and a proper name is מַקֵּל and מִקְלוֹת (BDB 596).

16. Μαριάμμη / *Mariamme*, the variant spelling of *Miriam* found in Josephus (*Antiquity of the Jews*, II: 221 and III: 54; see Naber 1888, I: 113, 149; Whiston 1974, II: 155, 187), reflects the lengthening of the *–am* suffix and the use of Greek case endings. For examples of the reduplication of the final letter of Hebrew stems see GKC 84[b k-m].

17. Other words and names ending with *-am* or *-om* are cited in GKC 85[t].

18. The masculine name *Marion* (מַרְיוֹן = Μαρίων) has the same derivation, but the noun מַרְיוֹן means "rebel" (Jastrow 842). Other words / names ending with *-ôn* or *-ûn* are cited in GKC 85[u] and 86[g]. See note 14 for other names derived from מְרֵא / מַר.

19. Note especially the sixth tableau, called "The Perfections of Mary," in the famous "Tapestry of Our Lady" in Reims, France. See http://www.udayton.edu/mary/questions/yq/yq204.html. In Islam the Virgin Mary is esteemed more highly than the wife or the mother of Mohammed.

20. The Μαγαδάν of Matt 15:39 can be derived from נגד "to be conspicuous, in front of"(BDB 616), but having the nuance of Arabic cognate نجد (*najd*) "high or elevated land or country, highland, . . . an elevated or mountain road" (Lane 1893: 2766–2767), which appears in the place name نجد (*Nejd*) for the Arabian highland. The original name, with a prefix מ designating a place and a suffix ן indicating a name (see above note 18), was probably מַנְגְדָן, which became מַגְּדָן with the assimilation of the initial נ of the stem. It is probably a reference to Mount Arbel which towers above Magdala.

The *Dalmanutha* (Δαλμανουθά) of Mark 8:10 is a compound name of (1) the Aramaic דילמא "wall" (Strange 1992: 4, citing *Kilayim* 32[d]) and (2) the Greek ναύτης "sailor, seaman" which

appears in Arabic as نوات / نوتى (*nutiyy / nawwât*) "a sailor upon the sea." In the *Ṣiḥáḥ* of El-Jowharee (died c. 1015 C.E.) it was stated that نوات (נות) came "from the language of the people of Syria." Evidently, ναύτης had become a Greek loanword in Aramaic, and from Aramaic into Arabic. If so, the דלמנותא in the Aramaic / Hebrew source of Mark should have been read as the compound דִּילָם־נַוָּתָא "Sailors' Wall" rather than as the unknown abstract דַּלְמָנוּתָא.

All three (Magadan, Magdala, Dalmanutha) point to the same general area: Dalmanutha was the *Sailors' Wall* at the tower of Magdala—that particular Magdala which was in the region of Magadan, i.e., the one near the *highland* of Mount Arbel. In light of Jos 12:2, where the MT שְׂפַת "shore, bank" was translated by μέρος, the phrase ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά in Mark 8:10 could mean simply, "he went to shore at the *Sailors' Wall*."

21. The Greek μάγδωλος "watch-tower" is obviously an Aramaic / Hebrew loanword, unrelated to the μαγδᾰλια discussed above in the Introduction. The name Magdiel in Gen 36:43 was noted as follows in the *Targum Yerushalmi*, מַגְדִּיאֵל עַל שֵׁם עִירוֹ נִקְרָא מִגְדֹּל חָזָק הוּא, "Magdiel was named after his city, (for) its strong tower." Contrary to this tradition, lexicographers generally derive *Magdiel* from מֶגֶד "excellence" and אֵל "God." (See BDB 550.)

22. See *Pesaḥim* 46[a] (Goldschmidt 1933: 483; Freedman 1951: 219) where Migdal Nunia was said to be a *mil* (= 2000 cubits) distant from Tiberias (רמיל כממגדל נוניא ועד טבריא). For an internet site of interest, see http://www.ourfatherlutheran.net/biblehomelands/galilee/magdala.htm.

23. Note the Arabic صحناء (*ṣiḥnâʿ*) "a certain condiment, or seasoning made of fish, small salt fish" (Lane 1872: 1656; Hava 1915: 390; Wehr 1979: 590). *Shîḥîn* (*Sîḥîn*) and *Migdol Nûnîya*, could

be identified in Greek as Tarichea, "Salt Fish Center." For the interchange of צ (ص) and שׂ/ס, note נתץ and נתס (BDB 683).

24. The gloss in the midrash identified this מגדלא with מִגְדַּל צַבָּעִים "Tower of Dyers" which was destroyed because of harlotry (מִפְּנֵי זְנוּת). The Arabic cognates of צבע are صباغة/صبغ (ṣibġ/ ṣibâġat) "dye, the art of the dyer" and صبغة/صبغ (ṣabġ/ ṣibġat) "religion, religious law, anything whereby one advances himself in the favour of God" (Lane 1872: 1648). Thus, the מַגְדְּלָא צַבָּעַיָּא "Tower of Dyers" may have also implied a "Tower of Torah."

25. The זנות "harlotries" referred to in this midrash could actually be the cognate of Arabic زون (zûn) "an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up" (Lane 1867: 1273, 1268). See also Chapter IX, page 93, above.) Idolatry at Magdala could have been a more serious problem than prostitution at Magdala. The מַגְדְּלָאָה sur-name of several rabbinic scholars may well have referred to מַגְדְּל צַבָּעַיָּא with its religious overtones, "because צבע 'religion' inter-mingles in the heart like the צבע 'dye' in a garment" (paraphrasing a phrase from Lane's lexicon).

26. It is interesting to note how Lightfoot (1658: 3:87, 375) equat-ed the plaiting of hair with prostitution. He stated:

> Whence she was called *Magdalene*, doth not so plainly appear; whether from *Magdala*, a town on the lake of Gennesaret, or from the word מגדלא which signifies a *plaiting* or *curling of the hair*, a thing usual with harlots. . . . The title which they [the Talmudists] gave their Mary [מגדלא] is so like this of ours [*Magdalene*], that you may with good reason doubt whether she was called *Magdalene* from the town of *Magdala*, or from that word of the Tal-mudist, מגדלא *a plaiter of hair*. We leave it to the learned to decide.

Lightfoot was able to equate Mary Magdalene's demons with vices by appealing to Talmudic usage which was "wont to call vices by the name of devils: as 'An evil affection is Satan' [Gloss. in *Joma*, fol. 67.2]: 'Drunkenness by new wine is a devil' [*Gittim*, fol. 77.2, &c.] . . . by *devils* seems to be understood the *vices* to which she was addicted . . . . "

27. KBS (I: 178–180) *sub voce* גדל cited Arabic *jazula* and *jadaila* with *jadala* "to twist, to plait, rope" but *jazala* means "to cut, to be chaste, to be generous, to be correct" (Lane 1865: 420; Hava 1915: 89; Wehr 1979: 147).

28. See Abrahams 1938: 17.

29. The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* (Guillaumont 1959: 56–57) ends with Peter saying, "Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life," to which Jesus replied. "See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Behind the Coptic ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ (*hooit*) "male," which occurs here three times, was a *Vorlage* with either Hebrew זכר or Aramaic דכר, both of which are cognates of Arabic ذكر (*ḏakara*), and all three of which mean either (1) "male, male organ" or (2) "remembrance, memory" (BDB 269–271). The Arabic ذكر (*ḏakara*) also means "repentance" and "obedience" (Lane 1867: 969, 971), with its use in the *Qurʾan* (*Sura* 89:24) of particular interest. It deals with repentance which comes too late for a person to enter the Kingdom (literally, "enter among My servants, enter My Garden").

> Thy Lord shall come with angels rank upon rank . . .

> On that day a man will repent (يتذكر [*yataḏakkaru*]),

> But how will repentance (الذكرى [*aḏḏikrî*]) avail him?

With this Arabic cognate in focus, the זכר / דכר in the *Vorlage* of *Logia* 114 could have meant that Jesus would lead Mary to

"repentance" and "obedience," promising that any repentant wom-
an could enter the kingdom as readily as any male penitent—
thereby dismissing Peter's chauvanistic request. Given the ambi-
guity of Hebrew/Aramaic דכר/זכר, it is easy to see how the
Vorlage was interpreted to promote the widely attested Gnostic
gender agenda which deprecated the feminnine and females.

30. For reading *Pistis Sophia*, the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Gospel of
Philip*, and other gnostic text including the Nag Hammadi texts
online, see http://www.gnosis.org/library.html. Otherwise, note
Robinson (1977: 130, 135–138, 470–474) and Mead (1921).

31. The Arabic cognate of חלק is حالقة (*ḥâliqat*) "the cutting, or
abandoning, or forsaking, of kindred, or relations . . . and mutual
wrong doing, and evil speaking . . . or that which destroys, and
utterly cuts off, religion" (Lane 1865: 630). Rendering גְּדֻלוֹת
"contentiousness" as "contentiously" is in the interest of idiomatic
English.

32. According to the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* (2:3), Mary,
the mother of Jesus, was indirectly charged with fornication when
the Jewish elders said to Jesus at his trial before Pilate, ". . . thou
wast born of fornication." This charge was also made by Celsus,
who according to Origen, said that when the mother of Jesus "was
pregnant she was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she
had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and that she
bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera." See Chadwick
1953: 31–32) and James (1924: 98–99) for the full text of the
Gospel of Nicodemus. Verses 2:3–5 are as follows:

> The elders of the Jews answered and said unto Jesus: What
> shall we see? Firstly, that thou wast born of fornication;
> secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the
> slaying of children; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy
> mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no
> confidence before the people. Then said certain of them
> that stood by, devout men of the Jews: We say not that he

came of fornication; but we know that Joseph was betrothed unto Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate saith unto those Jews which said that he came of fornication: This your saying is not true for there were espousals, as these also say which are of your nation. Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: The whole multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and we are not believed: but these are proselytes and disciples of his.

33. Shachter and Freedman 1935: 456.

34. The Hebrew text has בן סטרא בן פנדירא הוא (Goldschmidt (1: 564 and 7: 285), whereas the English text of Shachter and Freedman (1935: 456) reads *Padira* rather than *Pandira*. Jastrow (1137, 1186) does not cite פדירא among the variant spellings of this name.

35. פּוּמְבְּדִיתָא means "the mouth of the *Bĕdîtâ*." The *Bĕdîtâ* was a canal along the Euphrates. A great Jewish academy in Babylon was located there (Jastrow 1142).

36. סַטְיַת דָּא "this one deserted (her husband)" is a popular etymology combining סְטָא "to go astray, to be faithless" and the feminine דָּא "this one." (The variant סְטָת דָּא appears in *Sanhedrin* 67[a].) Shachter and Freedman (1935: 457, n. 5) commented that "Derenbourg (*Essai* note 9, pp. 468–471) rightly denies the identity of Ben Stada with Jesus, and regards him simply as a false prophet executed during the second century at Lydda."

37. See Box 1916: 201 for several attempts to force the name to mean "the son of a harlot."

38. Note חָתַף and חָטַף "to seize" and the interchange of ד and ט in the various spellings of *Pandira* / *Panṭira*, noted below.

39. The loanword استاذ (ʾustâḏ) is used widely in modern Arabic for academic titles like "master" and "professor" and to address intellectuals (Wehr 1979: 18–19).

40. In the Soncino English edition of the text, Shachter and Freedman (1935: 457) list the names as Padira and Pandira. However, in the printed Hebrew text, Goldschmidt (1933 1: 564 and 7: 285) has פנדירא for *Ben Sṭadaʾ* and the paramour of "mother *Sṭadaʾ*."

41. Crucifixion was not uncommon. Josephus wrote of Alexander Janneus' crucifixion of 800 Jewish fighters while still alive—after the victims watched the murder of their wives and children before their eyes—in response to the outcry of many Jews for Janneus to do the people a favor and kill himself (*Antiquities* XIII: 14: 379–383; see Whinston 1974: III, 265; Naber 1892: II, 211).

42. While the Greek/Latin πάνθηρ/*panthera* "panther" was, according to Diessman (1906: 871–872), a common surname for Roman soldiers at that time, it is unlikely that the hard ט of פַּנְטֵירָא reflects the soft Θ of the Greek πάνθηρ. Consequently, there seems to be little reason to appeal to πάνθηρ as the Greek loanword which produced the name *Pandira / Panṭira.* However, it would not be surprising that a derogatory pun was used for any Roman soldier named *Panther*—suggesting fierceness—to be called in Aramaic פַּנְטֵירָא "Chubby / Coward / Fool."

XXXIII

"DO YOU LOVE ME
MORE THAN KITH-AND-KIN?"
JOHN 21:15–17

INTRODUCTION

John 21:15a

Σίμων Ἰωάννου,[1] ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων;
λέγει αὐτῷ, Ναὶ κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.

Simon of John, do you love me more than these?
He said to him, "Yes, Lord; you know that I love you."

The Greek text has ἀγαπᾷς "love" as the verb in Jesus' question to Peter and φιλῶ as the verb in Peter's response. The significance of Peter's changing the verb from ἀγαπάω to φιλέω has been thoroughly debated, with a number of commentators convinced that Peter, perhaps from guilt over his threefold denial of Jesus (Matt 26:74–75), would not use the lofty verb ἀγαπάω, but humbled and humiliated could only respond with a contrite φιλέω.

Other commentators have disagreed with any conclusion that φιλέω was a less lofty verb than ἀγαπάω. Bernard (1923: 703) concluded that ἀγαπάω and φιλέω are "practically synonyms" in the Gospel of John, noting that both verbs are used for (1) God's love for man, (2) the Father's love for the Son, (3) Jesus' love for men, (4) the love of people for other people, (5) the love of people for Jesus, and (6) the love of people for God. Consequently, for Bernard "it would be precarious to lay stress on the change of ἀγαπᾷς in vv. 15 and 16 to φιλεῖς in v.17."

Similarly, Brown (1970: 1103) aligned himself with the ancient scholars like Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, with the Reformation scholars like Erasmus and Grotius, and with more modern scholars like Bernard, Moule, Freed, and McKay—against other scholars like Trench, Westcott, Marsh, and Plummer—by denying any clear distinction of meaning in the alternation of ἀγαπάω and φιλέω in 21:15–17. One of his reasons for taking this position was

> In Hebrew and Aramaic there is one basic verb expressing the various types of love, so that all the subtlety of distinction that commentators find in the use of the two verbs in 15–17 scarcely echoes the putative Semitic original. We note that LXX uses both verbs to translate Hebrew ʾāhēb, although *agapan* is twenty times more frequent than *philein*. In the Syriac translation of 15–17 only one verb is used.

Aside from this reference to the "putative Semitic original," the Hebrew or Aramaic which may have been used in the actual conversation between Jesus and Peter received almost no attention in Brown's twenty-two page discussion on John 21:15–23. Actually, Hebrew had a rather rich vocabulary for "love" and "lovers," including the widely used אהב (Deut 6:4), the familial or intimate רעה (Jer 3:1),[2] the romantic דוד (Cant 1:24), and the compassionate רחם (Psa 18:1). Moreover, the Aramaic familial חבר and the Syriac ܚܒܪ (ḥĕbar) correspond in part to the semantic range of Hebrew familial רעה.[3]

THE MEANINGS OF רעה AND אלה

Since no Hebrew or Aramaic text of Jesus' conversation with Peter is available, commentators have been reluctant to speculate over the Semitic *Vorlage*, contenting themselves with defining the nuances of ἀγαπάω and φιλέω. However,

the debate could be resolved if the following Hebrew texts were given due consideration. The first significant text is Isa 61:3, which reads in the MT and the Septuagint as follows:

וְקֹרָא לָהֶם אֵילֵי הַצֶּדֶק מַטַּע יְהוָה לְהִתְפָּאֵר

that they might be called *oaks* of righteousness,
the planting of Yahweh that he may be glorified

καὶ κληθήσονται γενεαὶ δικαιοσύνης
φύτευμα κυρίου εἰς δόξαν

and they shall be called *generations* of righteousness,
the planting of the Lord for glory.

The MT אֵילֵי (rendered "trees" or "oaks" or "terebinths" in standard translations) became in Greek the plural of γενεά "family, race, generation, clan, offspring" (Liddell and Scott 342; Arndt and Gingrich 153).

The Greek translators were obviously aware of that אלה / איל which was the cognate of Arabic اٰل (*'âl /'ill*) and اِيلة (*'îlat*) meaning "a man's family, i.e., his relations or kinfolk; or nearer, or nearest, relations by descent from the same father or ancestor; . . . household, followers; those who bear a relation, as members to a head" (Lane 1863: 127–128).[4]

In support of the Greek reading γενεαι "family, generation, one's people, relations" in Isa 61:3 is the parallel in Isa 60:21,

וְעַמֵּךְ כֻּלָּם צַדִּיקִים . . . נֵצֶר מַטָּעוֹ / מַטָּעַי [*Q/K*]

*your people—all of them—*shall all be righteous . . .
the branch of my / his [*Q/K*] planting

καὶ ὁ λαός σου πᾶς δίκαιος . . .
φυλάσσων[5] ὁ φύτευμα

all your *people* also shall be all righteous . . .
preserving that which they have planted.

The איל of 61:3 and the עם of 60:21 are interchangeable, although, admittedly, עם was as common as איל was rare.[6]

Although noted in Castell's lexicon (1669: 58, 115, "*populus*, *asseclae*, *affines*, *familia*, *domestici*") the Arabic cognate אל / اَلٌ (= אֵלֶה / אִיל) has dropped out of subsequent lexicons. Although rarely found in the literature, it probably appears in the name אֱלִיאֵל (Ελιηλ / Αλιηλ) in I Chron 11:46–47, meaning the same as the אֱלִיעָם (Ελιαβ) in II Sam 11:3 and the עַמִּיאֵל (Αμιηλ) in I Chron 3:5—all meaning "God is my kinsman"—which are much like רְעוּאֵל (Ραγουηλ) "God is my kinsman" and אֲבִיָּה and אֲחִיָּה "Yahweh is my brother/ father."

In Lam 1: 5, 11, 15, 16, and 19 there are numerous references to the family and community members over whom the personified Jerusalem lamented, including

אֹהֲבֶיהָ	(ἀγαπώντων αὐτήν)	"her lovers"
רֵעֶיהָ	(φιλοῦντες αὐτήν)	"her family members"
עוֹלָלֶיהָ	(νήπια αὐτῆς)	"her little ones"
עַמָּהּ	(λαὸς αὐτῆς)	"all her people"
אַבִּירַי	(ἰσχυρούς μου)	"my mighty ones"
בַּחוּרַי	(ἐκλεκτούς μου)	"my young men"
מְאַהֲבַי	(ἐραστάς μου)	"my loved ones"
זְקֵנַי	(οἱ πρεσβύτεροί μου)	"my elders"
כֹּהֲנַי	(οἱ Ἱερεῖς μου)	"my priests"
בָּנַי	(υἱοί μου)	"my sons"

In view of this focus on Zion's "kith and kin," (i.e. on *people* rather than *things*) the phrase עַל־אֵלֶּה אֲנִי בוֹכִיָּה in Lam 1:16, commonly translated "for *these things* I weep," would be better translated "for kith-and-kin I weep," with

אֵלֶה being repointed as אָלָה.[7] In light of this definition, along with the Septuagint's translation of אלה in Isa 61:3 as γενεαὶ, Hebrew אלה can mean (1) אֵלֶה "these", (2) אָלָה "to curse," (3) אָלָה "to wail," (4) אֵלָה "terebinth, oak tree" (5) אַלָּה "lance, fork, sign-pole," (6) אֱלוֹהַּ/אֱלָה "God," and (7) אַלָּה "kith and kin." This last definition is the key for interpreting Jesus' question to Peter, ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων "do you love me more than these?" (discussed below).

Prov 18:24 sheds significant light on the difference between ἀγαπάω (when it equals אהב) and φιλέω (when it equals רעה). It reads

[אַ]יש רֵעִים לְהִתְרֹעֵעַ וְיֵשׁ אֹהֵב דָּבֵק מֵאָח[8]

There are kinfolk who proffer special friendship,[9]
but there is a loving one who sticks closer than a brother.

The contrast here between רעע/רע (= רעה to share in "familial love" or "brotherly love") and אהב "the loving one" definitely places the latter as more lofty than the former.

On the other hand, the use of רעה Jud 14:20, וַתְּהִי אֵשֶׁת שִׁמְשׁוֹן לְמֵרֵעֵהוּ אֲשֶׁר רֵעָה לוֹ "Samson's wife was given to his special friend, who had been his best man," also needs to be in focus when interpreting the conversation between Jesus and Peter in John 21:15–17. Of special interest is the denominative *Piᶜel* רֵעָה "to love in a special way," coupled with מֵרֵעַ "friend, best man, confidential friend."[10]

JESUS' DIALOGUE WITH PETER

If Jesus' question to Peter (ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων; "do you love me more than these?") had been asked in Hebrew it

could have been stated as either התאהבני יותר מאלה or האתה תאהב אתי יותר מאלה. Either way, the meaning was more likely to have been, "Do you love kith-and-kin more than me?" Far from אלה being the indefinite τούτων "these" (which could have meant anything from Peter's fishing gear to his fellow fishermen) it was a very definite reference to Peter's γενεαὶ, his "family, clan, kith-and-kin." The Matthean (10:37) indicative statement of Jesus,

Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ
οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος,
καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ
οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος

Whoever loves father or mother more than me
is not worthy of me;
and whoever loves son or daughter more than me
is not worthy of me,

became the Johanine (21:15) interrogative "Do you love me more than kith-and-kin?" The question may have been in anticipation of Peter's ministry with Gentiles. Was he so locked into his Jewish clan that he would insist that "it is unlawful for a Jew to associate with or to visit any one of another nation" (Acts 10:28)? Or would his love for Jesus permit him to affirm—as he later did—"I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him!" (Acts 10:34f.)?

Thus, Jesus asked, התאהבני יותר מאלה "Do you love me more than 'family' or 'clan' or your 'ethnic' identity?" Jesus asked the question in the spirit of Prov 18:24, for while "there are kith and kin who proffer friendship," Jesus was asking about "a loving one (אהב = ἀγαπάω) who sticks closer than a brother."

If the response of Peter to Jesus was in Hebrew, he probably did *not* say אֲהַב אֹתְךָ—since the Greek became φιλέω rather than ἀγαπάω. Peter's Hebrew was either אֶרְעֶה אֹתְךָ or אֶרְעֶךָ, with the verb being the intensive *Pi͑el* רָעָה, which was well translated as φιλέω in the Septuagint of Jud 14:20, where ἑνὶ τῶν φίλων αὑτοῦ ὧν ἐφιλίασεν appears for the MT לְמֵרֵעֵהוּ אֲשֶׁר רֵעָה לוֹ "to his special friend, who had been his best man." Peter seemingly opted for an intensive form of a verb which carried the nuance of the special love of a confidant. It was no less lofty than אהב but it was a great deal more specific, reflecting the special relationship established earlier in John 15:15 when Jesus called the disciples φίλους (= רֵעִים) "loving confidants," which Brown (1970: 659) translated, "I have called you my beloved, for I have revealed to you everything I heard from the Father."

The force of the Peter's choice of רָעָה would match its use in Psa 37:3–4, וּרְעֵה אֱמוּנָה וְהִתְעַנַּג עַל־יְהוָה "cherish faithfulness and take exquisite delight in Yahweh." Both imperatives, רְעֵה and the הִתְעַנַּג, convey the idea of "exquisite love," which is unambiguous considering the ענג in Cant 7:7, אַהֲבָה בַּתַּעֲנוּגִים "O Love, daughter of delights."[11] When limiting the inquiry about Peter's choice of verbs to the nuances of Greek φιλέω, the intensive force of Peter's affirmation in Hebrew—"I cherish you!"—and its nuance of the love of a confidant or best man never comes into focus.[12]

Jesus seemingly took advantage of Peter's use of רֵעָה instead of אָהַב as an opportunity for some didactic paronomasia with (1) רָעָה "*to love* as a confidant or best man / friend," (2) רָעָה meaning literally "*to pasture*, to tend, to feed, and (3) רָעָה used as a metaphor meaning "*to pastor*, to lead, to teach,

to rule." While the oral tradition could easily distinguish be-tween רְעֵה "feed!" and רְעֶה "love!" the written tradition did not. With these texts, definitions, and nuances in focus, the conversation between Jesus and Peter can be reconstructed (with uninflected stems in parentheses) as follows:

"Simon of John, do you *love* (אָהֵב) me
more than *kith-and-kin* (אֵלֶה)?"
[Peter] said to him,
"Yes, Lord, you know that I *cherish*[13] (רָעָה) you."
Jesus said to him, "Feed (רָעָה) my lambs!"[14]
A second time he said to him,
"Simon of John, do you *love* (אָהֵב) me?"
[Peter] said to him,
"Yes, Lord; you know that I *cherish* (רָעָה) you."
Jesus said to him, "*Lead* (רָעָה) my sheep!"[15]
He said to him the third time,
"Simon of John, do you *cherish* (רָעָה) me?"
Peter felt hurt because he said to him the third time,
"Do you *cherish* (רָעָה) me?"
And he said to him,
"Lord, you know everything;
you know that I *cherish* (רָעָה) you."
Jesus said to him, "*cherish* (רָעָה) my lambs!"[16]

CONCLUSION

As reconstructed—by reading רָעָה "Cherish!" rather than רְעֵה "Lead!"—the climax of Jesus' dialogue with Peter was a command for the new shepherd to *love*, not just to *lead*. The command resonates well with Matt 25:40, "Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least (ἐλαχίστων = צְעִירִים)[13]

of these my brethren, you did it to me." Peter's profound love for Jesus was to be extended to Jesus' flock. Therefore, Brown's statement (1970: 1115), "The love demanded from Peter is for Jesus and *not explicitly for the flock . . .*" (italics mine), requires reconsideration in light of this reconstruction and in light of I John 4:21, ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ "he who loves God must love his brother also"—the force of which would remain the same were the noun θεὸν replaced by the name Ἰησοῦν.

In the language of John 10:14–15 and I Pet 5:4, Jesus as the Good Shepherd (ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς) and the Head Shepherd (ἀρχιποίμενος) had laid down his life for the sheep—having practiced what he preached: "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends (φίλων αὐτοῦ). In what appears to be an ascending order of importance the Good Shepherd instructed the new shepherd

- TO FEED THE SHEEP (21:15), with Matt 25:31–46 providing the commentary for Peter's taking this command literally: "For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink . . . ."

- TO LEAD THE FLOCK (21:16), with I Peter 5:2 providing a commentary: "Tend the flock of God which is among you, serving as overseers, not by compulsion but willingly, not for dishonest gain but eagerly."

- TO LOVE THE LAMBS (21:17), with John 13:34–35 providing the commentary: "Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another. By this everyone will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one another."

- TO GIVE HIS LIFE FOR THE FLOCK (21:18), with I John 3:16 providing a commentary: "By this we know love, that he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for one another."

- TO FOLLOW HIM (21:19, 22), with Luke 9:23 being the commentary for this command: "and he said to all, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me.'"

Only by retroverting the Βόσκε of 21:17 to רעה and interpreting it as רְעָה "Love!" or "Cherish!" do the indicative statements about Peter's later laying down his life follow naturally from this command to "love/cherish the lambs."

The *Vorlage* of the command in 21:19, 22, Ἀκολούθει μοι "Follow me!" may have used the language of Ruth 1:14, "Ruth followed (ἠκολούθησεν) her," where the ἀκολουθέω translated דָּבַק "to follow closely, to cleave/cling to." If Jesus said דְּבַק בִּי "stay close to me" or "stay devoted to me" it would have echoed (1) the command in Deut 22:11; 30:20; and Jos 22:5 "to *love* Yahweh your God . . . and to *follow* him *closely*" (לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ . . . וּלְדָבְקָה־בּוֹ), as well as (2) Prov 18:24, noted above.[17]

In John 10:16 Jesus had declared, "I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd." The command to "Follow me!" was the Jesus' invitation for Peter to lovingly embrace the sheep who were not of the household of Israel or of the tribe of Judah.

The dialogue ended with Jesus' permitting the "Beloved Disciple" to remain [with his own Jewish people], whereas Peter, the "Loving Disciple," was to move on to shepherd the larger flock of Jews and Gentiles. With this goal in mind, Jesus had initiated the dialogue with the question, "Simon of John, do you love me more than kith-and-kin?" In the ninety second dialogue recorded in John 21:15–22, the reader is given no indication that Peter directly addressed in word the מֵאֵלֶּה "more than kith-and-kin" part of Jesus' question. But

what was missing in his words became apparent in his deeds. Even Paul—while asserting "I had been entrusted with the gospel for the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised" (Gal 2:7)—recognized that Peter's love for Jesus had freed him to "live like a Gentile and not like a Jew" (Gal 2:14). Thus, it is not surprising to read in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* (31–41) of Peter's living in Rome where, according to tradition, he loved his flock of Gentiles and Jews enough to die on a cross as did his Lord.

NOTES

1. In John 1:42 the text reads Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς ᾽ιωάννου "Simon the son of John." The omission of ὁ υἱὸς here seems to emphasize the ᾽ιωάννου, perhaps being Jesus' way of reminding Simon that Yahweh is indeed gracious and forgiving, as this name affirms, so that nothing more needed to be said about Peter's earlier denials.

2. Whereas the Vulgate has *amatoribus* "lovers," which is followed by most English translations, the Septuagint rendered it ποιμέσιν "shepherds." Compare Hos 12:1 where the MT אֶפְרַיִם רֹעֶה רוּחַ became *Ephraim pascit ventum* "Ephraim *feeds* on wind" in the Vulgate, but Εφραιμ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα "Ephraim is an *evil* spirit" in the Septuagint. Wolff (1974:201) translated it as "Ephraim *be-friends* the wind"; and Young (YLT) has "Ephraim is *enjoying* wind"—based on the Aramaic רעא/רעי "to take delight in" (see Jastrow 1486). For another example, dealing with the ambiguity of רע, rather than רעה, see the Addendum following note 14.

3. In the Septuagint ἀγαπάω, ἀγάπη, and ἀγαπητός translated not only אהב but also ידד, יחד, יקר, רחם, שעע and twelve other stems; φιλέω, φιλία, and φίλος translated רע, דוד, אהב, and four other stems (Hatch and Redpath 1954: 5; 1430). The statement by Bernard (1923: 704) that

ἀγαπάω and φιλέω are indifferently used in the LXX to translate the Hebr. אָהֵב; this Hebrew root being nearly always behind ἀγαπαν and always behind φιλέω except when φιλέω means 'to kiss,' when it represents נָשַׁק

failed to mention that φιλία and φίλος frequently translated רֵעַ. It would not be surprising if φιλέω had been used also to translate רָעָה "to cherish, to associate with" or the *Piᶜel* denominative רֵעָה "to love in a special way" (BDB 945–946). The synonyms רעה and אהב appear in Psa 38:11, קרובי . . . אהבי ורעי "my loved ones and my kinfolk . . . and my relatives."

4. It was a synonym of اهل (*'ahl*) "the people of a house or dwelling, and of a town or village . . . and the family of a man, fellow members of one family or race, and of one religion" (Lane 1863: 121). Lane (127) noted that "By the ال (*'âl*) of the Prophet are meant, accord[ing] to some persons, His followers, whether relations or others: and his relations, whether followers or not . . . ." For this reason "kith-and-kin" [hyphenated at times to correspond to the one word in Hebrew and Arabic] is probably the best English translation. The term appears in the *Qurʾan* (*Sura* 3:9, 8:54 and 56) in reference to "the family of Pharaoh" (ال فرعون [*'ala firᶜawnu*]).

The word survives in modern literary Arabic for "blood relationship, consanguinity, pact, covenant" (Wehr 1979: 27).

5. Reading נֹצֵר for the MT נֵצֶר.

6. An analogy from English would be the current use of "family" and "kith and kin." A sample check on one internet database came up with 38,000 references to "kith and kin" and 68,000,000 references to "family."

7. On the *qitl* noun formation, see GKC §84ᶜ.

8. Reading יֵשׁ for MT אִישׁ, with the Targum, Syriac and Greek manuscripts (see BHS).

9. The MT *Hithpolel* הִתְרֹעֵעַ is not from רעע "to break" (BDB 950) but is a by-form of רעה "to be a special friend" (BDB 946). For other examples of the interchange of ה"ל, ע"ע and ע"י by-forms see GKC §77ᵇ·ᵉ. In light of these by-forms, the ἑταῖρος "friend, companion, comrade" in some Greek manuscripts does not require the emendation of הִתְרֹעֵעַ to הִתְרָעוֹת, as suggested in BHS.

10. See BDB 945–946; Jastrow 1475–1476; KBS 3: 1258–1262.

11. Pope (1977: 632) noted, "It could scarcely be termed an emendation to follow Syriac and Aquila in dividing *battaʿănûgîm*, 'with delights' to *baṯ taʿănûgîm* , 'daughter of delight(s).'"

12. Note also Evans (1957: 64–71) who argued that φιλέω denoted a higher kind of love.

13. The use of "cherish" rather than "love" is to reflect the *Piʿel* intensive form and the special quality of the endearing love of רֵעָה.

14. The ἀρνίον may have translated צְעִירִי, with the Arabic cognate صغير (ṣaġîr) suggesting not only small lambs, but people who are held in low esteem, rank or dignity (Lane 1872: 1691–1692). Note Psa 119:141 צָעִיר אָנֹכִי וְנִבְזֶה "I am small and despised."

If the πρόβατα of manuscripts C* and D reflect the original Greek of 21:15, the *Vorlage* may have had צֹאנִי, with צֹאן retaining a nuance of its Arabic cognate, ضأن/ضائن (ḍâʾin / ḍâʾn), which was used as an epithet for "a soft man as though he were a ewe or one who ceases not to be goodly in body while a scanty eater" (Lane 1874:1760). The command to Peter to *feed* the *flock* may have influenced the tradition behind manuscripts C* and D.

15. The προβάτον here may well be a translation of צֹאנִי.

16. The προβάτιον here may translate טַלְיִ, with the טָלֶה retaining the nuance of its Arabic cognate طلى (ṭalîy) meaning not only a

lamb but also "confined, restrained, or withheld" (Lane 1874:
1876). The use of טָלְי here may have facilitated the transition to
the restraint mentioned in 21:18, "someone else will fasten a belt
around you and take you where you do not wish to go."

17. The Arabic cognate of דְּבַק includes the ideas of attachment
and devotion, as in the expression ما أدبقه (mâ ʾadbaqatu), "How
great is his devotedness!" (Lane 1867: 849). The Arabic usage
would permit Ἀκολούθει μοι to mean "Stick with me!"

ADDENDUM
Matthew 7:11

The translation of Hebrew רע has been problematic in
several texts. For example, MT נָמוּ רֹעֶיךָ in Nahum 3:18 is
rendered in the Septuagint ἐνύσταξαν οἱ ποιμένες σου
"your shepherds (= רעה, stem I) slept," but the Peshiṭta has
ܢܡܘ ܚܒܪܝܟ (nāmw ḥabraiky) "your friends (= רעה, stem
II) slept." In Micah 4:9 the MT תָּרִיעִי רֵעַ "you shout a shout"
(= רוּעַ) was translated in the Septuagint as ἔγνως κακά
"you have known evil" (= ידע and רעע, stem I), and the
Peshiṭta has also ܥܒܕܬܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ (ʿābadty bištāʿ) "you
committed evil," but the Targum Jonathan has אַתְּ מִתְחַבְרָא
לְעַמְמַיָּא "you made friends (= רעה, stem II) with the gen-
tiles." A retroversion of the πονηροί in Matt 7:11 to רעים
suggests a similar ambiguity with רעים in the original version
of the verse.*

The rhetorical questions in Matt 7:9–11 established the
point that parents do not give their children something sug-
gestive of death when they asked for the staples of life. The
inference is that "family members" (= Hebrew רֵעִים or Ara-
maic חַבְרִין) naturally give good gifts to each other. However,

the רעים (= רֵעִים) "family, friends, kinfolk, loved ones" of the original saying was misread as רָעִים "evil ones."

The Aramaic חַבְרָא "family, friends" could not have produced such a misunderstanding, adding support for there being a Hebrew *Vorlage* for this Matthean tradition. Instead of interpreting רעים as πονηροὶ, the early translator should have rendered it as πλησίον, as in Matt 5:43, "you shall love your πλησίον as you love yourself." At one time Matt 7:11 surely carried the meaning, "If you who are *kinfolk* know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more so will your heavenly father give good things to those who ask!"

If ἄρτον was a translation of לחם "bread" in this tradition, then either אֶבֶן "stone" or רֶגֶם "stone" could have been used in a wordplay. In light of Lev 24:14 and 16, ירגמו בו רגום (Septuagint λίθοις λιθοβολείτω αὐτὸν) "stone him with stones," רֶגֶם is more likely to have been in the original saying. Even though אֶבֶן was used with רגם for stoning (Lev 24:23, וירגמו אתו אבן "and they stoned him with stones"), אֶבֶן could have highly desirable connotations, like building stones, writing stones, and gem stones. But רֶגֶם always conveyed a sense of death. Jesus' question seems to have been, "what man of you, if his son ask him for לחם (a staple of life) will give him רגם (an instrument of death)?"

Similarity, the contrast between "fish" (ἰχτηὺν) and "serpent" (ὄφιν) was more than a contrast between what swam in the sea and what crawled on the earth. It was a contrast between an *edible* fish and the *devouring* sea-serpent. In Hebrew תנין was used for the sea-serpent Leviathan (Psa 74:14, 104:26; Job 40:25–41:26 [Eng 41:1–34]). The question was probably, "if the son ask for a fish (דָּג) will the father give him the sea-serpent/Levithan (לִוְיָתָן/תַּנִּין)?" Although

ὄφις was used for a kind of fish (Liddell and Scott, 1279), the preferred Greek word would have been κῆτος, which renders the תַּנִּין in Gen 1:21.

* Gelston (1987: 123–125) listed sixty-six passages in the minor prophets where the "the vocalization presupposed by the Peshiṭta differs from the Masoretic vocalization without affecting the consonantal text."

XXXIV

"STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT"

PSALMS OF SOLOMON 2:26–27

INTRODUCTION

> The sinner contemptuously used his battering-ram
> to smash down the strong walls, and you did not interfere.
> Foreign nations went up to your altar;
> they brazenly trampled around with their sandals on.
> For their part, the people of Jerusalem
> desecrated the sanctuary of the LORD.
> They profaned the gifts of God with their lawless acts.
> (PsSol 2:1–2).[1]

The contemptuous figure in the first line of these verses has been identified by many as Pompey the Great. With the assistance of Hyrcanus II, Pompey entered Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., at which time the faction of Aristobulus II retreated to the security of the Temple Mount to resist him. Pompey besieged the Temple Mount for three months, bringing in siege engines from Tyre to facilitate a Roman victory. Josephus provided a detailed account of the Jewish civil war which prompted Pompey to intervene, and in summary noted ". . . of the Jews twelve thousand were slain, but of the Romans very few were slain . . . ."[2] Pompey, by right of conquest, entered the Jerusalem Temple and its Holy of Holies, where, according to Josephus, Pompey saw everything but took nothing. Following this victory, Pompey made Hyrcanus II the high-priest in Jerusalem and ordered the traditional Jewish sacrifices to be resumed.

This destruction of the Temple Mount by Pompey, his desecration of the Temple and entering the Holy of Holies, along with the thousands of Jewish casualties, well qualified Pompey for much subsequent Jewish vilification. Just fifteen years after the murder of twelve thousand Jews in Jerusalem, the author of the PsSol 2:26–27 was able to celebrate Pompey's assassination on September 12, 48 B.C.E., with these words:

> And I did not wait long until God showed me his arrogance,
> pierced through on the mountains of Egypt,
> scorned as worthless as anything on earth and sea.
> His body was violently carried on the waves,
> and there was no one to bury him,
> because God contemptuously despised him.

As is obvious even to the casual reader, the assertion that Pompey was killed on the *mountains* of Egypt and his corpse was carried away on the *waves* appears to be in and of itself inconsistent and in disagreement with other traditions about his assassination.

POMPEY'S DEATH IN CLASSICAL TRADITION

The murder of Pompey by Ptolemy III was recounted in great detail in classical sources. Dio Cassius, in his *Roman History*, provided the following account:

> [Pompey] set out for Egypt . . . to Pelusium where Ptolemy was encamped while making war against his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favor shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite

guaranties; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guaranty of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimus, a Roman who had once served with Pompey . . . and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them . . . embarked on small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and shallow waters a ship could not come close to the land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly . . . Now when they drew near . . . they killed him before sailing into the harbour . . . . Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, "master of a thousand ships," he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt (πρός τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ) . . . near Mount Casius (πρός τε τῷ Κασίῳ ὄρει). . . . following a certain oracle, he [Pompey] had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius (Κασσίου), but instead of being the object of a plot by any man named Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain (ὄρει) that had this name. . . . . and [when Caesar at Alexandria] saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy, . . . he wept and lamented bitterly; . . . and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried.[3]

Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* provided even greater detail in some respects, reporting as follows:

By this time, the Egyptian boat drew near, and Septimius standing up first, saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue, by the title of imperator. Then Achillas, saluting him in the Greek language, desired him to come aboard his vessel, telling him, that the sea was very shallow towards the

shore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid striking upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's galleys getting their men on board, and all the shore covered with soldiers; so that even if they changed their minds, it seemed impossible for them to escape, and besides, their distrust would have given the assassins a pretense for their cruelty. . . . When they drew near to the shore, Cornelia, together with the rest of his friends in the galley, was very impatient to see the event, and began to take courage at last, when she saw several of the royal escort coming to meet him, apparently to give him a more honorable reception; but in the meantime, as Pompey took Philip by the hand to rise up more easily, Septimius first stabbed him from behind with his sword; and after him likewise Salvius and Achillas drew out their swords. He, therefore, taking up his gown with both hands, drew it over his face, and neither saying nor doing anything unworthy of himself, only groaning a little, endured the wounds they gave him, and so ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after the day of his birth. . . . they cut off Pompey's head, and threw the rest of his body overboard, leaving it naked upon the shore, to be viewed by any that had the curiosity to see so sad a spectacle. Philip stayed by and watched till they had glutted their eyes in viewing it; and then washing it with sea-water, having nothing else, he wrapped it up in a shirt of his own for a winding-sheet. Then seeking up and down about the sands, at last he found some rotten planks of a little fisher-boat, not much, but yet enough to make up a funeral pile for a naked body, and that not quite entire.[4]

Lucan, in a more poetic way, confirms Pompey's murder along the waterways of Egypt in his *Pharsalia* ("The Civil War"), of which the following lines are of particular interest:

. . . Where the treacherous shore
Runs out in sand below the Casian mount
And where the shallow waters of the sea
Attest the Syrtes [= a sandbank in the sea] near, in little boat
Achillas and his partners in the crime
With swords embark. (622–627)
. . . Furling now his sails,
Magnus [= Pompey] with oars approached th' accursed land,
When in their little boat the murderous crew
Drew nigh, and feigning from th' Egyptian court
A ready welcome, blamed the double tides
Broken by shallows, and their scanty beach
Unfit for fleets; and bade him to their craft
Leaving his loftier ship. (654-660)
. . . As Magnus passed,
A Roman soldier from the Pharian boat,
Septimius, salutes him. Gods of heaven!
There stood he, minion to a barbarous king,
Nor bearing still the javelin of Rome;
But vile in all his arms; giant in form
Fierce, brutal, thirsting as a beast may thirst
For carnage. (691–697)
. . . A Roman swordsman, once within thy ranks,
Slave to the orders of a puny prince,
Severed Pompeius' neck . . . (704–706)
. . . Thus did Pompeius die, Guarding his thoughts. (735)
. . . . Now beaten by the sands,
Torn upon rocks, the sport of ocean's waves
Poured through its wounds, his headless carcase lies,
Save by the lacerated trunk unknown. (825–829)
. . . Yet ere the victor touched the Pharian sands
Some scanty rites to Magnus Fortune gave,
Lest he should want all burial. Pale with fear
Came Cordus, hasting from his hiding place; (829–832)
. . . He knew the body. In a fast embrace

He holds it, wrestling with the greedy sea,
And deftly watching for a refluent wave
Gains help to bring his burden to the land.
Then clinging to the loved remains, the wounds
Washed with his tears, . . . (841–846)
Here upon a meagre stone
We draw the characters to mark thy tomb.
These letters reading may some kindly friend
Bring back thine head, dissevered, and may grant
Full funeral honours to thine earthly frame. (899–903)
. . . Now half consumed, and sinews; and the wave
Pours in upon them, and in shallow trench
Commits them to the earth; and lest some breeze
Might bear away the ashes, or by chance
Some sailor's anchor might disturb the tomb,
A stone he places, and with stick half burned
Traces the sacred name: HERE MAGNUS LIES.

(917–923)[5]

Dio Cassius, Plutarch, and Lucanus concur that Pompey's assassination occurred on a small boat in the shallow waters off Pelusium, on the eastern edge of the Egyptian delta. They also agree that the burial of the ashes from Pompey's decapitated body was along the sea coast near Pelusium[6] in the direction of Mons Casius[7] (see the Map of the Delta), a promontory which lies along the northern land barrier separating the Sirbonian Lagoon from the Mediterranean Sea, where, as stated above, "by chance some sailor's anchor might disturb the tomb."[8] This agreement that Pompey was assassinated while changing boats and that his partial burial was at sea level is in obvious disagreement with the PsSol 2:26 as literally translated and traditionally interpreted.

THE GREEK TEXT OF PSSOL 2:26

The Greek text of PsSol 2:26 reads in part ἐκκεκεν-τημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου, "he [Pompey] was pierced through upon the mountains of Egypt." The corresponding phrase in the Syriac text reads ܟܕ ܡܬܩܛܠ ܥܠ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ, "when he [Pompey] was slain upon the mountains in Egypt" (2:30). The Greek ὀρέων and the Syriac ܛܘܪ̈ܐ mean "mountains," and either word could have translated the other or have been a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* having הָרֵי. But ὀρέων and ܛܘܪ̈ܐ are problematic since there are no mountains in the Egyptian Delta at Pelusium or even at Mons Cassius.[9]

Trafton (1985: 45) and Ward (1966:56) have summarized earlier scholarly solutions for this problem, noting that Hilgenfeld (1871: 388) emended ὀρέων "mountain" to ὁρίων "borders." Ryle and James (1891: 24–25) suggested possibly a Hebrew *Vorlage* with יְאֹרֵי "rivers," but retained ὀρέων in light of Dio Cassius' statement that Pompey was killed πρὸς τε τῷ Κασσίῳ ὄρει, "near Mount Cassius." Ward (*op. cit.*) proposed a Hebrew *Vorlage* with חֹרֵי "nobles, freemen" which became corrupted to הָרֵי "mountains," resulting subsequently in the Greek ὀρέων and the Syriac ܛܘܪ̈ܐ.

The confusion of ה and ח is so well attested in the Hebrew Bible (see Delitzsch 1920: 109, §106[a-b]) that a closer look at words composed of חֹר is warranted. Such words include

חֲרָא	"dung"
חוּר	"white/white stuff"
חוֹר	"hollow"
חֹרֹר	"hole"

חרה   "to burn"

חרר   "to burn

חר   "noble, freeman" (stem חרר)

חרא   "freedman" (Aramaic)

Five of these words are of no help in the context of Ps Sol 2:26. Given these definitions, Ward's opting for חר "noble, freeman" was reasonable, especially if there is some sarcasm in PsSol 2:26, which is suggested by Plutarch's description of Ptolemy XIII's council as being somewhat less than aristocratic. Plutarch stated

> Now, Ptolemy was quite young; but Potheinus, who managed all his affairs, assembled a council of the most influential men (and those were most influential whom he wished to be so), and bade each give his opinion. It was certainly a dreadful thing that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be decided by Potheinus the eunuch, and Theodotus of Chios, who was a hired teacher of rhetoric, and Achillas the Egyptian; for these were the chief counselors of the king among the chamberlains and tutors also gathered there . . . .[10]

At first glance, the third word in the above list, חור "hollow," does not fit the context of PsSol 2:26. It is the cognate of Arabic خور (ḥawr) "the depressed ground between hills" (BDB, 301). But Pompey was not assassinated in "the hollows of Egypt" or "the valleys of Egypt." However, when the Arabic cognate خور (ḥawr) is examined more carefully a contextually perfect option becomes transparent. Castell's (1669: 1175) citation for Hebrew חור referenced the Arabic cognate خار (ḥâra) which he defined not only as (1) "depressa, planior *que* terra inter duos montes," (as noted later in BDB),

but also (2) "Ostium fluminis" [entrance to a river] and "Sinus maris" [the land around a gulf, shore of a bay]. About two hundred years later, Lane (1865: 821a; 1877: 2308) defined خور (*ḥawr*) as (1) "low, or depressed, ground or land between two elevated parts; like غور (*ġawr*) low, or depressed, land, country, or ground," and (2) "an inlet (lit. a neck) from a sea or a large river, entering into the land, a place, or channel, where water pours into a sea or large river, or a wide place or channel, where waters pour, running into a sea or large river; a canal, or cut, from a sea or large river." Hava (1915: 188) defined خور (*ḥawr*) as the "gulf, mouth of a river" and, similarly, Wehr (1979: 306) translated it as "inlet" and "bay."[11]

Because the Hebrew ה and ח would appear in Greek transliterations of Hebrew words simply as a smooth or rough breathing mark (see Hatch and Redpath, 1954: *Supplement*, *passim*) the Greek ὀρέων—minus the genitive plural suffix ων—may actually be the *transliteration* of חֹרֵי "inlets" in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of PsSol 2:26—rather than the *translation* of הָרֵי "mountains." Even the ὄρει of Dio Cassius' Κασσίῳ ὄρει could be a *transliteration* of a Semitic place name composed of the קַשִׁי [12] and חֹרֵי.[13]

A similar *transliteration* of חֹר occurs in Num 33:32–33 which lists the names of the Israelite encampments. The MT and Septuagint text read in part

וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּחֹר הַגִּדְגָּד . . . וַיִּסְעוּ מֵחֹר הַגִּדְגָּד [14]

and they encamped at Horhaggidgad

. . . and they set out from Horhaggidgad (RSV)

and they encamped at the *inlet* of the (Wadi) Gidgad

. . . and they set out from the *inlet* of the (Wadi) Gidgad

καὶ παρενέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαδγαδ
. . . καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Γαδγαδ

and they encamped in the mountain Gadgad
. . . and they departed from the mountain Gadgad.[15]

The repeated הר was *transliterated* as "ὄρ . . . ὄρ" which, when given case endings became the "ὄρος . . . ὄρους of Gadgad." The addition of case endings on the Greek transliterations was sufficient here to make a mountain—not out of the proverbial molehill—but out of a waterway.

There is one other significant difference between the Roman recollections about Pompey's burial (cited above) and the PsSol 2: 27b, which simply states "and there was no one to bury him." On the other hand, the recollection of Dio Cassius and PsSol 2: 27a are in remarkable agreement. The Jewish psalmist recalled that "his body was violently carried over the waves," and the Roman poet, in more detail, penned the following:

Now beaten by the sands,
Torn upon rocks, the sport of ocean's waves
Poured through its wounds, his headless carcase lies,
. . . Now half consumed, and sinews; and the wave
Pours in upon them, and in shallow trench
Commits them to the earth. . . .
(in lines 825–829 and 917–919)

The Jewish poet was probably unaware of Caesar's command that Pompey's "head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried." and he was also unaware that Cordus (according to Dio Cassius) or Philip (according to Plutarch) affectionately cremated and buried Pompey's ashes. Similarly, the tradition that Pompey was later interred at Alba was unknown or ignored. The Jewish poet resonated with what

was Ptolemy's assessment of Pompey—he was as dispensable as trash thrown overboard.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Whereas Wright (1998: 97) translated the Greek PsSol 2:27c, "because God contemptuously despised him" (adding "God"), and Trafton (1985:30) translated the Syriac (2:32a), "because they despised {him} in disgrace" (adding "him" and opting for "they" as the subject, contra the Greek singular verb), the Hebrew *Vorlage* probably had a singular passive verb. It was misread as an active, requiring a new subject ("God" or "they") and an object for the Syriac ("him"). The poetic lines can be translated, "and no one buried him because he was despised and treated-with-contempt" by his Egyptian assassins. For the Jewish poet, the ignominious death and disposal of Pompey was all he needed to prove his point that Pompey received from God what he well deserved.

The Greek ἐκκεκεντημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου, in PsSol 2:26 translated a *Vorlage* having just נחר על חרי מצרים "he [Pompey] was stabbed along the inlets of Egypt." The Greek ὀρέων could reflect (1) either a *transliteration* of the חרי in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, resulting in a homograph of the Greek word for "mountain," or (2) the חרי "inlets" in the Hebrew *Vorlage* was misread as הרי "mountains." The Syriac ܟܕ ܡܬܩܛܠ ܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ "when he [Pompey] was slain upon the mountains in Egypt," simply misread the original חרי in its *Vorlage* as הרי, as well as having misread נכה "slain" instead of the original נחר "stabbed."[16]

NOTES

1. Wright, 1998: 95. Compare Ward's proposal (1996: 23) that the Hebrew *Vorlage* for "the sinner" was העול "the attacker" or

הַחֹטֵא "the General," homographs of עוּל and חָטָא, with both meaning "sinner." The poet's calling Pompey the "General" would parallel Septimius' salutation of Pompey as "Imperator" just prior to his assassination (see the quotation from Plutarch, below).

2. *Wars of the Jews*, I: 7. 5 (Naber, V: 30–31; Whiston, I: 30) and *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV: 4. 4 (Naber, III: 235; Whiston, III: 286).

3. See Cary, 1917, section 42: 3–5.

4. See Perrin, 1917: 316–317. Ironically, Ptolemy XIII was himself soon to die in the Nile waters in the Alexandrian War. Achillas marched from Pelusium and surrounded Caesar's 3,200 legionnaires and 800 cavalry with 20,000 troops. Eventually and with difficulty Caesar prevailed and Ptolemy drowned in the Nile while trying to escape. (Dio Cassius' *Roman History*, sections 34–43.)

5. See Ridley, 1896. Pompey's ashes were later collected and sent to his wife, Cornelia, who buried them at Pompey's villa at Alba. According to Dio Cassius, Caesar "commanded that the head [of Pompey] should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried."

6. Pelusium (derived from πηλός "mud, mire") was known in Hebrew as סִין "clay" (BDB 695).

7. The "Mount" of "Mount Cassius" is much like the "Mount" of "Mount Vernon." It could qualify for being a גִּבְעָה "hill" or a "rise" but hardly a הַר "mountain" and definitely not the plural הָרֵי, i.e., a plural of intensity which would suggest a large mountain. The Egyptian Cassiotis—which Ptolemy situated at 63°30′ and 31°10′ with Pelusium some distance to its west at 63°15′ and 31°10′—was unrelated the Mount Casius (Arabic *Jebel´el-Aqra`*) which rises 5,660 feet at the mouth of the Orontes River, about twenty-five miles north of Ugarit. Goetze (1940: 32–33), on the basis of place names which appear in Akkadian and Ugaritic, made the following equation and comments with reference to this northern Mons Cassius:

āl Ḫal-bi ḪUR.SAG Ḫa-zi = ḫlb ṣpn
Mount Ḫassi = Mount Cassius = Mount Ṣapanu.

> . . . the name *Casius* derives from our *Ḫa*(-*az*)*zí* which, of course, can be transliterated *Ḫa*(-*as*)*sí*. The question as to the meaning of the Hurrian *ḫazzi/ḫassi* cannot be answered as yet, but the equation under discussion seems to indicate that it should be connected in one way or another with the notion expressed by Semitic *ṣapānu*.

The desiderated Semitic meaning of *Sapanu* is not צָפַן "to hide" or צָפוֹן "north" but the Arabic cognate صفوان/ صفو (*safwun/ ṣafwân*) "clear, pure, choice, select" (Lane 1872: 1704; Wehr 1979: 606), used with reference to Adam and Mohammed, as God's elect ones, or anything purely or exclusively belonging to God. This word may occurs in Psa 48:3, with the יַרְכְּתֵי being a plural of intensity: הַר־צִיּוֹן יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן, meaning "Mount Zion, the quintessence of purity" or "Mount Zion, (God's) exquisite choice. "

8. Sirbonis is now called *Sabkhet el Bardowil*. Herodotus III: 5 (Godly 1957: II: 8–9) noted that

> . . . [the seaports] are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonis marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seaward; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho, it is said, was hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days journey, wondrous waterless.

9. See note 7, above.

10. Perrin 1917: 316–319 [47: 2–3]. In this context it should be noted that Philip, who made a funeral pyre for Pompey of scrap wood, identified himself as a "freedman" (ἀπελεύθερος), which in Hebrew would be a חָפְשִׁי or a חֹר.

11. The *aw* diphthong in the Arabic خور (*ḥawr*) would have contracted in Hebrew to *ô*, resulting in the spelling חוֹרִי or חֹרִי (*scriptio defectiva*) which could easily have been misread as הֹרִי. This cognate is not cited in KBS (299).

12. It is of interest to note that القس (*al-qassu*) and قس (*qassu*) are not linked in Arabic with جبل (*jabal*) "mountain" (= הָר), but with خور (*ḥawr*) "gulf, inlet, bay, shore" (= חֹר) (see next note). In the Targum the Κασίωτις or Κάσιος was simply transliterated as גסיוטאי.

13.   The חֹרִי is the "gulf, bay, inlets," discussed above, and the קַשִּׁי (= Κασσίῳ) would be the Hebrew equivalent of قسى (*qassiy*), which, according to Lane (1885: 2521), was "a kind of cloth or garment brought from Egypt" which was "so called from a district, or place, or town or village, upon the shore of the sea called القس (*al-qassu*) or قس (*qassu*), between El-'Areesh and El-Faramà in Egypt." The *translation* of a *transliteration* is well attested, as in Judges 5:21, where the MT הָלְמוּ was transliterated as ομαλιει in MSS Mnamyb₂ο´ and the Lucianic MSS dgknptvw —with an inversion of the הלמו to המלו in the *Vorlage* of these manuscripts—and as αμα λαω in MSS k and k*. The Armenian text (= Latin *planabunt* "they will level") has a *translation* of the *transliteration*, as though ομαλιει were from ὁμαλίζω "to make level."

14. This word is the cognate of Arabic جدجد (*jadjad*) "hard level ground" and جدد (*jadd*) "hard level ground . . . containing no soft place in which the feet sink, nor any mountain nor any [hill such as is called صحرآء (*ṣaḥrâ*) (= "Sahara")], as well as جد (*judd*) "water little in quantity : water at the extremity of a desert" and جدة (*juddat*) "a bank or side of a river/wadi" (Lane 1865: 385– 387). These cognates, coupled with a reference to אֶרֶץ נַחֲלֵי מָיִם in the

parallel passage in Deu 10:7, mitigate against emending הֹר to הַר
to accommodate the ὄρος . . . ὄρους in the Septuagint.

15. The Wadi Giddade, near the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Wadi
Ghadhaghedh have been identified with this site, but Binns (1927:
211, note 32) correctly concluded that Ghadhaghedh is improbable
on etymological grounds.

16. See Lane, 1893: 2774 and BDB, 637–638, noting carefully the
Arabic cognates نخر (naḥara) "to snort" and نحر (naḥara) "to
stab." Ward concluded that "it is more likely that נכרה was
original and that the ר was missed by the Syriac rather than
assuming that the Greek added it." But נחר "to stab" is much more
widely attest than is כרה "to pierce," which generally means "to
bore, to dig." Jastrow (1903: 666, 896) included "pierced" in his
notes on כרה, but it was a reference to the stem ברא "perforate"
in Ezek 23:47, וּבָרֵא אוֹתְהֶן בְּחַרְבוֹתָם, which appears in the
Septuagint as καὶ κατακέντει αὐτὰς ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν αὐτῶν, "and
he stabbed them with their swords." Jastrow defined נחר as "to
perforate, especially to kill by stabbing" and suggested that this
verb is a secondary root of חור and חרר.
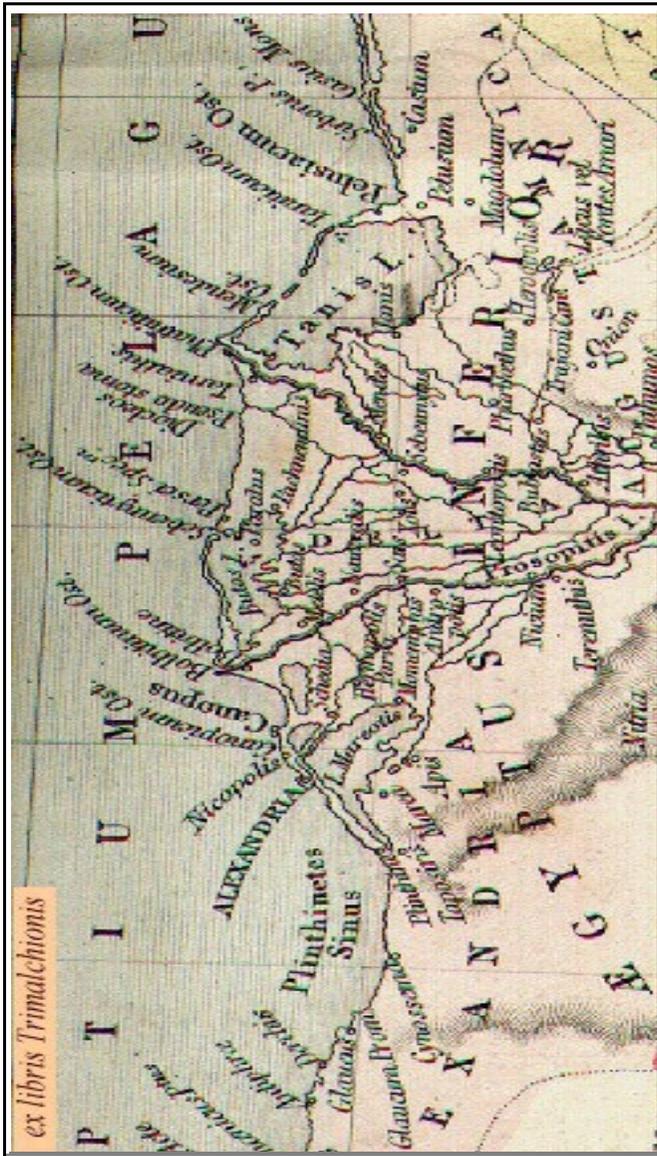
MAP OF THE EGYPTIAN DELTA

ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY THE MEANING OF "HASMONEAN," "THE SEEKERS OF FLATTERY" AND "THRACIDA"

I. HASMONEAN

The name of the Hasmoneans, חַשְׁמוֹנַאי / Ἀσαμωναῖος,[1] who were prominent in Judah from 165–37 B.C.E and ruled Judah from 142–63 B.C.E ., is unrelated to the השמעוני (Greek Συμεων) in Num 26:14 and Jos 21:4. The proper name חָשֻׁם appears in Ezr 2:19, 10:33; Neh 7:22, 8:4, and 10:19. The Septuagint renders this name as Ασεμ or Ησαμ or Ωσαμ. In the Hebrew text of Jos 15:27 the Judean town of חַשְׁמוֹן is mentioned (with no corresponding name in the Septuagint),[2] and a wilderness encampment named חַשְׁמֹנָה (with the Septuagintal variants Σελμωνα [B-text] and Ασελμωνα [A-text]) appears in Num 33:29.[3]

The ambiguous יֶאֱתָיוּ חַשְׁמַנִּים מִנִּי מִצְרָיִם of Psa 68:31 (MT 68:32), rendered "Princes shall come out of Egypt" in the KJV and "let bronze be brought from Egypt" in the RSV, provides one clue for the derivation of "Hasmonean." The Arabic cognate حشيم (ḥašîm) can mean one who is "regarded with reverence, veneration, respect, honour, awe, or fear" (Lane 1865: 577). This cognate explains the Septuagint's translation of this phrase as πρέσβεις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου "elders / ambassadors / venerable men from Egypt.[4] In the language of Psa 68:32 (MT), the Hasmoneans (חַשְׁמוֹנַאי) would have been the חַשְׁמַנִּים מִנִּי יהוּדָה "the men from Judah held in high esteem" or "the men from Judah regarded with fear."[5]

The second clue for the derivation of חַשְׁמוֹנָה ,חַשְׁמוֹן, and חַשְׁמוֹנַאי is found in 1 Macc 3:4, where Judas Maccabeus was said to have been "like a lion in his deeds, like a lion's cub roaring for prey."[6] This reference to a roaring lion suggests that the חשם of חַשְׁמוֹן, חַשְׁמוֹנָה, and חַשְׁמוֹנַאי is the cognate of Arabic خشام (ḥušām) "lion" (Lane 1865: 744), so called because of the greatness of the lion's nose. (The Arabic for a large nose is خشام [ḥašām], a flat nose is خَشَم [ḥaṯīm] and an ordinary nose is خطم [ḥiṭam] or انف [ʾanf] (=אַף > אנך).[7]

The third clue for the meaning of the stem חשם is the Arabic cognate حشم/حشمة (ḥašima/ḥišmat) "he became angry/anger" (Lane 1865: 576–577). The anger of the Hasmoneans is well noted in I Macc 2: 24–27 and 2: 49.

> When Mattathias saw it, he burned with zeal and his heart was stirred. He gave vent to righteous anger; he ran and killed him upon the altar. At the same time he killed the king's officer who was forcing them to sacrifice, and he tore down the altar. Thus he burned with zeal for the law, as Phinehas did against Zimri the son of Salu. Then Mattathias cried out in the city with a loud voice, saying: "Let every one who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant come out with me!" . . . Now the days drew near for Mattathias to die, and he said to his sons: "Arrogance and reproach have now become strong; it is a time of ruin and furious anger."

In light of the cognates cited above, 1 Macc 3:4, coupled with 1 Macc 2:24–49, suggests several layers of meaning for the name חַשְׁמוֹנַאי, including "lions" and "angry (men)." The Hasmoneans as *angry* (חשם) *lions* (חשם) were *feared* (חשם) by their enemies and *held in awe* (חשם) by their followers.

II. "THE SEEKERS OF FLATTERY"

Support for the derivations meaning "lion" and "angry" comes from 4Q169 (4Qp Nahum), where—with reference to Nahum 2:12, "he fills his cave with prey and his den with game"—the interpretation was given that

> this refers to the Lion of Wrath (כפיר החרון) . . . vengeance upon the Flattery Seekers (בדורשי החלקות), because he used to hang men alive, as it was done in Israel in former times . . . .[8]

Although Doudna (1999) identified the "Lion of Wrath" here in 4Q169 with Pompey (who killed 12,000 Jews in his seige against Jerusalem),[9] most scholars have identified him as Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean who ruled 103–78 B.C.E.[10]

The translation of חלקות in 4Q169 by "flattery" or "easy interpretations," as if it were from חלק "to be smooth" (BDB 325; KBS 322), is very misleading.[11] According to Josephus (*Antiquities* XIII: 13: 376),[12]

> He [Alexander Jannaeus] fought against them [his own people who were seditious against him] for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them, and when he desired that they would desist from their ill will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out that he ought to kill himself.

The outcry for Alexander to commit suicide could hardly qualify as "flattery" or "easy interpretations." It was after this outcry for his death that Alexander's forces of 20,000 Jews and 6,200 Greek mercenaries were defeated by Demetrius Eucerus' 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 footmen which included

some 6,000 Jews. However, once Demetrius return to Greece, Alexander Jannaeus successfully defeated those Jews who had fought with Demetrius, culminating in Alexander's cruci-fixion of 800 Jewish fighters while still alive after the murder of their wives and children before their eyes,[13] which earned him the enigmatic name Θρακίδαν (discussed below).

Flattery may have been used by Demetrius when he attempted out of ethnic loyalty to get Alexander's Greek mer-cenaries to defect to his side; and Alexander, likewise, may have used flattery in his attempt to get Demetrius' Jewish fighters to defect to his side. But there is no hint that "smooth talk" led to Alexander's mass crucifixions and the slit throats of the wives and children of the crucified men.

The החלקות in 4Q169 is better read as the cognate of the Arabic epithet حالقة (ḥâliqat) rather than being the cognate of خلق (ḫalaqa) with any of its varied meanings cited in stand-ard Hebrew lexicons.[14] The epithet الحالقة (ʾalḥâliqat), meant

> The cutting, or abandoning, or forsaking, of kindred, or relations; syn[onym of] قطيعة الرحم (qaṭîʾatu ʾarraḥimi) ['the forsaking, abandoning of kindred or relations'] . . . and mutual wrong doing, and evil speaking . . . or that which destroys, and utterly cuts off, religion; like as a razor utterly cuts of hair.[15]

Lane noted also "the tradition in which البغضاء (ʾlbaġ ḍâʾ) [i.e. vehement hatred] and الحالقة (ʾalḥâliqat) are termed the diseases of the nations."

The allegations of the Pharisees that Alexander, like his father Hyrcanus, was born of a captive woman, along with the outcry for his death, are good examples of "evil speaking," but are hardly examples of "flattery." The abolition of the

Pharasaic decrees by Hyrcanus was his attempt *to cut off the religion* (= حالقة [ḥâliqat] = חלקה) of the Pharisees, which, according to Josephus, led to "that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitudes."[16]

When the החלקות in 4Q169 is read as the cognate of حالقة (ḥâliqat), the meaning of which includes the "cutting, or forsaking, or abandoning, of kindred, or relations," it becomes obvious that חלק can be a synonym of פרש "to divide, to separate, to secede." The חלקות may not be a plural noun but an abstract, the equivalent of פָּרָשׁוּת "secession, separation" (Jastrow 1222, 1244). The דורשי החלקות of 4Q169 would then mean "the ones seeking secession" or simply "the secessionists." The compound דורשי החלקות, then, is synonymous with פָּרוּשִׁים the "Separatists," i.e., the Pharisees.

4Q169, col, I: 5ff. can be translated, "This concerns the furious lion [who executes revenge] on the secessionists and hangs men alive." Similarly, col. II: 11b can be translated, "Demetrius, King of Greece, who sought the counsel of the secessionists to enter Jerusalem . . . ." The latter phrase corresponds quite closely to Josephus' statement, "They [the secessionists in Jerusalem] also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired to make a league of mutual defense with them."[17]

III. THRACIDA

The unusual nature of the name Θρακίδαν led Whiston (1741: III, 266) to comment, "This name Thracida, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote *as barbarous as a Thracian*, or somewhat like it; but what it properly signifies is not known."

This unknown becomes intelligible when Θρακίδαν is disassociated from the place name Θράκη / Thrace and is recognized as a transliteration from a Hebrew source used by Josephus which contained a name composed of (1) תרך "to drive out, to divorce, to banish" (Jastrow, 1699) and (2) ערו / ערי the cognate of Arabic عدو/عدى (ʿadûw/ʿiday) "enemy, foe, hostile party" (Lane, 18:74: 1980). Josephus followed Θρακίδαν with a definition of sorts, stating, "whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived."[18] The interpretation of Θρακίδαν as the "Banisher-of-the-Enemy" is particularly attractive since the cognate عدو (ʿadûw = ערי) is the antonym of صديق (ṣadiq = צדיק) "true, sincere friend," with all the rich associations of this stem with the Zadokites and the Sadducees who were especially friendly with the Hasmoneans.

Given the fact that Alexander had overcome the Arabians, at least for a while (Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 13: 374–376), it should not be surprising to learn that the Arabians not only paid Alexander tribute, but they may also have contributed the cognates in his title of Θρακίδαν, "Banisher-of-the-Enemy."

It was not only the barbarity of his live crucifixions and slit throats which earned him this title. It was the terror created by his barbarity which eventually caused his adversaries to abandon their struggle and flee as fugitives beyond his reach. The "Banisher-of-the-Enemy" by terror vanquish his foes. As the "Lion of Wrath" who succeeded against the secessionists, Alexander Jannaeus exemplified well the multiple meanings of "Hasmonean." He was an *angry lion* who instilled *fear* in many and inspired *awe* in some.

NOTES

1. See Jastrow, 511. Note Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12: 265–266, (Taber 1892: II, 111–112; Whiston 1964: III, 184) "Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus (Ἀσαμωναίου), a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He [Mattathias] had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus." (Note also 14: 490; 16: 187; 20: 189, 238.) The name Gaddis (Γαδδῆς) may reflect the Hebrew גד, the cognate of Arabic جد (*jad*) "greatness, majesty, good fortune" (Lane 1865: 384–385; BDB 151). The name Ἀπφοῦς is probably the same name as the אף cited by Jastrow (99) as the allegorical name of the angel administering justice, which may be the cognate of Arabic أنف [*ʾanf*] "nose," which can also mean "lord or chief" (Lane 1863: 116).

2. The form of this name is analogous to the name Aaron (אַהֲרֹן / אַהֲרוֹן). For the אִ- and וֹן- afformatives on the names, see GKC 85ᵘ and 86ʰ⁻ⁱ.

3. Loewenstamm (1958: 315), after citing Noth's reference (1928: 227) to the Arabic خطم (*ḫiṭam*) "nose, noseband, a halter for an animal," concluded that משמעותו של השם לא התבררה "the meaning of the name is not clear." Lane's definitions (1865: 767–768) include (1) خطم (*ḫaṭm*) "a thing, an affair, or business of magnitude," (2) خاطم (*ḫâṭim*) "leader, conductor, manager" and (3) "nose and noseband."

4. Liddell and Scott (1966: 1462) noted that πρέσβεις "elder, chief, prince, ambassador" was a term of respect and veneration.

Compare Dahood (1968: 32), who considered חַשְׁמַנִּים here to be the cognate of Akkadian ḫašmā nu(m) "blue cloth."

5. Simon (1793: 627) identified חַשְׁמַן "*magnas, optimas*" with the Arabic cognate حشيم/حاشم (ḥâšim/ḥašîm) "*magnus magnique famulitii vir.*" Ewald (1870: 520), cited by Tregelles (1875: 313) had identified חַשְׁמַן with the Arabic خشم (ḥašam) "*the nose which may be applied to a prince.*" (Lane 1863: 116 cited أنف [ʾanf] "nose," which can also mean "lord or chief.")

6. The Greek text reads, Καὶ ὡμοιώθη λέοντι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος εἰς θήραν. Note the title ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, "the lion from the tribe of Judah" in Rev 5:5. The personal names חֶשְׁמוֹן or חָשֻׁם would be analogous to the אַרְיֵה "Lion" in II Kings 15:26, as well as the Arabic اسامة (ʾusâma) (Simon 1793: 188; Lane 1863: 59–60).

7. In Persian خشام (ḥašâm) signified *anger*, about which Lane (1865: 744) commented, "this meaning is with probability deductible from the literal root of this art.; for he who is angry raises his nose and makes it pointed." The association of "nose" and "anger" is very widely attested with אַף "nostril, nose, anger" and the denominative verb אנף "to be angry." The Arabic خشم (ḥaṭīm) "flat nose" is cited by Hava (1915: 157), who also noted خشعم (ḥaṭʿam) "lion," which is probably related (see GKC 85ʷ for examples of stems extended by the addition of an ע). KBS (I: 362) cited Arabic ḥaṭīm "flat nose" and ḥaṭam "big nose," but made no mention of ḥašām "big nose" or ḥušām "lion." The ش/ث (ṭ/š) variants in the Arabic cognate explain the Hebrew חַשְׁמוֹנַאי (with a שׁ), rather than חַשְׁמוֹנַאי (with an anticipated שׂ). The place names חַשְׁמוֹן and חַשְׁמוֹנָה would be analogous to the name כְּפִירָה in

Jos 9:17, 18:26, Ezra 2:25, and Neh 7:29, which, in light of כְּפִיר "lion" and כָּפָר "village," could have a double meaning and be the equivalent of Leoville or Lionville.

8. See Allegro, 1968: 38–39, Column I, lines 5–8; and Vermes, 1995: 336–340. For a summary of the scholarly discussions on *Pesher Nahum*, see Berrin, 2000: 653–655.

9. *Wars of the Jews*, I: 7. 5 (Naber, V: 30–31; Whiston, I: 30) and *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV: 4. 4 (Naber, III: 235; Whiston, III: 286).

10. See Turner 1962: 528–535. Note especially Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 14: 381, "This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature."

11. See Martínez and Tigchelaar (2000: 334–377) and Rabinowitz (1978: 397), where he suggested: "the 'Resorters-to-Flatteries,' those imitators of the way-of-life of the Greeks of the Selucid Empire, are clearly the Hellenizers of whom we read in the Book of Maccabees."

12. See Whiston 1974: III, 265; Naber 1892: II, 211.

13. Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 14: 379–383 reads as follows:

Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius] to him out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did

one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian (Θρακίδαν) among the Jews whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

14. Lane's definitions (1865: 799–802) of خلق (ḥalaqa) included "he measured, he brought into existence, it was smooth, she was goodly in make" and the nouns "perfect/complete" and "all created things." KBS (322–324) noted خلق (ḥalaqa) "to make smooth, to measure off" and حلق (ḥalaqa) "to shave," but made no reference to the epithet حالقة (ḥâliqat), cited in this study.

15. See Lane 1863: 231; 1865: 630; 1867: 1056; and 1874: 2090. In light of the Arabic حالقة (ḥâliqat) and جادل (jâdal) "he contended in an altercation, or disputed, or litigated, by advancing what might divert the mind from the appearance of truth and of what was right"(Lane 1865: 392), the חֲלָקוֹת and גְדֹלוֹת in Psa 12:4 (יַכְרֵת יְהוָה כָּל־שִׂפְתֵי חֲלָקוֹת לָשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדֹלוֹת) need to be revocalized as abstract nouns rather than as feminine plurals, and translated idiomatically as "may Yahweh cut off all lips of *spuriousness* (and every) tongue speaking *acrimoniously*."

16. *Antiquities* XIII: 10: 296.

17. *Antiquities* XIII: 13: 376.

18. See Whiston 1974: III, 266–267; Naber 1892: II, 212–213. Note also Hatch and Redpath 1954: Supplement 69–73, where many examples are cited of the Hebrew ת having been transliterated by a θ instead of the τ.

XXXVI

SUMMARY

The following list of eighty-four phrases from fifty-five verses summarizes the translations I proposed in the chapters above. Scriptural references in italics indicate that Arabic cognates were cited to support the italicized translations. The nine words / phrases requiring an emendation of the consonantal Hebrew text are marked with an asterisk at the end of the translated line and are summarized in a subsequent paragraph.

Gen 3:14 עפר תֹּאכַל "*small creatures* shall you eat"

Gen 3:16 יִמְשָׁל בָּךְ "(your husband) *will be like* you"

Gen 16:12 הוּא יִהְיֶה פֶּרֶא אָדָם "he shall be a *peace-maker*, a *reconciler*"

Gen 16:12 עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו יִשְׁכֹּן "in the *favor* of all his brothers he will dwell (*tranquilly*)"

Gen 25:18 עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו נָפָל "he *embraced* all his brethren"

Exo 4:24 וַיִּפְגְּשֵׁהוּ יְהוָה וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הֲמִיתוֹ "Yahweh met him and sought *to bond the relationship*"

Exo 4:26 וַיִּרֶף . . . חֲתַן דָּמִים לַמּוּלֹת "*they became bonded* . . . 'You are a *blood relative* by circumcision'"

Lev 16: 10 לְשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ לַעֲזָאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה "to send it to a *harsh rugged place*, into the wilderness"

Lev 16:21 שִׁלַּח בְּיַד־אִישׁ עִתִּי הַמִּדְבָּרָה "to send (it) by the hand of an *extremely corrupt* man into the wilderness"

Num 12:3 הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה "Moses was *brought to despair*"

Num 33:32 וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּחֹר הַגִּדְגָּד "they encamped at the *inlet* of the (Wadi) Gidgad"

Deu 15:11 לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן "the poor must not *be treated unjustly*"

Deu 15:11 לֹא־יֶחְדַּל אֶבְיוֹן "the poor must not *be denied assistance*"

Jos 2:1 וַיָּבֹאוּ בֵּית־אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה "they entered the house of a woman innkeeper"

Jos 10:12 שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעוֹן דּוֹם "Sun, *be dark* in Gibeon!"

Jos 10:13 וידם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ עָמָד "the sun *became darkened* and the moon *stayed concealed*"

Jos 10:13 ויעמד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם "the sun *concealed itself* while in the middle of the sky"

Jos 10:13 לֹא אָץ לָבוֹא כְּיוֹם תָּמִים "it a*ctually* hastened to set as though it were a whole day"

II Kings 22:14 שמרהבגדים "the (woman who was) *guarding* the *truths/traditions*"

II Chron 34:22 שמרהבגדים "the (woman who was) *guarding* the *truths/traditions*"

II Chron 34:22 הִיא יוֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם במשנה "she was dwelling in Jerusalem in her old age"

II Chron 28:6 מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים אֶלֶף "one hundred twenty *contingents*"

II Chron 28:15 הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְּבוּ בשמות "the men who were *designated* by *badges to be in charge*"

Psa 2:11 גילו ברעדה "*adore* [God] with *unrestraint*"

Psa 2:12	נשׁקו בר	"*worship* with *fidelity*"
Psa 48:2	הַר־צִיּוֹן יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן	"Mount Zion, the *quintessence of purity*"
Pro 30:1	דִּבְרֵי אָגוּר	"the words of *one-rewarded-for-righteousness*"
Pro 30:1	בִּן־יקה	"a *pious* person"
Pro 30:1	המשא נְאֻם	"the *one authoring* the saying"
Pro 30:1	הגבר	"the *one-restored-to-sound-estate*"
Pro 30:1	ל איתי אל	"*surely* there is a God"
Pro 30:1	אכל	"I *will be kept safe*"
Pro 30:2	כִּי בַעַר אָנֹכִי מֵאִישׁ	"for I was consumed from *despair*"
Pro 30:4	מה שׁמו שׁמו	"How *exalted* his name!"*
Pro 30:4	מה שׁם בינו	"How *sublime* his *intelligence*!"*
Pro 30:5	כִּי תֵדַע כָּל־אִמְרַת אֱלוֹהַ צְרוּפָה	"*Certainly* you know every saying of God has stood the test!"
Ecc 7:26	מַר מִמָּוֶת אֶת־אִשָּׁה אשרה	". . . more bitter than death is a *self-conceited* woman"*
Ecc 7:26	הִיא מְצוֹדִים וַחֲרָמִים לִבָּהּ	"she is a (*sure*) *snare* and her heart is a (*really tight*) *net*"
Ecc 7:28	מָצָאתִי אָדָם אֶחָד מֵאֶלֶף מֵאֶלֶף	"I found a single *friendly* man out of a thousand"*
SSol 1:3	לְרֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ טוֹבִים	"*truly,* the scent of your perfume is delightful!"
SSol 1:3	שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שְׁמֶךָ	"*precious, your scent* was *made to induce pleasure*"

SSol 1:4 מִישָׁרִים אֲהֵבוּךָ "they loved you more than great *luxuries*"

Isa 65:25 נָחָשׁ עָפָר לַחְמוֹ "the serpent (will have) *vegetation* for his food"

Jer 5:8 סוּסִים מוּזָנִים מַשְׁכִּים הָיוּ "they were stallions *on the verge* of *discharging semen*"

Jer 31:21 שֻׁבִי בְתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל שֻׁבִי אֶל־עָרַיִךְ אֵלֶּה "Return, O *Virtuous* Israel, return to your *negligent* city.

Jer 31:22 עַד־מָתַי תִּתְחַמָּקִין הַבַּת הַשּׁוֹבֵבָה "How long will you remain *stupid*, O faithless daughter?"

Jer 31:22 נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר "the female *enamors* the male"

Jer 51:53 וְכִי תְבַצֵּר מְרוֹם עֻזָּה "though she make inaccessible the top of her *tel*"

Ezek 3:14 אֵלֵךְ מַר בַּחֲמַת רוּחַ "I went off *flying in circles of wind*"*

Ezek 13:18 הוֹי לִמְתַפְּרוֹת כְּסָתוֹת עַל כָּל־אַצִּילֵי יָדַי "Woe to the ones tying *bandages* on every *maimed limb*"

Ezek 13:18 עֹשׂוֹת הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת עַל־כָּל־רֹאשׁ צוֹדֵד "placing *compresses* upon every *oozing* head"

Ezek 13:18 תְּצוֹדֵדְנָה לְעַמִּי "*they shun my very own* people"

Ezek 13:18 נְפָשׁוֹת לָכֶנָה תְּחַיֶּינָה "those of their own [*still*] *breathing*, they restore to life"

Ezek 13:19 לְחַיּוֹת נְפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִחְיֶינָה "to keep alive *those breathing* who ought not to be alive"

Ezek 13:19 לְהָמִית נְפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תְמוּתֶנָה "to let die those *breathing* who ought not to have died"

Ezek 13:19 תְּחַלֶּלְנָה אֹתִי אֶל־עַמִּי "they have undermined *my warning* to my people"

Ezek 13:20 אֶת־הַנְּפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּנָה מְצֹדְדוֹת "The *ones breathing* whom *you shunned*"

Ezek 13:20 הִנְנִי אֶל־כסתותיכנה "behold, I am against your *bandages*"

Ezek 13:20 שם לפרחות "(I) *designate* (to be) the *ones-set-free*"

Ezek 13:20 וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי לפרחת "I will let go to (become) the *ones-set-free*"

Ezek 28:12 אַתָּה חוֹתֵם תְּבוּנָה "you were the signet of *erudition*"*

Ezek 28:12 כליל יפי "*crowned with beauty*"

Ezek 28:13 זהב כתת "(your canopy was of) *gold leaf*"*

Ezek 28:13 ונקביך בם מלא פוך "your *settings* for *them* were filled with *antimony*"*

Ezek 28:13 בְּיוֹם הבראך "for the day you *were perfected*"

Ezek 28:14 כרב הסוכן משיחים נתתיך "I set you as the *chief statesman* of *the anointed*"*

Ezek 28:13 בְּעֵדֶן גַּן־אֱלֹהִים הָיִיתִי "*I was* in Eden, the garden of God"

Ezek 28:14 הָיִיתִי בְּהַר קֹדֶשׁ אֱלֹהִים "*I was* on the holy mountain of God"

Joel 2:31 הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יֵהָפֵךְ לְחֹשֶׁךְ וְהַיָּרֵחַ לדם "the sun will be turned to darkness and the moon to *blackness*"

Amos 7:14 בוקר אָנֹכִי ובולס שקמים "I am an *inquirer* and an *investigator* of *whatever happens*"

Zech 5:6 זאת האיפה הַיּוֹצֵאת "this is the *mobile shrine*"

Zech 5:7 הִנֵּה כִּכַּר עפרת נִשֵּׂאת "lo, the *circular cover*/ *circular roof* was lifted"

Zech 5:7 זאת אשה אחת יוֹשֶׁבֶת בְּתוֹךְ האיפה "this is 'the *first lady*' (= goddess) sitting in the center of the *shrine*"

Matt 2:9 ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ἐστάθη = עמד . . . הככב = "*the star set*"

Matt 7:6 μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶν = אל תתנו הטהור לכלבים = "Do not give *the holy* (*word*) *to the dog keepers*"

Matt 7:6 μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσ-θεν τῶν χοίρων = ואל תורו תורתכם לפני החזרים = "and do not *teach your torah in the presence of swine-herders*"

Matt 7:6 μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν = פן מטריפים אותה ברגליהם = "lest, *blaspheming it with their slander*"

Matt 7:6 καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς = וחוזרים יקרעו אתכם = "and *disavowing* (*it*), *they malign you*"

Matt 7:11 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ = אם אתם רעים = "if you being *kinfolk*"

Matt 8:22 ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκ-ρούς = עזוב המתים לקבור מתיהם = "let the *next of kin* bury their dead"

Matt 10:34 μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν = אל תחשבו שבאתי שלם בארץ אלא

חלף = "do not think that I have come to bring *the end / retribution* on the earth, but a *change*"

Luke 14:26 καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ = **אם יבא** **אלי איש ולא ישנא את אביו** = (1) "if a man comes to me and *does not treat* his father with *gentleness*" or (2) ". . . and does not *rightfully support* his father" or (3) ". . .and does not forsake his father" or (4) ". . . and he *truly hates* his father"

John 21:15 ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων = התאהבני יותר מאלה = "Do you love me more than *kith-and-kin*?"

PsSol 2:26 ἐκκεκεντημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου = נחר על חרי מצרים = "he was stabbed along the *inlets* of Egypt"

The high frequency of correspondence between Hebrew and Arabic words is illustrated in the *Addendum* to Chapter XIX (178–180) which lists twenty-nine Arabic cognates of the thirty-three lexemes in Jer 32:21–22. While these cognates are widely recognized in standard Hebrew lexicons, relevant nuances of five of them have gone unnoticed in recent interpretations of these verses. Moreover, Arabic cognates were helpful in clarifying the ambiguities of Septuagintal readings in Gen 16:12, Jer 31:22, Ezek 3:14, and Psa 68:31.

Non-Judean dialects of Hebrew, found in Exo 4:24–26 and in Prov 30:1–5, were quite baffling to interpreters who assumed these texts were in standard Judean Hebrew. Clarity came to these verses once dialectal elements were recognized and possible Arabic cognates were examined.

Although Arabic cognates provided most of the clues for the interpretation of the biblical and extra-biblical texts

examined in the chapters above, other Semitic languages including Akkadian, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic, and Ethiopic provided many clues, as well as non-Semitic languages including Greek, Coptic, Egyptian, and in one case even Sanskrit.

In addition to new translations which are based on lexical data that had been overlooked, a number of the above translations come from the recognition that highly ambiguous Hebrew homographs permit a wide variety of interpretations. Variant definitions of homographs may be lexically correct, but not all definitions would convey the intent of the author —unless there had been a deliberate use of layered meanings. The statement of Jesus in Luke 14:26 when reconstructed in Hebrew presents the interpreter with this type of ambiguity. As a result, even in summary, four different translations for the reconstructed Hebrew text of this verse need to be noted.

While three chapters (IV, XXX, XXXII) focused primarily on biblical or biblically related names, the meaning of thirty six names were reviewed, and the uncertainties about the etymology and meaning of many of the following names were clarified.

Aaron	Dalmanutha	Massa
Abraham	Dudael	Mattattah
Abram	Hasmonean	Matthew
Agur	Horhaggidad	Miriam
Alphaeus	Huldah	Moriah
Amatti	Ithiel	Oded
Azazel	Jakeh	Ṣabaᶜim
Ben Saṭdaʾ	Magadan	Ṣaphon
Ben Pandira	Magdalene	Tekoa
Ben Panṭira	Martha	Thracida
Beth-hadurey	Mary	Ucal
Cassius	Massa	Zion

The emendations proposed in the chapters above include reading the MT:

(1) מה שמו as מה שמו שמו שמו (a haplography)

(2) מה שם בנו as מה שם בינו (scriptio plene)

(3) האשה אשר as אשה אשרה (shifting of a ה)

(4) מאלף מאלף as מאלף מאלף (a haplography)

(5) בחמת רוחי as בחמת רוח (removing a י)

(6) תכנית as תבונה (a confusion of ב and כ, ו and י)

(7) מלאכת תפיך as מלא כתת פוך (a redivision)

(8) ונקביך בך as ונקביך בם (confusion of ך and ב)

(9) כרב הסוכך as כרב הסוכן (confusion of ך and ן)

These are modest changes to the received text—in contrast to bold emendations, like the one proposed by Holladay (see 166, above) who changed the MT אֵלֶה to בֹּעֲלָה, as if a בע could have been confused with an א.

More serious textual problem were encountered in Eze 13: 17–23 and 28:2–19, requiring a rearrangement of many lines in order to reconstruct a logical sequence of statements about the triage given to the wounded when Jerusalem fell in 587 B.C.E. and of statements by the king of Tyre about his being divine and his having been in the Garden of Eden.

Even baffling statements in the Gospels—like a star standing over a manger, throwing pearls to swine, putting a lamp under a cushion, dead people burying dead people, and a commandment to hate kith-and-kin after saying that "loving your neighbor" is the second greatest commandment—were clarified simply by reconstructing a Hebrew *Vorlage* and dealing with the ambiguities created once the reconstructed oral statement was written in consonantal Hebrew/Aramaic, much like the spelling found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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I. INDEX OF AUTHORS AND LEXICA

II. INDEX OF BIBLICAL NAMES

III. INDEX OF OTHER NAMES

IV. INDEX OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

V. INDEX OF ROOTS AND WORDS CITED

AKKADIAN, SUMERIAN, HURRIAN

ARABIC

ARAMAIC

COPTIC

EGYPTIAN

ETHIOPIC

GREEK

HEBREW

BIBLICAL REFERENCE INDEX

NON-CANONICAL TEXTS