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KIR = UR OF THE CHALDEES PAUL HAUPT

Johns Hopkins University

For the past thirty years I have advocated excavations in the traditional home of Abraham, Ur of the Chaldees. I was delighted to find in Dr. Peters' Nippur (2, 300) the statement: I have seen no mound which seemed easier and safer to excavate, or promised richer results than Mugheir (BB, n. 43; MuS 527, 40).¹ Mugheir or, more accurately, al-Muqáijar, the Arabie name of this ancient city, means asphalted, built with asphalt. Arab. $q\hat{i}r$, pitch, as well as Greek $\kappa\eta\rho\phi$, wax, and Heb. $g\hat{i}r$, lime, are all derived from the Sumer. gir which denotes an asphaltfurnace or pitch-pot. Heb. $k\hat{i}r\hat{a}m$, chafing-dish, represents the same word (AkF 32, below). The primary meaning of Sumer. gir is reducer, Heb. $kib\hat{s}\hat{a}n$ (JSOR 1, 8, below; BL 129-132).

We need not discuss the question whether or not Abraham was a historical person.² We may safely assume that the ancestors of the Israelites (Mic. 19, n. 18) were Arameans (cf. JBL 35, 167) who emigrated from the Euphrates to Ephrain, whereas the ancestors of the Jews, who invaded Palestine from the south, after they had sojourned in Egypt, were Edomites (MuS 516, 7). This southern settlement was about 400 years later than the Israelitish invasion from the northeast.³ The Israelites, it may be supposed, came to Palestine through Raggah on the Euphrates, Palmyra, and Damascus, and they settled first in the northern region of the country east of the Jordan. i. e. Bashan and Gilead.⁴ The ancestors of the Israelites are connected with the two eenters of the Assyro-Babylonian worship of the Moon, Ur of the Chaldees and Haran (MuS 527, 23; JBL 35, 75. 267). The religion of the Jews, on the other hand, is derived from the solar monotheism developed at Heliopolis

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 75, n. 1.

^aSee OLZ 18, 72; *Mic.* 19, n. 17; JBL 32, 20, below; EB¹¹ 1, 71^a; 11, 581^a; 15, 374^a; cf. also PSBA 39, 9. 14.

⁸ See WF 199, n. 15, ad finem; 211, n. 8; 214, l. 10; CoE, n. 23.

*See BB 366; WF 195, n. 1, ad fin.

near the western end of Goshen, on the road from Goshen to Memphis.⁵ Moses may have been the son-in-law of a priest of Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god (MuS 522, 19). Moses' Egyptian wife is contemptuously referred to as a *negress* (MuS 522, 40). Laban, the father of Leah and Rachel, is called an Aramean in Gen. 25:20 (P) and in 31:20. 24 (E) and in Deut. 26:5 Israel's ancestor is called a *stray Aramean*, Heb. *Arammî ôbéd* (contrast *Mic.* 44). According to the gloss in Gen. 31:47 Laban used the Aramaic name $i e \bar{g} a r s \hat{a} h d u t \hat{d} a$ for the Heb. gal' e d. Both Israelites and Judahites adopted the language of Palestine, which we call Hebrew.⁶

In the last poem of Amos, which was composed after Tiglathpileser had deported the Galileans (*Mic.* 48, below) in 738, the Israelitish poet predicts the fall of Damascus, Ammon, Moab, and Israel. Damascus succumbed to the Assyrians in 732; Ammon and Moab were made tributary in 734; Samaria fell in 722 (JBL 35, 287). Amos says of Damascus, which he calls the *Rich Valley*⁷ and a terrestrial paradise:⁸

1, 3 For the threefold crime of Damascus, aye, fourfold! I'll requite her,⁹ Since with threshing-sledges of iron they crushed to powder Gilead.
4 To Hazael's house I'll set fire devouring Ben-hadad's mansions.¹⁰
5{}I'll cut off the Rich Valley's settlers, the scepter-bearer of Paradise;
{I'll break the bars of Damascus,}

to Kir will Aram be exiled.

⁶ MuS 513, 5; 528, 11; BB 356-359.

"WF 200, n. 17, ad fin. and ZAT 34, 229.

¹ Lit. Valley of Abundance, Heb. biq'at-on; cf. the Gorman name Won-

negau for the fertile plain in which Worms is situated (EB¹¹ 28, 832b).

* Heb. bct. cdn, lit. House of Delight, 3 domus voluptatis (CoE, n. 8). * Cf. TOCR 1, 327 and the translation of the second stanza of this poem in AJSL 32, 71.

¹⁰ Cf. Josephus, Ant. 9, 4, 6, ad fn. Haznel of Damascus oppressed Israel for half a century (cf. 2 K 8: 12). He downstated Gilead (2 K 10: 32). He had smothered his master Ben-hadad c. 843 B. C. (2 K 8: 15). Benhadad had tried to starve Samaria into surrender (2 K 6: 24). Also Hazael's son was called Ben-hadad (2 K 13:3). According to AJSL 27, 284 the king murdered by Hazael was not Ben-hadad, but Hadad-ezer.

ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו	על-שלשה פשעי רפשק 1, 3
ושום כעפר הגלער:	על-רויטם בחרצות הברול
ואכלה ארמנות בן-הרד:	4 ושלחתי־אש בבית חזאל
ותומך שבט מבית-ערן	והכרתי יושב מבקעת און 🕴 5
והָגְלָו עם־ארם קירה:	וישברתי בריח רמשק

In the final chapter of the Book we find the last of Amos' prophetic visions, which refers to the ancient stone-pillar (JBL 35, 181) Jacob was supposed to have set up in the sacred cromlech north of Beth-el (WF 208, n. 57). The poet says:

9, 1 I saw One who stood by the altar, and He said, Strike thou the top!¹¹ Thus will I shatter their head,¹² and the rest I'll slay with the sword.
3 If they conceal themselves on Carmel, I'll hunt them up and reach them; If they hide on the bottom of the sea, I'll bid the Serpent bite them.

ויאמר קך הכפקור 9, 1 כן־אבַצע "ראש כלם ואחריקם בחרב אהרג: אם־יחבאו בראש הכרמל משם אחַפש ולקחקים ואם־יסתרו בקרקע הים אצַוה את־הנחש ונשכם:

that is, If the Israelites try to hide in the thick woods and numerous caves of Mount Carmel, they will not be safe from the Assyrian invaders; and if they attempt to escape in ships, they will be wrecked. The Serpent corresponds to the Babylonian *Ti'âmat* and to the Old Norse *Midgardsorm*, the worldserpent which lies about the earth in the encircling sea. The

¹¹ The top of Jacob's stone-pillar (Gen. 28: 18: yai-iiqcode start al-rosah) beside the altar (EB 2981, 5) in the cromlech north of Beth-el (EB 2977, d). The pillar was a menhir, the altar a dolmen. Moore says (EB 2983) that Amos does not speak of maccebot.

¹² King Menahem of Israel (743-737).

¹⁸ The prefixed bě, which might be explained according to JBL 32, 112,
n. 19; 113, n. 23, is an erroneous repetition of the bě of bě-rôš in the llowing verse, just as miš-šám in v. 3^b and v. 4 is due to vertical haplography of miš-šám in v. 3^a. Cf. WF 217, iii.

Hebrew name of this mythical sea-monster is *Leviathan* or *Rahab*.

This poetic passage is followed by a number of explanatory glosses, illustrative quotations, and theological additions including fragments of psalms and other Maccabean passages. Only the first three verses of c. 9 contain genuine lines of Amos; the following twelve verses are all secondary, tertiary, and quaternary. V. 4 contains the explanatory lines:

> 4 If they are led away captive, I'll bid the sword to slay them;
> I'll set mine eyes against them for evil, not for good.

ואָם ילכו בשבי אצַוָה את־החְרב והרגָתם ושמתי עיני עליהם לרעָה ולא לטובָה:

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Amos did not predict that the prisoners would be massacred; he only said, If the Israelites try to conceal themselves on Mount Carmel, they will be caught, and if they try to escape in boats they will be wrecked. The Assyrians would have deported the captives, but they would not have slain them.

To the first hemistich of this secondary couplet we find some tertiary and post-tertiary additions in the prosaic v. 7. A later glossator says here: Are ye not to me as the sons of the Ethiopians? i. e. Ye will be treated like negroes, like black slaves. Cardinal Mercier might have imputed this statement to the Kaiser with reference to the Belgians. A third glossator has added the antiquarian gloss, Did not I bring Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir? i. e. If Israel is deported to Assyria, this enforced emigration is not unprecedented: the Israelites¹⁴ came to Palestine from Egypt, the Philistines (Mic. 48, n. *; cf. JBL 35, . 169) from Crete, the Arameans from Kir, but JINH, who delivered the Sons of Israel¹⁴ out of the house of bondage in Egypt, will also be able to turn the Babylonian Captivity of Israel.

The Israelites never were in Egypt, only the Edomite ancestors of the Jews sojourned there for some time, while Israel was settled in Palestine; but how many modern exegetes realize

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"That is, the Edomite ancestors of the Jews; see Mic. 19, n. 18.-

that $!^{15}$ The true Israelites were originally as Aramean as the people of Damascus. Kir appears here as the original home of the Arameans. The idea (DB 3, 1^a) that the passage in e. 9 is older than the line in c. 1 is untenable; Am. 1:5 is not interpolated from the prosaic passage in e. 9.

Also the third passage in which Kir is mentioned, 2 K 16:9, The king of Assyria went up against Damascus and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin (732 B. C.) is a late (post-Septuagintal) addition derived from Am. 1:5. **G** has simply καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπώκισεν αὐτήν. **G**^A has Kυρήνην. This erroneous interpretation is also found in **T** (לקיריני: לקריינא); cf: לקיריני, Am. 9:7).

In Is. 22:6, describing Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem (a mutilated passage of what Cheyne regarded as Isaiah's last poem) Kir appears among the subjects, or allies, of Assyria, in conjunction with Elam:

> Elam carried the quiver, with ehariots and horses, And Kir uneovered the shield,¹⁶

* * * * * * *

The second hemistich of this line is not preserved. Winckler proposed to read $K\hat{o}r$ instead of $K\hat{i}r$, and identified this name with the Carians mentioned by Arrian (EB 2676; contrast IN 249, n. 2). They seem to have dwelt between the Tigris and the mountains toward Elam. In the preceding line we should, perhaps, read:

מקרקר קוע ושוע עלי ההר

¹⁵ Cf. MuS 528, 16; BB 358; JBL 32, 12.18.25-29.34.39.42.45.47. Paton's interesting address on Israel's Conquest of Canaan would have been clearer if he had not used Rachel tribes for Israelites, and Leah tribes for Judahites; contrast ZAT 29, 284; JAOS 32, 17; MuS 528, 22. Dr. Morgenstern says: Thus we know to-day that Moses was really the hero who led one tribe, most probably Judah, out of Egypt. . . The sojourn in Egypt and the exodus under Moses were undoubtedly historical facts, but only in the life of some one single tribe, probably Judah [Judah was no tribe; see MuS 516, 12] . . Not until the time of David were the loosely-related tribes bound together into a fairly close union; see pp. 11. 39.42 of his paper The Foundations of Israel's History, reprinted from the Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, vol. 25 (1915). Iontrast JBL 35, 167.

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¹⁰ Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. 2, 21 (scutis tegimenta detrudere).

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Koa and Shoa batter against the mountain instead of אל ההר אל ההר אל הוסע. which is supposed to mean: breaking down the walls and of crying to the mountains. The mountain which Koa and Shoa batter is Mount Zion. We have two or three passages in the Talmud Jerushalmî where $qirq\acute{e}r$ means to batter, destroy, tear down; cf. Assyr. naqâru (KAT², 512) and Arab. inqâra, to fall. Koa corresponds to the cuneiform Qû or Qutû. It is mentioned in connection with Shoa in Ezek. 23:23. The prophet says to Aholibah, *i. e.* Jerusalem: Thus said Jahveh, Behold, I shall bring against thee the Babylonians, all the Chaldeans, Pekod, Shoa and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them. The home of Koa was north of Bagdad, southeast of the Lower Zâb, between the two tributaries of the Tigris, Radân and Turnat (DB 3, 11^b).

It is important to bear in mind that $Q\hat{i}r$ in the two passages in the Book of Amos is preceded by m; in the genuine Amosian pentastich at the beginning of the Book (Am. 1:5) Qîrâ is preceded by 'am-Ărám, and in the late prosaic gloss c. 9 (Am. 9:7) we have Arám mig-Qir. An m may have been omitted through haplography, and we may read Měquiiár, corresponding to the present name of Ur of the Chaldees, al-Mugáiiar. Many of the present Oriental place-names are more than 3,000 years old. The old Assyrian form of the name may have been $Q\hat{u}ru$ $(=quijuru, a \text{ form like } t\hat{u}bu = tuijubu, well made) \text{ or } Qiru$ $(= qaiiru, a \text{ form like } \hat{s}imu = \hat{s}aiimu, \text{ price, lit. what is fixed}).$ At the time of Amos (740 B. c.) there may have been an Aramean form Měqaiiár,¹⁷ a form like Syr. měqaiiám, existing, or měkajián, created, natural. A similar name is Mespila, which we find in Xenophon's Anabasis (3, 4, 7) for Nineveh; it seems to represent an Assyr. mušpîlu which may mean a place where shell-limestone is found (JAOS 28, 103; BL 129, n. †).

According to P, the Aramean ancestors of Israel came from al-Muqáijar in Southern Babylonia, whereas according to J they emigrated from Haran in Northern Assyria. This Judaie tradition may be reflected by the Xappav which in the Septuagintal rendering of Am. 1:5 appears as the equivalent of Heb. $b\hat{e}_{1}^{i} \cdot edn$ at the end of the last line but one of the pentastieh,

¹⁷ We find several distinctly Aramaic names in the cuneiform texts, e. g. Naçibina (BAL 94; BA 1, 169, below).

whereas, it may be supposed, it was originally the rendering of $Q\hat{i}r\hat{a}$ at the end of the last line. The rendering of the first pentastich in **G** is inaccurate and confused (cf. e. g. $\tau \dot{a}s \dot{\epsilon}v \gamma a \sigma \tau \rho \dot{\epsilon}$ $\ddot{\epsilon}\chi \sigma v \sigma a s \tau \dot{\omega}v \dot{\epsilon}v \Gamma a \lambda a a \delta$ at the end of v. 3) although it has preserved the correct reading $\hat{o}n$ instead of $dun.^{18}$ Riessler (cf. JBL 32, 111, n. 13) reads $mi \cdot H\hat{a}r\hat{a}n$ instead of $miq \cdot Q\hat{i}r$ in Am. 9:7. Grotius (1644) referred Kir in Is. 22:6 to Media. It is certainly not Georgia (or Gruzia) in Transcaucasian Russia (see Delitzsch's Jes.⁴ 267, below). Halévy (RÉJ 11, 60) referred Kir to Southern Babylonia; the same view was advocated by Sanda, Die Bücher der Könige (Münster, 1912) 2, 199.

If we hesitate to read Měquiiár instead of Qîr in Am. 1:5, 9:7, we may regard Kir as the Assyrian form of the name (Qir = gaiiru). Also Heb. gir, wall, and gir, city, mean originally built with asphalt (cf. BL 130; GB16 7134; contrast AkF 9). We may therefore explain $Q\hat{i}r$ as a translation of the Sumerian name Ur, just as Arab. el-Lejjûn (= Lat. legio) is a translation of the old Canaanite name Měgiddô, place of troops, or as the ancient volcano, which is called Sinái in OT, is now known as el-Bedr (JAOS 34, 415). Sumer. uru, city, which appears in Hebrew (GB¹⁶ 584^a) as 'îr, is connected with Sumer. uru, foundation, settlement, dwelling (SGI 50; contrast GGAO 373) and with unu, dwelling and people (SGI 53). Similarly Assyr. âlu, city, is identical with Heb. ŏhl, tent, dwelling; Arab. ăhl, people, and âl, family; Syr. iáhlâ, troop (GB¹⁶ 13^b). For the initial i instead of ' cf. ZA 2, 278, and for the r and n in Sumer. uru and unu see AJSL 32, 64, below. The original meaning of Assyr, âlu, city, may be settlement (AJSL 22, 199).

There is no country of Kir; Kir represents $Q\hat{i}r = qa\hat{i}\hat{i}ru =$ Heb. Měquijár, Aram. Měqaijár, Arab. al-Muqáijar, the surname of Ur of the Chaldees in Southern Babylonia.

¹⁸ I have discussed this word in my paper *Their Strength is Labor and* Sorrow (BA 10, 2).

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