

*GEOGRAPHICAL GAINS FROM TEXTUAL  
CRITICISM.*

AN extremely interesting but obscure description of the route of an Assyrian invader of South Palestine is given in Isaiah x. 27 (end)-32. By whom it was written is not known with any certainty. The plays on the place-names remind us of Micah i. 10-16, the textual difficulties of which I have already sought to mitigate.<sup>1</sup> I venture to attempt a restoration of the text of the passage in Isaiah.<sup>2</sup>

בָּא עַל-עֵיִת	עָלָה מִפֵּץ מִצְפּוֹן <sup>1</sup>
לְמַכְמֶשׁ יִפְקִיד פְּקִיּוֹ	עָבַר בְּמִגְרוֹן <sup>2</sup>
נָבַע מְלוֹן לָמוֹ	עָבְרוּ מֵעֵבְרָה <sup>3</sup>
נִבְעַת שְׂאוּל נָסָה	חֲרָדָה הַרְמָה <sup>4</sup>
הַקְּשִׁיבִי אֲלֵעֲשֶׂה	צִהְלִי קוֹלְךָ בֵּית-גִּלְגַּל <sup>5</sup>
עֲנִית עֲנֹתוֹת	* * * * * <sup>6</sup>
יִשְׁבִּי בַחֲרִים הַעִיזוּ	נִדְרָה רַמְנָה <sup>7</sup>
יִנְפֹף יָדוֹ	יַעֲמֹד בְּנִבְעַת אֱלֹהִים <sup>8</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> The Hammer comes up from the north : he falls upon Aiath ;
- <sup>2</sup> He passes through Migron ; at Michmash he lays up his baggage ;
- <sup>3</sup> They go through the pass ; Geba is their place of bivouac ;
- <sup>4</sup> Ramah is terror-stricken ; Saul's Gibeah flees.
- <sup>5</sup> Shriek, O Beth-gilgal ; listen, O ElasaH :
- <sup>6</sup> \* \* \* \* \* ; thou art humbled, O Anathoth.

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, x. [July, 1898], pp. 565 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Without adequate notes (from want of space) it will be given in the Addenda to the Hebrew edition of Isaiah in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

<sup>7</sup> Rimmonah takes to flight ; the inhabitants of Bahurim gather their goods to flee.

<sup>8</sup> He halts on the sacred Gibeah, shaking his (clenched) fist.

Line 1a. Robertson Smith in 1885 proposed עֲלֶה מִצְפוֹן שִׁדְד, "the Destroyer comes up from the north" (*Journal of Philology*, xiii. 62 ff.). The material provided by the Massoretic text is מִפְּנֵי שִׁמּוֹן. Either of these words might be a corrupt fragment of מִצְפוֹן. But the metre requires three words, and it is open to us to conjecture that נִי comes out of an illegible פִּי. Nebuchadnezzar is called the hammer of the nations in Jeremiah li. 20 ; cf. also Nahum ii. 2 [1], where perhaps מִפִּיץ (A.V. "he that dasheth in pieces") should be מִפִּץ, "a hammer." Aiath is probably the same as Ai, which was near the modern Dêr Divân, but where, is uncertain (Bädeker's *Palestine*, ed. 2, p. 119). From Bethel to Dêr Divân is a straight road.

Line 2. Migron seems to correspond to the ruins at Makrun, north of Michmash, on the road to Ai. Those who go from Michmash to Bethel "ascend towards the north to the table-land along the east side of a narrow but deep valley which runs into the Wady Suweinit. At the point where we obtain a view of the valley there are several rock-tombs on the west slope, above which lies the ruins of Makrûn, the ancient Migron (Isa. x. 28)." So Bädeker, *i.e.* the late Prof. Socin, who edited the book.

Line 3. The pass is no doubt the deep defile of the Wady Suweinit. Geba is the modern Jeba', which commands the pass of Michmash. For לָנוּ, "to us," we should read לָמוֹ, "to them"—an easy change.

Line 4. Ramah is er-Râm ; Saul's Gibeah Tell el-Fûl, a fine conical hill with an extensive view, four miles north of Jerusalem.

Line 5a. The text gives בְּתִנְלִים, "O community of

Gallim." Gallim can only mean "heaps" (of stones); the sense "springs" could only be justified by Canticles iv. 12, where, however, גַּל should be גַּן, "garden" (so Budde). Considering, however, that a place called Beth-gilgal is mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 29, in connection with Geba and Azmaveth, and a place called Geliloth, and also Gilgal, on the border between Benjamin and Judah (Josh. xviii. 17; xv. 7), it is reasonable to suppose that some circle of prehistoric stones is meant, near which a village or town had sprung up, and to assume Geliloth, or, better, (Beth) Gilgal to be the name written by the prophet. Either name would be more distinct and distinctive than the common reading Gallim, "heaps." Probably the prophet or poet means the place which is called Beth-gilgal in Nehemiah, and Geliloth "which fronts the ascent of Adummim" (*i.e.* the *Tel'at ed-dam*, which rises above the khân of the Good Samaritan on the way to Jericho), in Joshua xviii. 17.

Line 5*b*. לִישָׁה (E.V. Laishah) is presumably the same as לַיִשׁ (Laish); cf. 1 Samuel xxv. 44, and 2 Samuel iii. 15. No such place-name, however, as Laish is known in Benjamin, and no such personal name as Laish occurs anywhere, except in the two passages referred to; it is, on the whole, probable that in both Samuel and Isaiah לִישׁ, or לִישָׁה, is a corruption of אֱלֹהֵי עָשָׂה (God has made), and that in Isaiah reference is made, not to the Eleasa of 1 Maccabees ix. 5 (represented by the modern Il'asà), but to the spot represented by the village *el-'Isâwiyeh*, towards Anathoth (which Bâdeker, p. 117, wrongly identifies with Nob). This is new, but, I believe, true. For the personal name Elasa, see 1 Chronicles ii. 39 f., viii. 37, ix. 43; Ezra x. 22; Jeremiah xxix. 3.

Line 6. The עֵינָה of the text can hardly be right. We may either read עֵינָה (Pesh., Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne [formerly], Duhm, etc.), or (since half a line seems to

have fallen out) read עֵנִית, as proposed here, or with Grätz we may read עֵנְיָה, which is the name of a place in Benjamin, Nehemiah xi. 32.

Line 7. מַדְמָנָה (Madmenah) should mean "dung-heap"—a most improbable name, even after we have duly assimilated the fact that heaps of very mixed origin are to be seen at the entrance to Arab villages (see Delitzsch, *Job*, pp. 62 f.). Almost certainly we should read רַמְנָה; compare דַמְנָה, Joshua xxi. 35, on which Dillmann remarks that we should probably read רַמְנָה (see 1 Chron. vi. 62). All similar names, such as Madmen (Jer. xlvi. 2, from נִמְרִים, Nimrim), Madmannah, are beyond reasonable doubt corrupt. The Rimmonah meant was not "the rock Rimmon" of Judges xx. 45, but nearer to Jerusalem. There were doubtless not a few places in Palestine called Rimmon, or Rimmonah. הַגְּבִים, "the trenches," is also an improbable name. Read בַּחֲרִים, Baburim, which was most probably not the same as Almon (now *Almit*), as most moderns have held, in deference to the Targum, but near Jerusalem on the old road to Jericho (see Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 176; Grove, *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, ed. i., 162a). ח and ג, ר and ה are liable to confusion; transposition accounts for the rest of the process by which בַּחֲרִים has become הַגְּבִים.

Line 8 is largely made up of corrupt dittograms and glosses. עֹר is a fragment of יַעֲמֹד. לַעֲמֹד is a corruption of a dittographed יַעֲמֹד. בְּנֵב is a corrupt fragment of בְּנֵבֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם. בְּנֵבֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם represents בְּנֵבֶת אֱלֹהִים. An over-wise scribe inferred from the context that mount Zion must be meant, though the phrase גִּבְעַת יְרוּשָׁה, "hill of Jerusalem," nowhere else occurs. בֵּית in בֵּית־צִיּוֹן is a corrupt fragment of גִּבְעַת. Later students conjectured בַּת, and attached צִיּוֹן to it, thus producing the familiar phrase "the daughter (= people) of Zion"; to this phrase הָרַר was prefixed to clear up the meaning of the unfamiliar

(corrupt) phrase, "the hill of Jerusalem." אלֹהִים still remains unaccounted for. It is a corrupt fragment of אֱלֹהִים. It is a curious collection of errors, to which, however, there are many parallels, especially in the Psalter.

Probably the above re-examination of a much-debated passage will further illustrate the criticism which experience forced from me, and not any captiousness towards Prof. H. P. Smith, on the remark that conjectural emendation "should not be put in the same class with emendation on the basis of evidence, even the evidence of a version." A conjectural emendation may, at any rate in many cases, have better evidence than an emendation based on a version. Conjectural emendation is an art which requires to be slowly and painfully learned, like any other art; and I think that experience shows that conjectural emendation based on evidence can remove not a few serious difficulties which have hindered the due appreciation of some parts of the literary records of revelation.

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