Mr. Claud Field is a most useful student of Muhammadanism. What he gains he gives. In volume after volume he offers us the results of his study, and always in an easy and accessible fashion. His latest book is A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations (Sonnenschein; 7s. 6d.). The quotations are from the Arabic and the Persian. They are given first in transliteration, and then in some reliable translation. Here are two of them:

'Boast not of having no pride because it is more invisible
Than the mark of an aht's foot on a black rock
in a dark night.
Think it not easy to extirpate from thy heart,
For it is more easy to root up a mountain from
the earth with a needle.'

If you have not gone to the Kaabs, fortune
will draw you thither,
Do not flee, O babbler, for you have no refuge
from God.'

Mr. Elliot Stock has published a second edition of The After Life, a large learned book (3s. net), in which Mr. Henry Buckle of the Burma Commission gives the history of the argument for probation after death, and pleads for its validity.

Mr. Harold M. Wiener, after much criticism of the Higher Critics, has now written a constructive account of The Origin of the Pentateuch (Elliot Stock; 1s. 6d. net). There is some criticism even in it, but especially is there a serious attempt to show that 'Moses wrote the Pentateuch after all.'

The Hebrew Word for 'Atonement.'


Considerable discussion has arisen among philologists on the one hand, and theologians on the other, concerning the Hebrew word which is commonly represented in English by 'atonement,' 'pardon,' in German by 'sühnen,' and in Greek by ξύλονκεῖν. Before Assyriology began to exercise any considerable influence upon Hebrew lexicography, the Hebrew lexicons universally gave the root meaning of the verb רכז found in Hebrew only in the piel and pual,1 as 'to cover.'2 On the other hand, the whole group of Aramaic languages employs the root in the sense of 'wipe away,' 'remove,' often employed in Syriac and the Talmud for wiping the hands.

The word appears in Hebrew almost universally as a cult term for freeing men and objects from sin, uncleanness, and disease. In Babylonian the piel is likewise almost universal. Now when we come to consider that with few exceptions every one of the passages containing this word in Hebrew is from a period when Hebrew religion and culture began to be increasingly affected by Babylonia, it seems a priori impossible for us any longer to deny a direct connexion between the Babylonian and Hebrew cult terms. Arabic may be useful, perhaps equally useful with Babylonian, in discussing general problems of Semitic philology; but when we have to do with the meanings of Hebrew cult and culture terms, Babylonian and early Aramaic must be given preference upon historical as well as philological grounds. It will be disastrous for future interpretation of the Old Testament if scholars any longer refuse to recognize this.

The problem connected with the origin of the cult term קפר, Bab. kuppuru, is both philological and theological. The original meaning I shall attempt to expose, and to show its bearing upon the complicated theological notions put upon it by the Hebrews. Buhl, in his latest editions of
Gesenius’ Hebrew Lexicon, has frankly admitted that the Hebrew kipper is a Babylonian loan-word; but Professor König still adheres to the traditional derivation and will admit no new light from Babylonia. He has again defended the old view in The Expository Times, vol. xxi. 231-4.

Before discussing the meanings of this word in Hebrew, it will be helpful to Old Testament scholars to have before them the entire material at the disposal of Assyriologists. Unfortunately both of our Assyrian lexicons are already much out of date owing to the rapidly increasing material published since these two lexicons were finished. I give, therefore, a full account of this root in Babylonian:

I. kapāru, 'to remove,' 'tear away,' 'wipe away'; pres. ikāpar; imp. ikpur. Used also of cutting trees with an axe. He went to the forest and puri...ikpur, cut poles (K.B. vi. 220. 46). Sumerian gaš = kapāru, between, hašālu, 'grind,' and šummaru, 'demolish by violent motion' (C.T. xii. 150. 7). bar, an ordinary word in Sumerian for 'separate,' 'remove,' is explained by kapāru (C.T. xii. 17. 93038, rev. 25, and C.T. xi. 40; K. 4383, rev. 2), where it is a syn. of salāpu, Heb. ṣeḥār, 'overthrow,' 'destroy.' ikpur pulhat-sina [God] 'took away their fear' (said of lips) (P.S.B.A. 1910, Pl. iv. 23). 'Wipe' in dimma-ša ikāpar, 'he wipes away her tears' (K.B. vi. 78, 20).

From 'wipe away' to 'purge, free from sin by ritual' is the next step. The kal only in the commentary on the Babylonian Job (R. v. 47b. 28), where the text has imūšu nammati maššu waššahi, 'be purged away the gangrene and made me brightly clean.' The commentary then notes that maššu = kapāru, hence 'purify,' 'purge away,' 'make clean.' Hence we have the notion kapāru ša kāmī, 'to purify with a ritual of meals.' Sum. babbar, an ordinary word for namnu, ēllu, 'clean,' 'pure' (C.T. xii. 60. 11). This is an idea very remote from the original, and will be better understood after a study of the uses of the piel. ēr = kapāru, a syn. of pašitu, 'erase,' 'wipe away' (B.M. 47779, rev. 5).

Piel: (a) 'Violently remove,' 'separate.' The word of God, umma maratam kima burā ukāpar [šu-ba-mi-ni-ib-gur-ri], 'mother and daughter like a camel, violently separates' (Langdon, S.B.P. 38. 22). misi rabbūtukāpar, 'it sweeps away the great misu-trees' (ibid. 40. 32). Ašurbanipal destroyed the stage tower of Šusa and ukāpira karnati-ša ša pitik urudi namri, 'violently removed its corners of workmanship of shining copper' (R. v. v. 29). īṭīš ša ina [šū]-bi ukāpira, 'the wood which therefrom she has cut away' (B.M. 82. 7. 14. 988, obv. ii. 31).

(b) Widely employed in the rituals for removing the bread, meal, water, sacrificial animal after the ceremony; these elements absorb the uncleanness of the person or object cleaned, and removing them purges, makes clean, hence kippur = 'purge,' 'purify.' Yet the original sense is 'perform the ritual of purification by removing the magical elements.'

A man is harassed by the demon of fever. Ea, god of wisdom, sends his son Marduk with the following directions:

'Take a white kid of Tammuz. Lay it near to the sick man. Take out its heart, and put it upon the hand of this man. Utter the incantation of Eridu. The female kid whose heart thou hast removed and the kneaded bread of this man remove (kippur = u-mu-un-te-gur-gur); the censor and the torch cause to go forth. Into the street heap them all up. This man with mixed meal outline. Utter the incantation of Eridu. Curse (the demon) by the great gods.' Another text mentioning things which are unclean, as spittle, leather bottles used by sorcerers, old shoes, etc., hasū ša ina sumri kippur, 'kneaded bread which has been removed from the body.'

1 The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon also, though allowing the original meaning of ṣwē to be doubtful, thinks 'cover' the most probable; the Part containing ṣwē appeared, however, in 1897, and the Ass. kippura, 'purify,' is referred to in the appendix (p. 1124). Professor Driver, one of its editors, translates Dt 32th by 'clear from guilt,' which shows that he had a correct feeling for the meaning of the root. See his edition of Deuteronomy, p. 380.


2 Rev. and Obv. are confused in the official publication.
(A.S.K.T. 87. 65.) In another text concerning a man in affliction, the priest makes an image of the afflicted person and places it at his feet at midnight; then ina šeri sumur-šu kuppir-ma, 'in the morning purge his body.' The Sumerian for this passage preserves the original idea; a-gin-gi-ga-ta su-ni-ta u-me-te-gur-gur, 'at the departure of darkness remove from his body;' i.e. remove the clay image (C.T. xvii. fo. 35). We see precisely in this passage how the term began to pass from the notion of 'remove' to 'purify by the ritual of a scapegoat,' etc. The word cannot mean 'purify' except in this connexion, a point to be kept in mind when we come to study the loan-word in Hebrew. To exhaust our material, I continue—In a ritual against headache the direction has: Bread at his head he put, bread near his body he placed. The prayer for life he made for him. 'One who is a son of his god thou art; the bread which at thy head I have placed nigh, the bread which, sumur-ka ukappiru, from thy body I have removed, may pacify thy headache' (Rm. iv. 90, obv. 12–20, in P.S.B.A. 1901, after p. 204). A ritual of purification by means of a sacred reed. Take the holy reed, and measure this reed-sagdudu, make, 'utter the curse of Eridu, amelu mār ili-šu kuppir-ma, 'the man son of his god purge;' over him break it, verily it is his image' (C.T. xvii. 15. 24.) Here we have, both in Semitic and Sumerian, the verb employed in a pregnant sense of purifying from evil by means of the ritual. Again, we have the following purification for a man in great pain: Fill a water vessel with water, put therein tamarisk, mašlabal-plant, the date palm suḫušu, the tall šalal-reed and white cedar. The curse of Eridu utter. Prepare augastly the waters of incantation; with thy sacred incantation prepare. This water upon the man throw. Place kneaded bread at his head. This man the son of his god kuppir (u-me-te-gur-gur), 'purge.' Then follow further directions for purring water, and finally for throwing it in the street. kuppir in this case evidently refers to removing the bread and holy water in the first part of the ritual. In another ritual for purifying and consecrating a house (Zimmern, Beiträge, p. 148), after a long ceremony with lambs, oils, lamps, etc., we have bitu takappar-ma takpirat bitti ana bābi . . . the house purify and the cult objects at the door (throw out).

Finally, at the end of prayers to Šamaš for a king, we have the note takpirati šarri takappar . . . kāṭa-šu misī, 'the cult material of the king thou shalt remove, his hands let him wash' (R. iv. 17b. 33). takpirat iḫbiti šarri tuḫappar, 'the holy cult materials of the king thou shalt remove' (Zimmern, Beiträge, p. 122. 19). The syllabar (B.M. 47779, rev. 10) gives úr = kuppuru ša sumiri, 'to purge the body.'

The II. form only in K.B. vi. 68. 27; ša kišiti ḫašurri ukappiru gupma-ša, of the forest of ḫašurrī-wood he plucked away the vine stalks.

II. kapāru, 'smear,' 'cover with a thick liquid.' Possibly a denominative from kuppur, 'pitch.' Only in niphal. kūpri immu šakkašu iḫkappar, 'hit bitumen shall be poured upon his head' (Th. Dangin, Lettres, 237, 24); ikkappir in the same sense and likewise niphal present in V.S. vii. 204. 40 = B.A. vi. pt. 5, p. 31. Cf. Kichler, Medizin, p. 124. Cognate Hebrew ḫāraḥ in Gn 614, used of smearing the ark with pitch.

III. kapāru, 'construct,' 'build' (?). kapāru, syn. of raṣāpū, 'to fix' (K. 12021, rev. 4). abonati ša ḫašali ša kašari ḫabīlāni, 'let them bring stones of the Mt. ḫašali for building (Rm. 2. 461 in Bezdol, Catalogue).

Derivatives.

I. takpiritu: (a) the objects employed in the kuppuru ritual. Bread from his body remove, takpira-šu ana sūk iḫbiti, 'his cult materials into the cross ways (throw)' (C.T. xvii. 1. 5). In a letter to an official concerning rituals of purification, maššakātu aḫtulu takpirtam nusšit ša, 'the burning I have accomplished, and the cult materials we have caused to be removed' (Harper, Letters, 361. 8). takpirati iḫbiti šarri tuḫappar, 'the holy

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1 Sum. mu-ni-in-tub-ka-ta.
2 A cult object whose precise sense is unknown.
3 C.T. xvii. 31.
4 Falsely transcribed by German lexicographers as kuppuru ša molši, 'to wipe a skin,' and put under kapāru, 'to smear.'
cult materials of the king thou shalt remove' (Zimmern, Beiträge, 122. 18).

(b) The act of performing the ritual of purification, ina šibbi uriggall wēšša takpirati nimpašanētsu, 'he shall sit in the ritual hut, and the rituals of purification shall be done for him' (Harper, Letters, 370, obv. 12). kima takpirati tuššeta ana bābi tušša, 'when thou hast finished the ritual of purgation thou shalt cause (the cult materials) to be taken forth' (Zimmern, Beiträge, 122. col. ii. 3; cf. i. 19).

A king of Assyria sends for the tablets takpirti āhī, 'of the purification of a city' (C.T. xxii. No. i. 26).

(c) 'things violently removed,' 'cut away.' Of wood cut and taken from a field (B.M. 82. 7. 14. 988, obv. ii. 25).

kitparu, 'violent seizure.' The storm ina kitparišu amelē ilihki, 'which seizes man away with violence' (Langdon, S.B.P. 76. 13).

II. kapru, 'bitumen,' 'pitch.' Heb. קופר, kapru, 'vessel for pouring thick liquids,' 'pitcher.' 1 Heb. קפר.

kāpiru, amēn ka-pi-ru = sag-sur, 'one who pours on the head, a kind of a profession,' in a list with illsákku, 'carder of wool,' mušlahku, 'snake charmer' (B.M. 80. 7–19. 129. 4).

III. (?) kapru, 'village.' Heb. קפר. Beside the lexicons note also ār = kapru (Brunnow, 8533 and B.M. 93065. 5). kapru and nabasu both = ār.

The root 'smear,' 'cover with a thick liquid,' appears once in Hebrew. Arabic kafara, 'to cover,' appears probably in Babylonia kapru, 'a kind of garment' (Clay, B.E. xiv. 128a, 9; cf. A.J.S.L. 1908, 289). There is no trace of this root in Aramaic, so far as I can discover.

On the other hand, the root, 'remove,' 'wipe away,' appears in the whole Aramaic group both in its original sense and in the derived sense of 'deny,' 'put away one's faith,' 'become an infidel,' as in Arabic. Out of the same idea arises the notion of removing sin and uncleanness with sacrificial and mystic elements which act as a scapegoat and bring about cleanness. Note the idea in Syriac where kafara means 'a washing away' and 'what is washed away,' 'uncleanness' (i.e. takpiru, La above); the cult materials which are thrown away, hence 'defiled,' and kafra, 'cursed.'

Arabic and Hebrew transferring the idea finally to 'God's removing His anger against man,' have developed the idea of pardon, for the piel, i.e. the piel of estimation or judgment, to pronounce ritually clean, to consider free from guilt.

The two roots have been completely confused by Arabic lexicographers, and the confusion in this branch of Semitic philology has prevailed in the Hebrew lexicons.

In approaching the problem in Hebrew we must bear in mind that we are dealing with a language and with institutions closely allied with the North Semitic group, especially with Babylonian. Professor König cites five classes of passages in which he says that the idea 'cover' is certain. Three of his classes belong to the cult terminology, and are most likely borrowed directly from the Babylonian terminis technicus, 'to remove sin and uncleanness by removing the cult materials, to purge away sin, to pronounce clean (when God is the subject).'

In Gn 32:11 Jacob appeases the wrath of Esau with a gift, 'akhəfənə rənay hamminhā, which the LXX translates by 'I will reconcile his face with a gift,' where rənay appears to mean 'his wrath.' 'I will appease his wrath,—the sense being derived from the ritual use of kipper, to denote the 'removal' of guilt, and so of a cause of offence, by a rite of purification.

Before examining the Hebrew cult term it will be much more logical to examine those passages in which the word is not employed in the rituals. Thus in Pr 16:9 we have the passage, 'the wrath of a king the wise man, ḫəkippena, will appease.'

Is 47:1, in speaking of Babylon, the Exilic prophet employs two Babylonian cult words in the same sentence: 'Evil will fall on thee which thou canst not dispel with sorcery (חכש), and which thou canst not remove with rituals of purgation' (חכש). The LXX translates, 'thou shalt not be able to become pure (חכש ינש).'

The implications of the Babylonian conception were worked over under the influence of Hebrew conceptions of sacrifice. Here sin and uncleanness are removed by a ritual in which the cult material is conceived of as a gift to God. The priest absolves from sin in the same terms as the Babylonian priest. kupurru and kapper are each based upon the ultimate notion of removing uncleanness, to purge by ritual, but in Hebrew the
word is affected by the notion of giving, and hence we have in Pr 16:4 the idea of removing wrath by conciliation and concession. This theological conception which brings God's pardon into the act is pre-Deuteronomic. Thus in Is 22:14 we have the pual 'im 'akhappar hebôwôn, not shall the iniquity be removed by ritual and pardoned. The primitive notion of removing by a ritual, especially by the purifying influence of fire, is evident in Ex 34:14 and Is 6:7.

If Hebrew had clung to the original Babylonian idea, the subject of the verb could be the priest only,—or, at most, occasionally, an offering. This is, in fact, the universal usage in the Hebrew rituals so closely allied to Babylonian practice. Ex 30:16 (adduced by König to support the idea of covering), the poor and rich shall bring money ḥappar 'al- nasa'tih∂m, 'to obtain purification for your souls.' Here the idea of a gift completely outweighs the idea of purification through the gift in a ritual. The believer obtains purification for his soul, which in Hebrew is based upon the idea of God's pardon, directly by a gift.

Hebrew in these theological conceptions, although departing from the Babylonian idea, develops the idea of God's pardon as a necessary element in the process of purification. Still the idea developed in the Eastern cults is fundamental in Hebrew. Lv 5:18, a man brings a ram for a sin-offering, and ḥappar 'alau 'al śig'gathō 'he (the priest) purifies upon him for his sin,' 'al of the person, so common in Hebrew, reflects the idea of applying cult material to the body of the person in Babylonian. In the evolution of the idea in Hebrew where the ritual is designed to obtain divine pardon for a man by a gift of sacrifice, 'al acquires the sense of 'for' and may be replaced by יָזָה, 'on behalf of.' So Lv 9:7, ḥappar ba'ada'hōa, perform the rite of purification for thyself. Note the expression of Neh 10:34, that the feasts and sin-offerings have been instituted ḥappar 'al ḫisra'ēl, 'to obtain purification for Israel.' When, on the one hand, the idea of a gift is emphasized, we have a tendency toward the idea of removing sin by a ransom; 8 when, on the other hand, the blood of an offered animal given over to God on the altar appeases the wrath of God and obtains pardon for the sinner as a substitute for human blood, 4 we have the idea of propitiation by substitution. Thus in 2 S 21:3 the guilt of murder rests upon Judah because Saul had slain men of the Gibeonites; David asks, 'Wherewithal 'akhappar, "shall I atone"? Evidently here the idea is to remove guilt by a gift, the theological idea pushing the idea of a ritual of purgation into the background.

Yet in the great majority of cases the original idea is not entirely overlaid by more spiritual conceptions. Lv 15:8, a woman brings two doves as a sin and whole burnt-offering for her uncleanness, and the priest ḥappar 'alēkhō ... missōbı̂b tumw'ātḥāh, 'performs for her the rite of purification for the issue of her uncleanness.' The ritual is of course entirely different from the Babylonian, but the term persists; the object is the same, namely, purification, but the method and the theological implications are widely different. In Babylonian we have pure magic to deal with; in Hebrew the ritual has a profound theological aspect of a sacrifice and communion with God to obtain pardon. The nearest parallel to the Babylonian ritual is purification for a person by means of a scapegoat, in Lv 16. In Lv 16:8 we have the purification of the Holy of Holies by the sprinkling of blood. Here, again, 'al, 'for the object purified,' and min, 'from the sin of uncleanness.'

It is utterly impossible to comprehend the use of these prepositions if we start with the idea of 'covering.' The idea is evidently that of separation from sin. 'To cover from sin' conveys no meaning, either magical or theological.

As in Babylonian, so in Hebrew the verb may so depart from the idea of separating the cult material from the sinner, and the idea of purification become so prominent that the verb takes a direct object of the thing cleansed. Lv 16:8, And He shall make an end mikkappar ēth ḥakkodēlēh, 'of purifying the Holy of Holies.' Ezk 45:20, kapparōm ēth-habbāith, 'ye shall purify the temple.'

In Hebrew we have to do with an idea which is entirely foreign to the whole process which we have been describing, when the subject of the verb is God. In Hebrew the purification depend-

1 For a full synopsis of the usages and meanings of ḥappar in Heb., see Driver, in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, iv. (1902), pp. 129-130. He is, however, unduly influenced by the idea which in 1902 was indeed generally accepted, that the primary sense of the root was either to cover or to wipe away.

2 Note the LXX, 'for obtaining reconciliation for (πατερ) your souls.' The idea of 'covering' is never recognized in the Greek translations.

3 This notion is early, cf. ḫefer, 'ransom,' in Ex 21:28.

Dr. König, in his article in The Expository Times for February, maintains for the Hebrew verb kipper, 'atone,' the ground-meaning 'cover' as against that of 'wiping clean,' and concludes his article by stating that 'no new light has been shed on the matter by the Babylonian literature.' In a note which I wrote for the Journal of Theological Studies, April 1910, I have maintained the contrary; and the fact that Dr. König does not seem to have seen this note is my excuse for again bringing forward the evidence there cited.

That the verb in Babylonian has the meaning 'wipe away' is clear from a passage in the story of Nerigal and Ereškigal, col. ii. line 20, 1šasima unaštāši dimtaša ikpar, 'he caught her, and kisses her, and wipes away her tears.' But more important for the ground-meaning is a Babylonian syllabary (contained in British Museum Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, vol. xii. plate 6) which gives the various equivalents of the sun-ideogram. Most of these have to do with the idea of brightness: e.g. ašu, 'bright'; namaru, 'bright'; namaru ša ūmu, 'the brightness of day'; 1 šum ša isštā, 'the light of fire'; 1 šilti ša Šamsi, 'sunset,' etc. There also occur kaparu ša āēmi, apparently 'the whiteness of wheat-flour,' 2 and kuppuru ša išaru, 'the cleansing (brightening) of the righteous?.' 2 If such a sense is rightly to be inferred from the parallels, the root-notion of the verb kaparu seems to have been that of whiteness or brightness, and the causative kuppuru will therefore mean to make white or bright. This inference is supported by the fact noticed by Dr. Schrank (Babylonische Sühniten, pp. 81, 87), that in Babylonian ritual texts kuppuru is used with a significance similar to ubbū, 'make white (candidus),' ullahu, 'make bright,' and tells, as it seems, against Dr. Schrank's own conclusion that the root-meaning of the word is 'smear over,' all cases cited by him being susceptible of explanation in the sense 'purify' ('make bright'). The idea of whitening or brightening naturally comes into connexion with that of wiping (polishing); and just as the sense of 'wiping' is found in the Syriac usage of the root, both in Pe'āl and Pe'el, so the idea of brightness is doubtless inherent in the Hebrew kōphōr, 'hoarfrost,' which may appropriately have been thought of as 'the white or bright thing.' 3

1 Or perhaps we should render in these two cases, 'brightness, [said] of day,' 'light, [said] of fire.'
2 Here perhaps 'whiteness, [said] of wheat-flour,' 'brightness, [said] of the righteous.'
3 This root-meaning (previously unidentified) for kōphōr was suggested to me by Dr. C. J. Ball. That it is more appropriate than that suggested by Dr. König ('covering sc. of the ground') scarcely needs to be argued.