

HEB. *GALŪT ŠOLĒMĀ*, A PEACEFUL COLONY

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In OLZ 10,308 (June, 1907) I pointed out that the *τρισαλιτρία* (OLZ 16,530) denounced in the Maccabean addition Am. 1: 6-8 referred to the treacherous capture of the Maccabee Jonathan at Ptolemais in 143 B. C. (1 Macc. 12: 48; 13: 12). For 'Azzā (Am. 1: 6, 7) we must substitute 'Akkā = 'Akkō = Ptolemais. Also in the Maccabean poem glorifying Jonathan's triumphant return to Jerusalem after his exploits in Antioch, 145 B. C. (ZDMG 69, 172) we must read at the end of the second triplet (Zech. 9: 5): *uē-'ābād mēlk me-'Akkā*, counsel will perish from Accho, *i. e.* Accho will be at her wits' end, will be in despair (JBL 34, 54). In 1 Macc. 13: 43 **Ⓒ** and all Versions have *Gaza* instead of *Gazara*.

For *galūt* in the second line of the pentastich Am. 1: 6-8 we must read *mišlāht*, mission, delegation (Ps. 78: 49) and in the second hemistich of this line: *lē-hasgír [bē-mirmā] la-'Arám*, to deliver treacherously to the Syrians. The reading *galūt* instead of *mišlāht* is due to v. 9^b where *galūt šēlemā* (read *šólēmā* or, in pause, *šólémā*) denotes the peaceful colony of Jews in Tyre. The scribes have often repeated the same expression where the original text had a different word (*cf.* JBL 29, 106, n. 81; WF 217, l. 1.). After this hemistich we must again read *la-'Arám* instead of *lū-'Ādóm*, and this should be followed, not by *uē-ló-zakrú hēriṭ aḥhīm*, but by *uē-šihhét rahmāu* (read *uē-šahhét rôhmāu*) which appears in **Ⓐ** before *uā-iṭṭór la-'ād appó uē-'ābraṭó šamērā la-nūḥi*. *Appó* and 'ābraṭó are nominatives, not accusatives. For the verbs *našár*, to be furious, and *šamár*, to rage, see *Nah.* 21, below. In Jer. 3: 5 we must read, with Duhm, the Niphal *innašér* = Assyr. *innašir*; the *o* before the *r* is due to dittography (*Mic.* 72, ζ). The clause *uē-ló-zakrú hēriṭ aḥhīm* is the second hemistich to 'al-roḏfó *ḥah-ḥārḥ aḥiṭ* in v. 11^b. Heb. *galūt* means *emigration*; an emigrant is *ben-gólá*, but *galūt* denotes also a *settlement* of emigrants, just as *ἀποικία* has both meanings.

𐤌 *šelemâ* instead of *šôlēmâ* (Ps. 7:5) is based on Jer. 13:19 where the original text was *galût šelemâ* = Ḡ ἀποικία τελεία. On the other hand, 𐤌 *hoglât šêlômîm* (miswritten for *galût šôlēmâ*) in Jer. 13:19 is derived from the original reading in Am. 1:9, *galût šôlēmâ*. Also in Ps. 55:21 we must read *šalâh iqdâu bê-šôlēmâi hillél bêrîtô*. The view that *šôlēm* is participle Poel (for *mešôlēm* = Arab. *musâlim*, syn. *muçâlîh*; GK § 52, s; § 55, b) is gratuitous; *šôlēm* is participle Qal of a denominative verb derived from the noun *šalôm*; *šôlēm* (Ps. 7:5) = *iš šôlēmî* (Ps. 41:10). For the form *qôfêl* instead of *qaṭêl* see *Nah.* 42; cf. *WdG* 1, 136, B. Ḡ has ἀιχμαλωσία τοῦ Σαλωμών in Am. 1:6, 9; *I captivitas perfecta*, and *transmigratio perfecta* in Jer. 13:19, 𐤌𐤕 have the same rendering (*šêbîtâ šalmêṭû* and *galû šâlmâ*) in all three passages.

The anti-Jewish attitude of the Tyrians is emphasized by Josephus (GJV³ 3, 127, below). An illustration of the manner in which some of the Hellenistic cities treated the peaceful Jews who lived among them is given in 2 Macc. 12:3-9; this passage states expressly that the Jews were desirous to live in peace (*εἰρηνεύειν θέλοντες*). Nevertheless the Hellenistic inhabitants of Joppa perpetrated a *δυσσέβημα*, a *τρισαλιτρια*. For the anti-Jewish attitude of Tyre we may compare also 1 Macc. 5:15; for Ashdod: 1 Macc. 10:84; 11:4, also 5:68; 16:10; for Ashkelon: 10:86; 11:60; for Akkaron: 10:89; for Philistia: 3:24, 41:4:22; 5:68; for Idumea: 1 Macc. 4:61; 5:3, 65; 2 Macc. 10:15; Dan. 11:40; Obad. 10-14 (*Mic.* 48-50). Cf. also the references to Tyre, Ashkelon, Akkaron, Aecho, Ashdod in the Maccabean poem Zech. 9:1-10, referred to at the beginning of this paper.

I subjoin text and translation of the three Maccabean insertions in the first chapter of the Book of Amos. Am. 1:3-5 and 12-15 were composed c. 740-735, and vv. 6-12 were added 600 years later, c. 140-135. I have explained the phrase *lô aššêbennû*, I shall surely requite him, in *OLZ* 10, 306 (cf. *TOCR* 1, 327; *JBL* 29, 104, n. 61) and I have given text and translation of Am. 1:12-15 in *AJSL* 32, 71.

ועל-ארבעה לא אישכנו	על-שלשה פשעי עבד
להסגיר במרמה לארם:	על-הגלותם משלחת שלמה
והתומך שבת מאשקלון	7 ושלחתי-אש בחומת עבד
ואבד שארית פלשתים:	8 והכרתי יושב מאשדוד
	עקרון

- 9 γ ועל-שלישה פשעי הזר
 על-הסנירים גלות שלמה
 לארם ׀ וישחת רחמי׃
 ואכלה את-ארמנותיה :
- 10 ועל-שלישה פשעי אדום
 על-דרך בחרב אחיו
 ויטר לעד אפו
 ועברתו שמרה לנצח :
 ואכלה את-ארמנותיה () :
- 11 δ ועל-שלישה פשעי אדום
 על-דרך בחרב אחיו
 ויטר לעד אפו
 ועברתו שמרה לנצח :
 ואכלה את-ארמנותיה () :
- 12 ϵ ועל-שלישה פשעי הזר
 על-הסנירים גלות שלמה
 לארם ׀ וישחת רחמי׃
 ואכלה את-ארמנותיה :

9 γ כה אמר יהוה
 12 ϵ בתימן

8 β אמר ארני יהוה

6 α כה אמר יהוה
 11 δ כה אמר יהוה

MACCABEAN ADDITIONS TO AMOS

- 6 α For the threefold crime of Acca,
 aye, fourfold! I will requite her;
 For they captured a peaceful mission,
 betraying it to the Syrians.
- 7 To Acca's wall I'll set fire
 devouring all her mansions.
- 8 I'll cut off the dwellers from Ashdod,
 the truncheon-bearer from Ashkelon;
 I'll turn my hand against Akkaron,
 the last Philistine shall perish. β
- 9 γ For the threefold crime of Tyre,
 aye, fourfold! I'll requite her;
 They delivered a peaceful colony
 to the Syrians, [] {destroying their friends.}
- 10 To Tyre's wall I'll set fire
 devouring all her mansions.
- 11 δ For the threefold crime of Edom,
 aye, fourfold! I'll requite her;
 They pursued with the sword their brethren,
 { } [unmindful of brotherly bonds;]
 Their anger raged for ever,
 their fury stormed for aye.
- 12 To (Bozrah's) ϵ wall I'll set fire
 devouring all her () mansions.

(α) 6 thus said JHVH

(β) 8 said (the Lord) JHVH

(γ) 9 thus said JHVH

(δ) 11 thus said JHVH

(ϵ) 12 in Toman

I shall cut off the truncheon-bearer from Ashkelon (v. 8) means *I shall deprive Ashkelon of her independence*, bring her under my sway; 1 Macc. 10:86; 11:60 state that the men of Ashkelon did homage to Jonathan. The preceding hemistich *I shall cut off the dwellers from Ashdod* does not mean *I shall destroy Ashdod and her inhabitants* (cf. 1 Macc. 10:84; 11:4) but *I shall expel the Hellenistic inhabitants of Ashdod* and settle Jews there, as Simon did in Joppa and Gazara (1 Macc. 13:11). Cf. the fourth triplet (Zech. 9:6, 7) of the Maccabean poem referred to at the beginning of this paper:

: וַיִּשָׁב צְדִיקָא כַּאֲשֶׁר דּוּר וּשְׁקָצְיוּ מִבֵּין שִׁנְי : וְהָיָה כְּאֶלֶף בֵּיהוּדָה ³	6 וְהִכְרַתִּי גֵאוֹן פְּלִשְׁתִּים 7 וְהִסְרֵתִי דַמְיוֹ כִּפְיוֹ וְנִשְׁאָר גַּם-הוּא לְאֵלֵינוּ
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(β) 7 יַעֲקֹרֵן כִּיבוֹס

(α) 6 כִּיבוֹר

{I'll destroy the Philistines' glory,
 {so that godly men^α dwell in Ashdod:}
 7 I'll remove the blood from their mouth,
 abominations from between their teeth;
 They too, will be left for our God
 and become like a clan in Judah.^β

(α) 6 bastards

(β) 7 and Akkaron like the Jebusites

The original reading *çaddiq* was supplanted (cf. BL 62, n. 50; *Nah.* 32, l. 27; 40, l. 4; *Mic.* 94, n.*) by the gloss *mamzér* which was added by a Jew who believed that his coreligionists would be bastardized in Ashdod, as it happened in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 13:24; cf. also *Kings* 216, 13). Peiser's idea (OLZ 4, 313) that *mamzér* is the Assyr. *umâm çêri*, beasts of the field (KB 6, 234, l. 86), is almost as bad as Riessler's rendering *gulls will nest in Azot*. Riessler (JBL 32, 111, n. 13) combines *mamzér* with Arab. *mâzûr* given by Freytag (†, 175)! The stem of Heb. *mamzér* appears in Arabic as *mâdîra*, to be rotten = Syr. *maddâr* (e. g. *bî'ê maddûrâtâ*, rotten eggs). In Ethiopic we find *manzer*, spurious (NBSS 46). The Amosian line '*al-šêlôšâ piš'ê Ādôm uē-'al arba'â lô aššibénnû*, for the threefold crime of Edom, aye fourfold! I shall requite her, is rendered by Riessler: *Zu der grössten und beklagenswertesten der Schandtaten von Edom lasse ich es*

The pronouns in Zech. 9:7 refer to Ashdod; the Hebrew text has the singular (*his mouth, his teeth*). For the blood *cf.* Deut. 12:23, and for the abominations, *i. e.* pork and other *unclean* food, Is. 65:4; 66:17. The last hemistich but one, *They too, will be left for our God*, means, The heathen who are left in Ashdod will be forced to embrace the religion of JHVH and to observe the Jewish Law.

Bozrah in the Maccabean denunciation of Edom at the end of the first chapter of the Book of Amos is the modern *al-Bu-çêrah*, north of *aš-Šôbak* (ZAT 34, 230, *ad n.* 83; JBL 34, 186). At the beginning of the Maccabean period the capital of the Edomites was not Bozrah, but Hebron (1 Macc. 5:65).