

possibly, the error was already stereotyped by that conservatism which, later on, produced the Masoretic text.

At the Captivity the semi-voluntary migration of a part of the people to Egypt had given rise to another centre of tradition which finds occasionally its expression in the variations of the version of the Seventy.

Now the LXX know nothing of a dragon, or serpent, well. They simply have "the Gate of *Figs.*" A much more likely name.

It is not very difficult to see how the divergence took place. The Masoretic text has (Neh. ii, 13) תַּנְיִן, while the reading of the LXX σαυῶν would have as its Masoretic equivalent תַּנְיִן.

Does it not seem as if the name had been forgotten as to meaning (and possibly as to pronunciation), and restored by Nehemiah from some MS. which did not retain the נ which the received spelling of that later time had dropped.

NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES OF THE PENTATEUCH.

By Lieut.-Colonel C. R. CONDER, R.E.

Cush.—It has been very generally supposed that the Asiatic Cush (Gen. x) was connected with the Cassites of Babylon. The latter have been supposed by many antiquaries to have been of the Akkadian or Mongol race, a conclusion which seems to be supported by the Semitic translation of their kings' names, though Dr. Hommel has endeavoured to prove that they were Arabs. Nimrod, the hero of this race, lived in the cities of Erech and Calno, where it is known that a Mongol population existed. Early Assyriologists suppose him to be represented by the Babylonian hero called Izdubar (otherwise read Gilgames), whose story was apparently of Akkadian origin. This name is written with the three signs, *IZ-DHU-BAR*, the meaning of which in Akkadian, if taken ideographically, is "man become illustrious." The sign *DHU*¹ (otherwise *AL*) is an Akkadian prefix forming the passive of verbs. The Semitic translations of *BAR* include *Amaru* "to see," hence with the passive form this name might be *Nammurutu* "glorious." The writer in Genesis may have found it written in syllables, and so rendered it Nimrod, or "hero."

Midian, Ishmael, and Moab.—The term Midianite seems to be generally applied to the inhabitants of the Eastern plateaux from Gilead to the Gulf of 'Akabah, and appears to be a geographical term—possibly connected with *Medina*, "town." One tribe of Midian (Gen. xxv, 2) was

¹ For this sign *DHU*, see Dr. Sayce's Syllabary No. 495, with the Akkadian sounds *dhu*, *dhun*, and *al*.

Semitic, and the Midianites lived in Moab (xxxvi, 35; Num. xxii, 4, 7; xxv, 2, 6) and east of Sinai (Exod. iii, 1). There appears, therefore, no reason why Ishmaelites and Midianites should not be noticed together (Gen. xxvii, 25, 28), though difficulties have been made on this point by critics. Ishmaelites lived in the same region (Gen. xxv, 13), among the Edomites and Midianites. In one passage, indeed (Judges viii, 24), the Midianites are said to have been Ishmaelites.

The Asshurim.—In Gen. xxv. 3, the name אַשּׁוּרִים occurs among those of Keturah's sons, who, according to Lenormant, lived in North Arabia. They included also Midian. The word does not appear to be a plural. In verse 18, אַשּׁוּרָה is mentioned, clearly (with case ending) referring to Assyria. These words have been confused by recent writers, and there is no notice of any "Asshurim" in the south of Palestine.

The Hyksos.—There is no mention of any interpreter between Joseph and Pharaoh, or Jacob and Pharaoh, but the native Egyptians are noticed as hating Hebrews and shepherds. If, as is usually supposed, the Asiatic Hyksos kings were ruling in Egypt at this time both these indications are easily understood. The name of *Ra*, which occurs in that of Potipherah, priest of On (Gen. xli, 50), does not contradict this view, since it is commonly found in Egypt in the Hyksos age. The establishment of a Hebrew vizier among a people who hated Hebrews is best explained by the presence of a foreign Asiatic dynasty. Many explanations of the mysterious word *Abrah* (Gen. xli, 43), from Egyptian and Assyrian, have been proposed, but the root found in Hebrew (אַבְרָ) seems sufficient to show that the rendering is correctly "and they called him in his presence 'Your Highness.'"

Goren Atad.—It is very difficult to understand how Jacob's funeral procession could have proceeded from Egypt "beyond Jordan" (Gen. l. 11). The natural route to Hebron would have been by Beersheba. It is notable that on the hills north of Beersheba, west of the main road to Hebron, there is a ruin called *Abu Jerwân*, "father of threshing floors." This might preserve the name of the *Goren* in question, in which case the "meadow of the Egyptians" would be the plain east of this road, immediately north of Beersheba.

The Mixed Multitude.—It has been suggested that these were not Hebrews. In one case (עַרְבֵי רֶבֶב, Exodus xii, 38) they are contrasted with full-grown men. In the other (הָאֲסַפְסָפִים, Num. xi, 4) the word means "crowd." The former term seems also to mean a "mob." There is no apparent reason to regard these terms as applying to strangers.

The Spies.—It is difficult to understand how the spies could go to Rehob near Hamath from Zin, and return to Paran near Kadesh in forty days (Num. xiii, 21-26). Rehob is here mentioned before Hebron, and no other city in Palestine is named. In another passage Eshcol near Hebron seems to be the limit of their journey (*see* the word עַרְךָ, "as far as," Num. xxxii, 9), if so, Rehob may be the same as Rehoboth in the plains south of Beersheba. It then comes in its proper place in the narrative, and the words "as men come to Hamath" are either the

insertion of a later scribe, or to be rendered "at the entrance of the guarded place."

The Amorites.—On approaching the plateau north of Edom the Hebrews found that the Moabites had been driven south of Arnon by Amorites. The Tell Amarna letters show us that, about the time of the Hebrew invasion, Amorites from the far north of Syria, aided by Hittites and Cassites, had invaded Bashan. This casts a remarkable light on the history of Balaam. He came from Pethor in Aram (Syria), and his fame may have been brought as far south as Moab by the Amorites, who had lived not far from his home, at Tennib, east of the northern Lebanon.

The Cuneiform texts thought by some scholars to refer to Amorites at Sepharvaim in Mesopotamia, about 2000 B.C., would be highly interesting, but for the fact that the word is so often to be read quite as probably *Akharri*, or "western," so that the lands "west" of the city may only be intended. The Amorites, as an Aramean people, no doubt may have come from this region at an early period, but the term appears to be geographical, not racial at all.

The Assyrians.—The mention of Assyria in the prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiv, 22, 24) has been thought to refer to the later times of Tiglath-Pileser III (732 B.C.), though the other allusions are only explicable as referring to David's conquests. Balaam speaks of the Kenites who were allies of the Hebrews established in the region south of Hebron after the Hebrew conquest. The words properly rendered may be thus given in the rhythm of Balaam's "parable," or "ballad" :—

"O strong is thy abode, in a crag is set thy nest.

Shall Kain be wasted then, and when shall Assur capture thee?

Ah! who shall live if God do so. But ships from Chittim's shore

Shall vex Assur, vex him who comes, and he shall perish too."

This reference to Assyrian raids may be of any date, from the fifteenth century B.C. downwards. According to the Phœnician letters of Tell Amarna aid against the Amorites and their Cassite allies from beyond the Euphrates was sought in the fleets of Tarsus and *Misi* (possibly the Mash of the Bible), and the east shores of the Mediterranean were visited by navies from Asia Minor, and probably also from Cyprus (Chittim), before the time of Joshua's conquest of Palestine. The expectation that Assyrian incursions would be stopped by such fleets was therefore very natural even in Balaam's time, and if he came from Pethor, on the Euphrates, he would naturally be acquainted with the actual conditions of the struggles of Syria in his own age. The great Assyrian king, Assur Uballid, late in the same century, marched into Syria (as far south as Beirût apparently); and in the twelfth century B.C. Assur-risisi was at Beirût, and was followed by his son, Tiglath-Pileser I, who sailed on the Mediterranean in a ship of Arvad. Rameses III also used ships to attack Cyprus about 1200 B.C., and by the time of David the Assyrians had even reached Egypt—possibly by sea. On the other hand, we have no account of attacks by fleets on the later Assyrian invaders of

Palestine. The allusion in Balaam's prophecy seems, therefore, to point to early times.

Sinai, Sin, and Zin.—These words have no very good explanation in Hebrew, and *Sinai* is otherwise called Horeb, or "desert." Possibly the term represented is Mongolic, and to be compared with the Akkadian word *Zin*, "desert."

Egyptian Names.—It is not unnatural to suppose that some of the names in the Pentateuch are Egyptian, especially as Hagar and Asenath—the wife of Joseph—were Egyptians. The name Mesha or Moses is very clearly the Egyptian *Mes-a*, "Child of water," and the names Putiel and Phinehas have been supposed Egyptian. To these in all probability Aaron and Miriam should be added, the latter meaning "beloved," and having no good Hebrew derivation. There are well-known Egyptian words in the story of Joseph, and the term *ab*, rendered "father" (Gen. xlv, 8), is Egyptian, Joseph saying that he has become "minister to Pharaoh." In the same way several Egyptian terms are used in the Canaanite letters of Tell Amarna.

Avims (Deut. ii, 23, Josh. xiii, 3).—These tribes lived east of Gaza in *Hazerim*, or "enclosures," and were conquered by the Egyptians of Caphtor. The name, perhaps, survives at *Beit 'Auwa*, in the valley east of Lachish. In the story of Saneha (who fled to Edom in the time of the 12th Egyptian Dynasty) we find that he went from Edom to a country *Aia*, which was apparently in the south of Palestine. It was a land of fruit trees and corn, where the Egyptian language was known; and its inhabitants were much afraid of an Egyptian attack. This is perhaps a monumental notice of the Avims about 2300 B.C.

Idolatry.—The idolatry of the Canaanites, specially condemned in Deuteronomy, is constantly illustrated by monumental discoveries. We know that they had images of stone, bronze, silver, and gold, of pottery, and probably of wood. The *Asherah*, or sacred tree, is known monumentally among Amorites. They had images of a goddess with a child in her arms. Their priests were shaven. They used incense, and probably holy water. The latter at least used to be bought by the Babylonians from the temples; and they wore various objects blessed by their priests. The lesser deities among them were regarded as intercessors with the supreme God. Holy water was also used for sprinkling by the pagan Romans, in the time of Tertullian, who also mentions at some length the adoration of wooden crosses among the pagans of his age, in Asia. Some of these curious cruciform idols have been found in Phœnicia, and the cross is among the charms hung round the necks of Assyrian kings. The Hebrews were forbidden to "bow before" or "to be enslaved by" such idols, and the only carved representations of living things connected with religion were the cherubim hidden in the darkness of the inmost Temple, and seen only by the high-priest.

Gad and Reuben.—It is remarkable that the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii, 34, xxxiii, 45) is mentioned as building cities which are elsewhere noticed (Josh. xiii, 16) as in the lot of Reuben. But on the Moabite stone the

"men of Gad" are mentioned as living in the same district—the plateau east of the valley occupied by Reuben. The Reubenites were probably "few in number," while Gad was a strong tribe.

Geshur.—The name of this region near Hermon—now *Jeidur*—has been rendered "bridge," which has no particular meaning. We should perhaps compare the Assyrian *gisru*, "strong."

Shenir was the Amorite name of Hermon (Deut. iii, 9). The Amorites, we now know, were an Aramean people, speaking a language like Assyrian. In Assyrian records Hermon is called *Saniru*.

The Utmost Sea.—It has been proposed to regard this (in Deut. xxxiv, 2) as being the Dead Sea, though the word (הַיָּם הַמִּזְרָחִי) means, properly, "the Western Sea." It appears hardly possible that this term can apply to the Dead Sea in another passage of the same book (Deut. xi, 24), especially as in Deuteronomy the "Salt Sea" is mentioned (Deut. iii, 17), evidently being the Dead Sea.

The Escaped Slave.—The law forbids (Deut. xxiii, 15, 16) giving up an escaped slave to his master. It is interesting to contrast the clause in the treaty of Rameses II with the Hittites, which provides for extradition of such fugitives.

Captivity.—It is not necessary to suppose that the references in the law to a people of strange speech, and to foreign captivity (Deut. xxviii, 49, 68, xxix, 22, 28) refer to Assyrian or Babylonian captivity. The earlier Assyrian raids have been already noticed. Thothmes III, long before the Hebrew conquest, took prisoners and hostages from Palestine. The Cassites in the fifteenth century B.C.,¹ and the Aryans from Asia Minor in the fourteenth, spoke languages which would be unknown to the Hebrews, and invaded Palestine. The Assyrian was a language known to the Hebrews in the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings xviii, 26), and it was only when the Scythians invaded Judah, in the seventh century B.C., that a non-Semitic language was again heard in Palestine. The danger of being carried captive to Egypt "in ships" was great in the time of Moses, but it had ceased to be probable in the time of David and afterwards.

NOTES ON THE "QUARTERLY STATEMENT," OCTOBER, 1898.

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P. 246. *The Inscription of the Crusades and the Arabic Inscription from Jaffa*.—The marble flagstone in question, which is now in Baron Ustinow's collection, was discovered by me in 1874 in the sanctuary of Sheykh Murád. The Latin epitaph and the bishop's portrait on the one side and the

¹ See, for instance, the letter of the Cassite king, Ammi Satana, written in Akkadian ("Records of the Past," New Series, V, p. 103).