

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY CIRCULARS

Published with the approbation of the Board of Trustees

VOL. XXII.—No. 163.]

BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1903.

[PRICE, 10 CENTS.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, POSTOFFICE.

NOTES FROM THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, LL. D.*

BIBLE AND BABEL.

By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 17, 1903.]

The pessimistic philosopher who wrote the original portions of the Book of Ecclesiastes, probably not long before the time of our Savior,¹ says, *The race does not belong to the swift, nor the battle to the strong: everything depends on time and chance.* (Eccl. 9, 11). If my distinguished friend, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin, had not delivered (Jan. 13, 1902) his lecture on *Babel and Bible*² in the presence of the German Emperor, it would hardly have attracted such wide-spread attention. But the Emperor happened to be present, and when some conservative elements in Berlin objected to the conclusions presented by Delitzsch, he invited, or rather commanded, a number of distinguished theologians to listen to a repetition of the lecture at the Imperial Palace (Feb. 1, 1902). He gave a considerable amount of money to the German Orient Society, under whose auspices the German excavations in Babylon are carried on, and enabled Delitzsch to visit the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, whose monuments he has been studying for the past thirty years.

After his return from Babylonia Delitzsch delivered (Jan. 12, 1903), just one year after his first lecture on Babel and Bible, a second lecture on the same subject,³ which has been circulated in 30,000 copies in less than four weeks. The Emperor and the Empress were both present with a distinguished suite, and Delitzsch concluded his remarks with a thinly-veiled appeal to the Emperor, urging all "to cheerfully take up the watchword given in a high-minded spirit and foreseen from the lofty eyrie with the keen eye of an eagle, viz., the modern transformation and further development of religion."⁴ Thereupon the Emperor, who is not only King of Prussia but also *summus episcopus* of the State Church, deemed it necessary to define his religious faith, addressing a letter on this subject to the first Vice-President of the German Orient Society, Admiral Hollmann.⁵

More than twenty years ago Delitzsch delivered a lecture on the location of Paradise,⁶ which contained, perhaps, just as much that was new and revolutionary from the traditional point of view as his recent lectures on Babel and Bible, but—the German Emperor was not present and did not command a repetition of the lecture at the Imperial Palace; nor did he deem it necessary to define his faith in an open letter. Delitzsch's *Ex Oriente Lux*, written about five years ago for the German Orient Society, did not stir up a sensation, although he pointed out there just as plainly⁷ that the Old Testament contained a great deal derived from Babylonian sources.—Everything depends on time and chance.

Of course, if Delitzsch wins an Assyriological race or battle, it would be absurd to say that the race does not belong to the swift, nor the battle to the strong: in the field of Assyriology there is no one swifter and stronger than Delitzsch, whom I styled 24 years ago, in the dedication of my Sumerian Family Laws,⁸ the first connoisseur of the monuments of Sumerian-Assyrian Literature; but the views expressed by Delitzsch in his two lectures on Babel and Bible^{2,3} do not differ materially from the opinions entertained by competent Biblical scholars during the past 25 years. The idea that a great deal in the Bible is derived from Babylonian sources is not novel.

I stated 24 years ago, when I was scarcely out of my teens, in the preface to my book on the Sumerian Family Laws,⁸ that the early narratives of Genesis were paralleled by the cuneiform accounts of creation, the fall of man,⁹ the Deluge, and Nimrod.¹⁰ The close connection of these cuneiform legends with the Biblical narratives was evident to all unprejudiced investigators, and all indications led us to the conviction that those cuneiform parallels were not originally Assyrian, but translations from the old sacred language of the non-Semitic aborigines of Babylonia.

At the conclusion of my inaugural lecture on the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge, delivered at the University of Göttingen in 1880,¹¹ I discussed the relation between the Chaldean Flood Tablet and the two Biblical accounts of the Deluge, adding that there could be no doubt that the Biblical stories were derived from Babylonian sources,¹² but this foreign matter had been

* Professor Haupt has been unable to read the proofs of all the papers printed in this number of the University Circulars.

stripped of its national mythological and geographical connections, and the sacred writers, imbued with a firm faith in the saving truths of their religion, used these Babylonian elements merely as a vehicle for their representations of higher ideas.

In my lecture on the Location of Paradise, published in the Stuttgart periodical, *Über Land und Meer*,¹³ in 1894, I showed that the Biblical story of the Garden of Eden was derived from Babylonian sources. According to the primitive view of the ancient Babylonians, Paradise was situated, not at the head of four rivers, as we find it in the Biblical description, but at the mouth of the rivers, that is, of the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karoon, which all emptied into the Persian Gulf, called by the Babylonians *ndru marratu*, i. e., the 'Bitter Stream' or 'Salt Water River.' At present these four rivers do not empty into the Persian Gulf, but we know that the Persian Gulf extended much farther north during the Babylonian period. The delta at the mouth of the rivers grows at the rate of 65 feet *per annum*, and in former times the growth of the alluvial deposit must have been still more rapid. So the four rivers of Paradise, according to the primitive Babylonian conception, are still extant, although they no longer empty separately into the Persian Gulf, as was the case during the Babylonian period. Now when the paragraph describing the location of Paradise was inserted in the second chapter of Genesis at the time of the Babylonian captivity, the Garden of Eden was transferred from the mouth of the rivers to the head of the rivers, because, according to the ideas of the Hebrews at the time of the Exile, God dwelt in the North.

In my paper on the Origin of the Pentateuch (which I read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, March, 1894)¹⁴ I established the fact that the Pentateuch was influenced by Babylonian institutions; I pointed out that we could trace the Babylonian prototypes, not only for certain Jewish rites, but also for certain technical terms of the Levitic priestly language; and in my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual (read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in New York, Dec. 28, 1899)¹⁵ I discussed a number of parallels in the Levitic and the Babylonian rituals on the basis of the cuneiform ritual texts published by Professor Zimmern, of Leipzig, in the second part of his Contributions to the Study of the Babylonian religion. I called attention to the fact that the name of the Babylonian haruspices, *barûti*, appeared in two passages of the Old Testament (Is. 44, 25; Jer. 50, 36) as *baddim*,¹⁶ corrupted from *barim*, and that the *barûti* were mentioned at the time of Hammurabi (2250 B. C.) who appears in Gen. 14 as a contemporary of Abraham, under the name Amraphel of Shinar. My theory that there may be a historical connection between the Babylonian cult and the Levitic ceremonial as described in the Hexateuchal Priestly Code was adopted by Zimmern in the introduction to his Ritual Texts, and Professor Bertholet, of Basel, remarked at the end of the introduction to his commentary on Leviticus (Tübingen, 1901) p. xix, It is hardly possible to contest Haupt's opinion that "the comparative study of the ante-Islamic religion of the Arabs undoubtedly throws much light on certain forms of ancient Israelitish worship; but if we want to trace the origin of the later Jewish ceremonial of the Priestly Code, we must look for it in the cuneiform ritual texts of the Assyro-Babylonians." In a note to this statement¹⁷ I added that there was no direct reference to Jewish hieroscopy in the Old Testament, but I believed that certain features of the inspection of the intestines of slaughtered animals, which is still

practiced by orthodox Jews, to determine whether the meat is fit (*כשר*), or unfit (*טרפה*), to eat, were influenced by the anatomical knowledge and the symptomatological experience gained by the Babylonian haruspices.

In the same year I read a paper on the Sanitary Basis of the Mosaic Ritual at one of the general meetings of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome in October, 1899.¹⁸ In another paper¹⁸ presented to the Congress I pointed out that the Babylonian winged genii were the prototypes of the angels to whose forms we are accustomed. The Babylonian Cherubim originally symbolized the winds carrying the pollen from the male flowers to the female. The four forms of Ezekiel's Cherubim reappear in the four Apocalyptic creatures of Revelation (Rev. 4, 7) and finally we meet this mystic quaternion again in the symbols of the four Evangelists: angel, lion, bull, eagle. Just as the composite colossal figures guarding the entrance of the Babylonian palaces symbolize the storms and winds, so the Biblical Cherubim represent the winds and the storm-clouds on which the God of Israel rides, while the Seraphim are personifications of the flashes of lightning, the heavenly fiery serpents. In Ps. 104, 3, we read

He maketh storm-clouds His chariots, He rideth on the wings of the wind,
He maketh winds His messengers, and flames of fire His servants.¹⁹

There is hardly anything new in Delitzsch's lectures on Babel and Bible; only the German Emperor's keen interest in these investigations is something novel.

The Emperor does not object so much to the views expressed by Delitzsch concerning the Old Testament, but he takes exception to his opinions concerning the New Testament, especially with regard to the person of our Savior. The Emperor fully recognizes the divine nature of Christ. He says, Christ is God in human form, and believes that His coming was predicted in the Messianic prophecies. He advises Delitzsch to discuss his radical theories in theological publications and in the circles of his fellow-workers, but not before the general public. Delitzsch might safely point out the coincidences between Babylonian culture and the religion of the Old Testament, but he would have done better to leave it to his audience to draw their own conclusions. I believe myself that it is wiser in some cases to say $2 + 2 = 5 - 1$, and I am convinced that it is better if a Biblical scholar confines himself to a statement of the facts, leaving it to the faith and the intellect of his readers or hearers to draw their own conclusions. It is not advisable to wreck the faith of persons unable to substitute anything better. Goethe said somewhere that he who has science and art, has also religion; but he who has neither, should have religion. The Emperor calls attention to the fact that Goethe deemed it unwise to break even what he calls the "pagodas of terminology" before a general public.

The Emperor fully believes in revelation. He distinguishes two kinds of revelation, a continuous historical revelation, and a purely religious revelation preparatory to the appearance of the Messiah.²⁰ The Emperor believes that God revealed Himself, not only to Moses and Abraham, but also to Luther; and not only to religious leaders, but also to great rulers, thinkers, and poets. He mentions his own grandfather, whom he calls William the Great; also Charlemagne and the friend of Abraham, Hammurabi; philosophers like Kant; great poets like Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe. This view of inspiration, which is very different from the theological doctrine of verbal inspiration of the

Sacred Scriptures, will hardly be contested by the most advanced Biblical scholars.

As to the Old Testament, the Emperor confesses that it contains a great many sections which are purely human and historical, but not the revealed word of God. The law given on Mount Sinai was only symbolically inspired, and it is quite possible that Moses made use of old legal paragraphs which may go back to the Code of Hammurabi.²¹ Nevertheless Moses' work must have been inspired by God, and in this way God has revealed Himself to Israel. We require a form for our religious faith. This form may be modified by research; but even if a great deal of the halo of the chosen people should be lost, it would not affect the kernel of religion.

As an illustration of the sanguinary character of the national God of Israel, which is diametrically opposed to the loving-kindness of our Heavenly Father, the Christian God of Love, Delitzsch has prefixed to the new edition of his second lecture, which I received two weeks ago, a translation of the first six verses of the 63d chapter of the Book of Isaiah. This rendering shows that Delitzsch is much more conservative than the majority of modern Old Testament critics. He disregards all metrical requirements, nor does he prune away any subsequent additions and explanatory glosses. The same ultra-conservative spirit with regard to the requirements of textual criticism is apparent in his translation of the Book of Job.²² His rendering of Isaiah 63, 1-6, hardly differs from the translation given in our own Authorized Version, but the lines should be translated as follows:²³

ISAIAH 63, 1-6.

- 1^b Who approaches in gorgeous apparel,
forth striding in mighty dominion? []
- 1^a Who advances, all spattered with crimson,
than vintagers' garments more ruddy? *a*
- 3 [β] Alone, have I trodden a wine-vat, γ
and spilled on the ground all the juices;
- 4 For dawned had the day of my vengeance,
at hand was the year of repayment.
- 5 δ Mine arm it was, gained me the victory,
I was nerved by the strength of my fury:
- 6 In wrath did I stamp out the peoples,
In frenzy I broke them to pieces.²⁴

(*a*) 2 Say, Wherefore is red thine apparel, and thy garments like one treading grapes?

(*β*) 1^c Triumphantly, lo, am I speaking, after a notable victory.

(*γ*) 3 Of peoples not one was there with me.

In anger I trod them, and stamped them in fury.

Their juices besprinkled my garments, defiled was all my apparel.

(*δ*) 5 I looked, but in sight was no helper, no aid far and near met my glances.

It seems to me that the views of the German Emperor concerning the Old Testament are not very different from the opinions advanced by Delitzsch. My distinguished friend appears to be still *persona grata*,²⁵ but the widespread attention which his lectures attracted is, in some respects, as they say in Germany, "water for the mills" of the Social Democrats, of whom August Bebel is one of the most prominent representatives. The German Emperor has to face, not only the problem *Babel and Bible*, but also the problem *Babel, Bible, Bebel*, and this latter problem is of vital importance to the German government, which must meet, not only the ultra-orthodox views entertained by the Conservatives and the Catholic Centrists, but also the ultra-radical views

advanced by the Social Democrats. The Emperor would hardly have written his remarkable letter unless strong pressure had been brought to bear on him on the part of the Empress and certain conservative and orthodox elements.

There can be no doubt that the Biblical form of the early narratives of Genesis is infinitely superior to their Babylonian prototypes, and Delitzsch's statement, made in the first edition of his first lecture, that the cuneiform tablets exhibited those narratives in a purer form, is untenable. In his paper on the mythical legend of Paradise and its importation in Israel, Professor Stade, of Giessen, one of the greatest authorities in the domain of Biblical science, rightly emphasizes the incisive transformation which the mythological ideas of the Babylonians have undergone in their regeneration out of the spirit of the religion of JHVH. He says, the relation between the Biblical story of the fall of man in Paradise and the corresponding sections of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic is about the same as the difference between a pure mountain spring and the filthy water of a village puddle.²⁶ In the new edition of his first lecture Delitzsch has wisely suppressed his former statement.²⁷ The Babylonian form is undoubtedly older and more original, but it is manifestly crude and impure. In the Bible the old Babylonian legends appear purified, filtered through the revealed religion of JHVH. It is possible, however, that, at the time the Biblical narratives were borrowed from Babylonia, the most enlightened minds in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris may have entertained religious ideas infinitely superior²⁸ to those expressed in the traditional form of the cuneiform popular legends, and the ethical superiority of the Biblical narratives may be partly due to the later date of their composition; nevertheless there will always remain a fundamental difference between Babel and Bible, which cannot be eliminated by the results of critical research.

In a lecture, which I gave nine years ago on the question, How we got our Bible, I stated that modern Biblical research endeavored to reconstruct the Scriptures as nearly as possible as they left the inspired writers' hands, separating the human additions from the divine original. We must always bear in mind the old saying of St. Jerome, Ignorance is not holiness. Faith based on ignorance is of little value. The saving truths declared in the sacred scriptures cannot be affected by any legitimate research, and no Christian investigator need be afraid of the consequences of his researches, provided that he can say of himself, I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is a power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth (Rom. 1, 16).

NOTES.

(1) Cf. Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 17 (= *Hebraica* 18, 207).

(2) Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1902); English translation by Thomas J. McCormack, Chicago (The Open Court Publishing Co.) 1902.

(3) Delitzsch, *Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1903).

(4) *Freudig uns bekenkend zu der von hoher Warte mit Adlerblick geschauten und hochgemuth aller Welt kundgegebenen Lösung der Weiterbildung der Religion*. This alludes to a remark which the Emperor made, some months ago, in Görlitz.

(5) Printed in the Leipzig journal *Die Grenzboten* (Feb. 19, 1903) pp. 493-496; cf. *Das Bekenntniss des Kaisers im Urtheile der Zeitgenossen*, Halle (Gebauer-Schwetschke) 1903.

- (6) Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881) pp. v. vi.
 (7) Delitzsch, *Ex Oriente Lux* (Leipzig, 1898) p. 14.
 (8) Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) pp. iii. vi.

(9) See Jastrow, Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature, *Hebraica* 15, 194-214 (July, 1899); cf. Stade in his *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xxiii, p. 174 (1903); contrast Zimmern, KAT³ 528, n. 3. Twenty years ago, in my edition of the cuneiform text of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (Leipzig, 1884) p. 12, below, I called attention to the fact that the phrase *kīma ilī tabāšī* meant *Thou wilt be like God* (Gen. 3, 5). Jensen's translation in Schrader's KB 6, 1 (Berlin, 1900) p. 127, below (*wie ein Gott bist du*) is impossible; this would be in Assyrian: *kīma ilī atta*; cf. ll. 3. 4 of the Deluge tablet. See also Jastrow, *Hebraica* 15, 202, n. 33.

(10) Cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Proverbs (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 33, l. 17, and my paper on Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard in *Hebraica* 19, 199, below.

(11) Haupt, *Der keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 20. English translation by Professor S. Burnham in *The Old Testament Student*, vol. iii, No. 3 (November, 1883) pp. 77-85 (Chicago); French translation by G. Godet in *Notes sur la Genèse, appendice à l'ouvrage intitulé: Les origines de l'histoire sainte d'après la Genèse par H. Thiersch* (Lausanne, 1881) pp. 18-21. Cf. Herbert E. Ryle (now Bishop of Exeter) *The Early Narratives of Genesis* (based on a course of lectures delivered at Cambridge, 1890/1) pp. 8. 13 (London, 1892).

(12) Cf. my paper on The Beginning of the Judaic Account of Creation in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvii (1896) p. 160, n.*.

(13) Haupt, *Wo lag das Paradies?* in *Über Land und Meer*, 1894/5, No. 15; cf. the abstract of my paper on The Rivers of Paradise in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi, p. ciii (March, 1894) and Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3576; KAT³ 528.

(14) See תולדות מקורי התורה מאת פאול הויפט in the Hebrew Literary Review, *Ner Ha'Maarabi* (נר המערבי) vol. i, No. 6 (New York, June, 1895) pp. 2-10; cf. the abstract in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi, p. ciii, n.*.

(15) See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xix (1900) pp. 55-81.

(16) Cf. Duhm's commentaries on Jeremiah (Tübingen, 1901) p. 365, and on Isaiah (Göttingen, 1902) p. 303.

(17) See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xix, p. 80, n. 120.

(18) See *Actes du Douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Tome premier* (Florence, 1901) pp. cxxxxix and clxxv; cf. the abstract of my lecture on Medical and Hygienic Features of the Bible in *The Independent* (New York, July 13, 1899) p. 1907^a (cited in the Critical Notes on Numbers, SBOT, p. 45, below), and the notes on the English translation of Ezekiel, in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899) p. 183. For the etymology of the name כְּרוֹב see Critical Notes on Numbers (SBOT) p. 46, l. 16; cf. KAT³ 529 and 632.

(19) Cf. the new English translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898) p. 109.

(20) This distinction is untenable; cf. Adolf Harnack's article in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (March, 1903) pp. 584-589; *Der denkende Geist kann sich unmöglich bei der Annahme zweier, gleichsam neben einander laufender Offenbarungen beruhigen*. See

also Delitzsch's remarks in his second lecture on Babel and Bible, p. 44.

(21) See Professor Johnston's paper on Moses and Hammurabi, below, p. 59.

(22) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt* (Leipzig, 1902); see especially pp. 2-4; cf. Professor Julius A. Bewer's review in *Hebraica* 18, 256.

(23) The rhythm of my translation has been much improved by the kind coöperation of the distinguished co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness, of Philadelphia.

(24) The Hebrew text of this Song of Vengeance must be restored as follows:—

Is. 63, 1-6.

1 ^b	מִי־הָהָר הָרֹדֵף בְּלוֹבוֹשׁ	זָעַר בְּרֵב כְּחֹל:
1 ^a	מִי־הָהָר קָא קְאֻמָּם	חֲמֹר בְּנִימִים מִבְּצָר: ^a
3	פִּירָה דְּרִכְתִּי לְבָדִי ^γ	וְאוֹרִיד לְאַרְצָא נִצָּחִים ^δ
4	כִּי־וּסַחֲמָם בְּלִבִּי נִהְיָה	וּשְׁנַת נְאוּלִים בָּאָה:
5	וְהוֹשַׁע לִי זִרְעִי	וְחַמְתִּי הִיא סִמְכַתִּנִּי:
6	וְאֶבֶם עֲקִים בְּאֶפֶי	וְאֶשְׁכְּרֶם בְּחִמְתִּי ^δ :
(^a) 2	מִדּוֹעַ אֶדְם לְבוֹשִׁיד	וּבִגְדִיד כְּדָרָךְ בָּנָת:
(^β) 1 ^c	אֲנִי מִדְּבָר בְּצִדְקָה	וְרֵב אֲנִי לְהוֹשִׁיעַ
(^γ) 3	וּמַעֲקִים אֲנִי אֶשֶׁי	וְאוֹרִיד בְּאֶפֶי
	וְיֹן נִצָּחִים עַל־בְּגָדִי	וְכָל מְלֻבוֹשֵׁי אֲנָלְתִּי:
(^δ) 5	וְאֶבֶם וְאֶיִן עֹרֶךְ	וְאֶשְׁחַקֶם וְאֶיִן סֶדֶךְ

Cf. Cheyne's translation of the Book of Isaiah, in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898) p. 111 and the notes, *ibid.*, p. 197, ll. 47 ff., also Cheyne's edition of the Hebrew text (SBOT) p. 67 and the Critical Notes, *ibid.*, p. 162, as well as Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*, part 1 (London, 1903) p. 47 and Duhm's commentary on Isaiah, second edition (Göttingen, 1902) p. 421. Contrast Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. i, p. 345 (Leipzig, 1896). For בְּצִדְקָה (gloss β) cf. Gesenius-Buhl¹³, p. 694^a; Cheyne says in the notes on the translation of Isaiah, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 182, n. 72: The triumph of Israel's cause is a manifestation of יהוה's righteousness; see also Wellhausen's remarks in the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 174, l. 16. The form אֲנָלְתִּי is Aramaic. For וְאֶשְׁחַקֶם we might substitute וְאֶשְׁתַּעַ (Is. 41, 10) but this emendation is not necessary. Cf. also the preface to the fourth edition of Alfred Jeremias' *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 3.

(25) Delitzsch delivered a third lecture on Babel and Bible in the presence of the Emperor and the Empress on April 17, 1903, on the same day I read the present paper at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Baltimore.

(26) See *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xxiii (1903) p. 174. Stade says there: Gen. 2, 19 ff. *verhält sich zu dem was das Gilgamešepos von Eabani's Umgang mit den Thieren und von seiner Verführung durch Ukhat erzählt, wie ein lauterer Gebirgsquell zur verjauchten Dorfpfütze*. Cf. also Herbert E. Ryle's book (cited above, in note 11) p. 13.

(27) In the first edition of his first lecture on Babel and Bible (p. 29, below) Delitzsch stated: *Ist es da Wunder zu nehmen, wenn eine ganze Reihe biblischer Erzählungen jetzt auf einmal in reinerer und ursprünglicherer Form aus der Nacht der babylonischen Schatzhügel ans Licht treten?* In the new edition this passage reads: *Ist es da Wunder zu nehmen, dass ein Gleiches auch in Palästina geschah in älterer wie jüngerer Zeit, und dass*

eine Reihe biblischer Erzählungen jetzt auf einmal in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt aus der Nacht der babylonischen Schatzkugel ans Licht treten? See also Alfred Jeremias' pamphlet (cited above, at the end of note 24) p. 16, n. 2.

(28) Cf. the notes to the new edition of Delitzsch's first lecture, p. 77, below.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.

BY PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, April 2, 1903.] *

I am an experienced traveler, so I know it is sometimes useful to be provided with a passport. I have taken mineralogy as my credentials to this distinguished assembly; or, if you prefer, the addition of mineralogy to archæology in the title of my paper represents the scientific sugar-coating of the archæological pill. It is very fortunate that the aim of the American Philosophical Society is the promotion of useful knowledge, just as the object of the Smithsonian Institution is the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men, not the advancement of 'science' in the narrow sense of the term. The great Philadelphian who founded the American Philosophical Society and the University of Pennsylvania was not only a physicist, but also a philosopher and a man of letters.

Some scientific men in this country do not believe archæology to be scientific research which, properly interpreted, means nothing but systematic search for truth in any branch of knowledge. They are apparently not aware of the fact that a competent archæologist must have more than a bowing acquaintance with all branches of science. His philological equipment enables him merely to read the records of the past; but if an Assyriologist wants to understand the cuneiform astronomical observations he must know some astronomy;¹ if he is called upon to explain a Babylonian medical text,² or the sanitary basis of the Mosaic law,³ he requires some knowledge of medicine and hygiene; for the legal texts he needs some familiarity with comparative jurisprudence;⁴ the interpretation of the various accounts of creation is impossible without some knowledge of geology and astrophysics;⁵ even the translation of an ordinary historical text presupposes a large amount of knowledge, not only of philology, history, chronology, geography, ethnology, but also zoology, botany, mineralogy, etc.

I have found that great scientists are always interested in the history of their specialty, just as a man who is of a good family is interested in his genealogy. Several distinguished scientists have taken an active interest in archæology. Thomas Young, who discovered the law of the interference of light and suggested the theory of color sensation afterwards developed by Helmholtz, shares with Champollion the honor of the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which Niebuhr called one of the greatest achievements of the XIX. century. Fox Talbot was not only one of the inventors of photography but also one of the pioneers of cuneiform research. Virchow, the founder of cellular pathology, was deeply interested in anthropology and archæology; he assisted Schliemann in his excavations of Troy (1879).

In Europe they speak of the science of antiquities, the science

of law, the science of language, the science of literary criticism, musical science, Biblical science; but in this country these terms are, as a rule, found only in dictionaries. All European Academies of Sciences have a philological-historical section beside the physical-mathematical section. The Institute of France has not only an Academy of Natural Science, but also an Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, an Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, even an Academy of Fine Arts. England has recently followed the example of France and other leading Continental countries in establishing a British Academy⁶ with a splendid galaxy of distinguished representatives of the philosophical, philological, and historical sciences (especially history, philosophy, jurisprudence, political science, archæology, and philology) in order to be adequately represented at the next international Congress of the Academies of Letters and Sciences, which is to be held at London in the course of next year. In our National Academy of Sciences there are no philologists, no historians, no jurists. The late Max Müller, of Oxford, showed that linguistics was a branch of natural science, but a linguist is hardly ever called scientific in this country; certainly much more rarely than this epithet is applied to a prize-fighter.

In his famous lecture on Babel and Bible, now circulated in more than 40,000 copies, which my distinguished friend and co-editor of our Assyriological Library, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin, delivered before the German Emperor, he rightly emphasizes the fact that, if the results of Biblical archæology become popularized, the influence will be far more incisive than the effect of any discoveries in physics, chemistry, or medicine.⁷ We are progressive in matters pertaining to the forces of nature, but the science of the manifestations of mind, or whatever you term those cerebral functions, the science of religion, which in some respects is a branch of neurology, receives comparatively little attention, and the consequences are disastrous.

I occasionally ask my advanced students whether there is any difference between Catholic and Protestant mathematics, or between Christian and Jewish physics, or between Episcopal and Presbyterian chemistry; and then I question them whether there is any divergence between Catholic and Protestant exegesis. Only one interpretation can be correct; the very existence of so many different denominations shows that the Bible is not studied scientifically, although this study may be made just as exact as any branch of science. It is true, in a great many cases we shall be obliged to say with the great physiologist of the University of Berlin, the late Du Bois-Reymond: *Ignorabimus*.⁸ But systematic observation, experiment, and reasoning, prosecution of truth is just as indispensable to the scientific student of the Bible as it is to a physicist, or chemist, or medical man. Of course, a Christian Scientist is not a representative of experimental medicine, just as a dry cleaner is not a scientific chemist, or a motorman a physicist. A man may read the Bible without being a Biblical specialist, just as a man may be his own doctor or his own lawyer; but it has been observed that a man who is his own lawyer generally has a fool for his client.⁹ The adherence to the Sunday School type of Biblical studies is just as deplorable as the preference for patent medicines.

We often find men who immediately adopt the latest scientific appliances; they use Marconigrams, phototherapeutic Finsen tubes in combination with X-rays, collargol inunctions, etc., but with regard to the Bible they are still medieval, if not antedilu-

* This paper will be published in full in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

vian. No one would like to be treated on the basis of a medical book published in 1611, but for our spiritual food a translation of the Bible made at the time of King James is considered unsurpassable, and the Catholic Church still adheres to the Vulgate Version made more than 1500 years ago, as though there had been no progress in Biblical research since the days of St. Jerome. I know some distinguished surgeons who do not hesitate to extirpate a suspicious neoplasm or a diseased organ; but if a Biblical specialist comes to the conclusion that a passage of the Scriptures is an excrescence, they look upon his iconoclastic attempt with holy horror.

However, the subject of the present paper is not science and religion, but archæology and mineralogy. It is a well known fact that a flood of light has been shed on Biblical chronology by the cuneiform chronological tablets for which we have a fixed point in the eclipse observed at Nineveh on June 15th, 763, B. C.,¹⁰ 13 years before the accession of the founder of the second Assyrian Empire, the Biblical Tiglath-pileser (745-727 B. C.). In the same way we can solve archæological problems by geological and mineralogical investigations.

Twenty years ago, when I was still Professor of Assyriology in the University of Göttingen, the great geologist and President of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Eduard Suess, came to see me in order to study the Deluge, from the geological point of view, on the basis of the cuneiform account of the Flood in conjunction with the Biblical narrative. He embodied his conclusions in the first volume of his great work on the *Face of the Earth*,¹¹ stating that the catastrophe happened at the lower Euphrates, entailing a devastating inundation of lower Babylonia. The chief cause was an earthquake in the region of the Persian Gulf, preceded by several slighter shocks. During the period of the most vehement shocks a cyclone came up from the Persian Gulf. There is no reason to believe that this Flood extended beyond the lower course of the Euphrates.¹²

In the present paper I purpose to point out some conclusions I have reached, on the basis of mineralogical considerations, with regard to two important problems in archæology, viz. King Solomon's Mines and Alexander the Great's expedition to the East.

At the thirteenth International Oriental Congress, held at Hamburg last autumn, I presented a paper on Tarshish whence a ship of King Solomon returned every third year, laden with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and negroes (not peacocks as translated in the Authorized Version).¹³ The Tarshish ship of Solomon sailed for southern Spain, while the Ophir gold came from southeastern Africa.²¹ In 2 Chron. 8, 18 we read that Solomon went to the sea-side in the land of Edom; and Hiram of Tyre sent him ships and men that had knowledge of the sea; and they went to Ophir, and took thence 450 talents of gold. At the time of the Chronicler (300 B. C.) there was a navigable connection between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which was begun by Necho about 600 B. C., was completed by Darius Hystaspis about 500 B. C. Even at the time of Rameses II. (about 1300 B. C.), more than 300 years before Solomon, there existed a canal, and the old waterway was never entirely abandoned before the 8th century of our era.¹⁴ The Red Sea originally stretched farther inland, just as the Persian Gulf extended much farther north even at the time of Sennacherib (700 B. C.).¹⁵

This is important for the question of the Exodus. The Israelites crossed the Red Sea south of Lake *Timsáh* which was still con-

nected at that time with the Bitter Lakes south of it, but the waterway between them was rather shallow. The northern end of the Gulf of Suez is dry at low tide, and the stagnant water of the salt lagoons, between the Bedouin Hill, northwest of Suez, and the modern Suez Canal, has a red color imparted by swarms of minute cladoceros, entomostracous crustaceans¹⁶ a variety of the common waterflea, *Daphnia pulex*. This explains the name Red Sea, while its Hebrew name, the 'Bulrushy Sea' is due to the fact that, before the construction of the modern Suez Canal, Lake *Timsáh* was a shallow sheet of brackish water full of bulrushes.¹⁶ It is quite conceivable that the Israelites crossed the shallow connection between Lake *Timsáh* and the Bitter Lakes south of it, but when the Egyptians tried to follow them, the wind shifted, and the flood which had been driven away by a strong east wind, or rather southeast wind, came back so that, as we read in the late psalm¹⁷ which is given in the Biblical narrative as Moses' Song of Triumph, Pharaoh's chariots and his host were cast into the sea, and they sank as lead in the mighty waters. Major-General Tulloch observed that under a strong east wind the shallow waters of Lake Menzáleh at the northern entrance to the Suez Canal receded for a distance of seven miles.¹⁸ There is no reason for doubting the historical character of the passage through the Red Sea.¹⁹

In seven passages of the Old Testament we find references to stones of Tarshish. As a rule, it is stated that the Greek Bible translates *chrysolite*, and that the chrysolite of the ancients was our topaz; but the passage of Pliny, quoted in support of this view, clearly points to crystals of cinnabar.²⁰ Pliny calls cinnabar *minium*, while we apply this term to the yellowish-red oxid of lead which is termed by Pliny *usta cerussa*, i. e., heated ceruse or white lead. Pliny says, the best chrysolites are those which, when brought in contact with gold, make the gold look like silver (*optumæ sunt quæ in conlatione aurum albicare quadam argenti facie cogunt*). This is of course due to the 86 per cent. of mercury in cinnabar, i. e., red sulphid of mercury. The Romans received cinnabar almost exclusively from Spain, and the best cinnabar came from *Sisapo*, the present quicksilver mines of Almaden, north of Cordova.

Just as Pliny applies the name *minium* to cinnabar, so the ancients used *hyacinth*, not for the reddish-orange variety of zircon, but for the purple variety of quartz, commonly known as amethyst, while the amethyst of the ancients denotes the rare purple variety of corundum, known as purple ruby or amethystine sapphire.²⁰ The flower which the ancients called *hyacinth* is a dark purple sword-lily (*Gladiolus atrovioleaceus*). In the Bible it is called *shoshanná* whence the name *Susan*. Susan does not denote a white lily; *lilium candidum* is unknown in Palestine. *Hyacinthine locks* means dark hair. The bulbous plant which we call hyacinth was brought from Bagdad to Aleppo during the second half of the 16th century and was cultivated in England about the end of the 16th century.

In the same way the ancients used the name sapphire for lapis lazuli. They received lapis lazuli almost exclusively from the famous mines in Badakhshân, on the northeastern flank of the Hindukoosh, the *Paropanisus* of the ancients. The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-668) calls this mountain *Bikn*, adding that it was situated in the remotest parts of Media.²⁰ Esarhaddon must have advanced to the Paropanisus, as far east as did, 300 years later, Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian Conqueror would probably not have extended his victorious march so far

east, if he had not obtained in Babylonia some information regarding those eastern regions. Esarhaddon also mentions the names of some princes and places of that region, and those ancient Indo-European names are thus localized by mineralogical investigations.

The question of the places where lapis lazuli is found was examined 13 years ago by Professors Brögger and Backström, of Christiania. Their investigation is published in the xviii. volume of the German Journal of Mineralogy and Crystallography. Lapis lazuli is occasionally met with among the materials expelled by Mount Vesuvius, but this is quite exceptional; as a rule, all lapis lazuli is brought either from Chile, or from the southern end of Lake Baikal in Siberia, or from Badakhshān. The Siberian mines have not been known for a very long time. A microscopic examination of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian specimens of lapis lazuli reveals the fact that they all came from Badakhshān.

After we have established the fact that the sapphire of the ancients denotes lapis lazuli, while the stones of Tarshish represent crystals of cinnabar, we can explain the couplet in the Biblical love-ditties, in the fifth chapter of the so-called Song of Solomon, where the maiden describing the beauty of her lover says:

His arms are poles that are golden, bedecked with rubies of Tarshish;
His body is one piece of ivory, adorned with azure blue sapphires.

That is, his bronzed arms are covered with ornamental designs tattooed in vermilion (the brilliant red pigment formerly made by grinding select pieces of cinnabar), while his white body, which is not so much exposed to the sun as his bronzed arms, is tattooed in ultramarine (the beautiful blue pigment formerly obtained from lapis lazuli). Tattooing is still practiced among the modern Syrians and Palestinians, and it must have been common among the Semites from the earliest times. The mark which the Lord appointed to Cain was a tattooed tribal mark.²⁰

I maintain therefore: The stones of Tarshish are ruby-like crystals of cinnabar from the quicksilver mines of Almaden in southern Spain. Tarshish is a Phœnician word meaning 'dressing of ores,' especially 'spalling.' The land of Tarshish was the mining region in southern Spain, and the ships of Tarshish went to Spain, and not to India. King Solomon's Mines were located in southern Spain and in southeastern Africa; the silver came from Spain, and the Ophir gold from the Eldorado in Rhodesia, north of the former South African Republic, opposite Madagascar.²¹

NOTES.

(1) Cf. F. X. Kugler, *Astronomische und meteorologische Finsternisse* in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (ZDMG) vol. 56 (1902) pp. 60-70; cf. also p. 809.

(2) Cf. Professor Johnston's paper on Cuneiform Medicine, below, p. 60.

(3) Cf. the Critical Notes on Numbers in the Polychrome Bible (Baltimore, 1900) p. 45, below.

(4) Cf. Professor J. Kohler's paper *Ein Beitrag zum neubabylonischen Recht* in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. iv (Baltimore, 1902) pp. 423-430 and Professor Johnston's paper on the Code of Hammurabi, below, p. 59.

(5) Cf. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890); H. Zimmern, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis* (London, 1901) = *The Ancient East*, No. iii; E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition (Berlin, 1903) pp. 488-520.

(6) Cf. K. Trübner's *Minerva*, vol. xii (Strassburg, 1903) p. 1147.

(7) Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 4. Cf. above, p. 47.

(8) See the conclusion of Du Bois-Reymond's address (delivered at Leipzig in 1872) on the *Grenzen des Naturerkennens*; cf. his address on *Die sieben Welträthsel* (1881).

(9) See my letter to the Editor of the English *Review of Reviews* (1897), reprinted in the Prospectus of The Polychrome Bible (published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1898).

(10) See E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878) p. 338.

(11) Ed. Suess, *Das Antlitz der Erde*, part i (Leipzig, 1883) p. 92 (= p. 62 of the reprint *Die Sintfluth*); second edition, 1892; French translation, Paris, 1897.

(12) Cf. my paper on the Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. ix (Baltimore, 1888) p. 424.

(13) See the Critical Notes on the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 119, l. 13.

(14) See Bædeker's *Ägypten*, fourth edition (Leipzig, 1897) p. 164; contrast W. Max Müller, *Studien zur vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1898) p. 46 in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. iii, p. 152. Professor Müller thinks that Necho completed his canal, and that Darius reopened it.

(15) See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 175.

(16) See Bædeker's *Ägypten* (1897) pp. 161, 168.

(17) Cf. Adolf Bender, *Das Lied Exodus 15* in Stade's *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xxiii (1903) pp. 1-48. This psalm falls into three sections; each section comprises three stanzas; each stanza consists of two couplets of two מִשְׁלִים or double-hemistichs; each hemistich contains two beats. Verses 11 and 12 must be inserted at the end of the first section, between vv. 5 and 6.

(18) See the article on the Exodus, by J. Rendel Harris and A. T. Chapman, in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1898) p. 802.

(19) Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part i (Berlin, 1884) p. 6: *Das war in dunkler Nacht der Aufgang eines Lichtes, dessen Abglanz unverwischbar noch die späte Zukunft verklarte. Ein Wunder war es durch und durch, ein Zufall, wenn man will, aber in seiner Wirkung auf die Menschen, auf ihr Schicksal und auf ihre Empfindung ein Erlebnis von unermesslicher Tragweite.*

(20) Cf. Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) pp. 40, 41, 51 (= *Hebraica* 18, 230, 231, 241). See also the abstract of my paper on Tarshish in the Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg, Sept., 1902.

(21) Cf. Carl Peters, *Im Goldlande des Alterthums* (München, 1902) pp. 210-271.

DAVID'S DIRGE ON SAUL AND JONATHAN.

By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 16, 1903].

According to the traditional view the Psalter consists of Psalms of David, while the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes are commonly ascribed to Solomon. We often hear references to the 'sweet singer of Israel' or to the 'wise king of Israel.' But neither Proverbs, nor Canticles, nor Ecclesiastes were written by Solomon,¹ nor are there any Psalms of David.²

For a long time the commentators discussed the question, Are there any non-Davidic poems in the Psalter? Then they began

to ask, Are there any Davidic poems in the Psalter? The question was no longer, Are there any Psalms written after the Babylonian captivity? but, are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? and now the problem is not, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? but, are there any pre-Maccabean Psalms? There are undoubtedly pre-Maccabean Psalms, but I have not discovered any pre-Exilic Psalm. The prototypes of the hymns in the Hebrew Psalter are the cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,³ just as the Levitic ritual is influenced by Babylonian institutions.⁴

The majority of the Psalms belong to the Maccabean period. This was shown by Olshausen 50 years ago,⁵ and the existence of Maccabean psalms was pointed out 1500 years ago, about the time of St. Jerome, by the great Biblical critic, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia. This anti-allegoric exegete, however, was obliged to state his critical conclusions in a somewhat cautious form: he said that the Psalms were indeed all written by David, but David had prophetically predicted the future destinies of his people.⁶ Theodore's opinion that the historical notices given in the titles of the Psalms do not contain genuine traditions is now commonly recognized.⁷

Dr. Hugo Winckler, of Berlin, denies that there is any historical kernel of facts in the romantic history of David's early vicissitudes; but I believe, with Cheyne and the majority of the modern critics, that "the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition,"⁸ and I am glad to add that Dr. Winckler has considerably modified his ultra-radical views, especially in his recent paper on Arabic, Semitic, Oriental.⁹

Budde says,¹⁰ It cannot be proved that David's Dirge was composed by David, but there is no serious reason militating against this tradition. In the same way Henry Preserved Smith remarks,¹¹ There seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the poem. One negative reason in its favor seems to be of overwhelming force: it has no religious allusion whatsoever; and Driver states:¹² There breathes throughout a spirit of generous admiration for Saul, and of deep and pure affection for Jonathan: the bravery of both heroes, the benefits conferred by Saul upon his people, the personal gifts possessed by Jonathan are commemorated by the poet in beautiful and pathetic language, but it is remarkable that no religious thought of any kind appears in the poem: The feeling expressed by it is purely human.

Almost all ancient Hebrew poetry that has been preserved is of a religious type, but we have also some poems of a purely secular character: the so-called Song of Solomon is a collection of popular love-ditties compiled in the neighborhood of Damascus after the beginning of the Seleucidan era.¹ In the same way Ps. 45 is an *epithalamium* celebrating the nuptials of King Alexander Balas of Syria and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy vi. Philometor, at Ptolemais (150 B. C.) where the Maccabee high-priest Jonathan was present as an honored guest.¹³ Ps. 72 is a poem celebrating the accession of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus in 285 B. C., after Ptolemy I. Lagi had abdicated in favor of his youngest son. In the same way this Davidic elegy on Saul and Jonathan is purely human and secular.

David's Dirge, which is one of the oldest monuments of Hebrew poetry, consists of seven stanzas. Each stanza has six beats, but while the first two stanzas and the last two stanzas are couplets of *meshalim* (or double-hemistichs)¹⁴ with three beats in each hemistich, stanzas iii-v are triplets of three *meshalim* with two

beats in each hemistich. None of the lines in this poem has the so-called elegiac or *qinah* meter, with three beats in the first and two beats in the second hemistich. The name *qinah* meter, coined by Budde,¹⁵ is a misnomer. We find these pentapodies in a number of poems which are in no way elegiac (*e. g.* Pss. 23. 27. 40. 110) and several threnetic poems exhibit a different meter.

The predominant form of Hebrew poetry is the couplet of two double-hemistichs with three beats in each hemistich: nearly all the love-ditties in the Book of Canticles are composed in this form, also the Songs of the Return from Babel, commonly known as the Songs of Degrees,¹⁶ as well as Pss. 2. 3. 22. 45. 72. 87. 118.¹⁷ Not infrequently, however, we find lines with two beats in each hemistich (*e. g.* in the late post-Exilic psalm introduced in Exod. 15 as Moses' Song of Triumph,¹⁸ or Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard,¹⁹ or Pss. 1. 4. 16. 137). The so-called *qinah* meter, with three beats in the first and two beats in the second hemistich is a combination of those two forms.

All ancient Hebrew poems consist of double-hemistichs. There is no rhyme, neither is there any syllabic meter. The poetry of the Old Testament is not quantitative, but accentual. In addition to the usual couplets we have occasionally triplets (*e. g.* in Ps. 2) and quatrains (*e. g.* in Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard¹⁹ and in the Song of the Sea, Exod. 15¹⁸) also pentastichs or stanzas of five lines (*e. g.* in Pss. 1. 110. 132). Stanzas of six double-hemistichs occur in Ps. 16; these hexastichs may, however, be divided into three couplets. The close of the stanzas is occasionally marked by refrains. But the hemistich, *How are the mighty fallen!* in David's dirge is not a refrain. If it were, we should expect a double-hemistich as refrain, not a single hemistich. The repetition of this clause is due to scribal expansion just as the alleged refrain in the third chapter of the Biblical love-ditties.

The traditional stichic arrangement is on the whole correct. Sievers' metrical construction of the poem²⁰ seems to me untenable. As I stated in note 22 to my paper on Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs,²¹ a reconstruction of the metrical form without the necessary textual emendations, transpositions, and eliminations is impossible. Nearly all the texts given by Sievers, which I have examined, seem imperfect in the light of textual criticism. Sievers' suggestion, however, that we should read the *nomen agentis* מוֹשֵׁחַ 'anointer,' instead of the *nomen patientis* מְשֻׁחַ or מְשֻׁחַ 'anointed,' seems to me excellent. We must substitute *the shield of Saul with no one to rub it with oil*, for *the shield of Saul not anointed with oil*. Sievers refers in this connection to vv. 2255 and 2760 in the Beowulf epic, where the Anglo-Saxon participial substantive *feormend* 'polisher' is used in the same way. This is certainly much better than the comparison of the Horatian phrase *relicta non bene parmula*. Saul's shield was left to rust on the battle-field, because the valiant king was slain; it is no disgrace to an ensign or color-sergeant if the colors rot under his dead body on the battle-field. But the whole clause *the shield of Saul with no one to rub it with oil* is an explanatory gloss, and the last words *with oil* are a tertiary addition.

Instead of the obscure סֵפֶר הַיִּשָּׁר *the Book of Jasher* it is better to read סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר *the Song-Book* (Arabic, *Kitāb el-Aghānī*) following the Septuagintal βιβλος τῆς ᾠδῆς in 1 K 8, 53, and the Peshita in Josh. 10, 13, (וְהָאֵלֹהִים כִּסְפָּרָא דְתִשְׁבַּחְתָּא).²² The alteration of סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר to סֵפֶר הַיִּשָּׁר was probably intentional. The figure of David was retouched; in the same way דָּוִד הַיִּשָּׁר *David who invented for himself songs* (Amos

6, 5)²³ became David דוד המישור *David, the pious temple-singer*, and David, the Judaic captain of outlaws, the writer of the Uriah letter, was afterwards converted into a saint. The construct כלי before שיר in Amos 6, 5 seems to be a subsequent addition for dogmatic purposes. It was prefixed by an editor who objected to the term חושב *inventing* in connection with the inspired hymns ascribed to David.²⁴ The whole clause, *Behold it is written in the Song-Book* should be appended at the close of the poem, as in Josh. 10, 13; 1 K 8, 13 (LXX: 8, 53).

The three triplets of David's dirge are better preserved than the four couplets enclosing them; the only changes required in the triplets are the transposition of the second and third משלים¹⁴ in stanzas iii and iv. The four couplets are much more corrupt; the original sequence is disturbed, a number of glosses and superfluous repetitions have crept into the text, and several words are corrupt. Nowack²⁵ acknowledges the fact that the original text of this elegy has undoubtedly undergone serious alterations owing to its having been transmitted for a long time by word of mouth; but he deems it scarcely possible to restore the poetic form, since we have no means for a safe reconstruction. We have of course no mathematical evidence, but I believe that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I adhere to the maxim that the probably right is preferable to the undoubtedly wrong.²⁶

After several experiments I have come to the conclusion that the Hebrew text should be restored as follows:²⁷

2 Sam. 1, 17-27.

17 וילקן דוד את־הקינה הזאת על־שאול ועל־יהונתן בנו ויאמר:

I	העצבי ישראל: יבחר הקלחקה:	א 19 ^a , 18 ^a בני יהודה קשת ב 25 ^a , 19 ^b איד נפלו גבורים
II	אל־תבשרו בחוצת אשקלון פדת־לונה בנות ערלים:	20 אל תגידו בנת פדת־מחנה בנות פלשתים
III	הנאהבים הנעיקים מאריות גברו לא נפרדו:	23 ^a שאול ויהונתן 23 ^c מנשרים קלו 23 ^b בחייהם ובמוותם
IV	מחלב גבורים לא־תשוב ריקם לא־תשוב אחר:	22 ^a מקם חללים 22 ^c הרב שאול 22 ^b וקשת יהונתן
V	על־שאול בקינה שני ערנים על־לבושקן:	24 בנות ישראל הקל־בשקם המעלה ער־זהב
VI	צִלִי עֲלִי אֲחִי קאהבת נשים:	26 ^a , 25 ^b יהונתן במוחק חללתי 26 ^d , 26 ^c נפלא־תה לי אהבתך
VII	ואל מטר עליכם ויאבדו כלי מלחמה:	21 ^b , 21 ^c הר־גל־על א־לירד טל 27 ^b , 21 ^c כִּישֵׁם־נֶגַעַל מִגֵּן גְּבוּרִים 18 ^b הנה כחובה על־ספר השיר:
	25 ^a (γ) איד נפלו גבורים 21 ^b (δ) וישרי) הרימות 27 ^a (θ) איד נפלו גבורים	18 (α) למדי 26 ^a (δ) יהונתן 21 ^d (η) מגן שאול
	19 (β) על־מוחק חללתי 26 ^b (ε) נעמת לי מאד בלי־משח (בשמן)	

This may be translated as follows:²⁸

DAVID'S DIRGE ON THE DEATH OF SAUL AND JONATHAN.

17 *David sang this dirge on the death of Saul and his son Jonathan:*

- I 18^a, 19^a α O Judah! list the dread news! O Israel! bitterly mourn!
19^b, 25^a β Alas! how are fallen the γ even in stress of battle!
heroes!
- II 20 Proclaim it never in Gath, nor tell it in Ashkelon's streets,
Lest Philistine maidens lest barbarian²⁹ maidens exult!
rejoice,
- III 23^a Saul and Jonathan, the lovèd, the cherished,
23^c Swifter than eagles stronger than lions,
23^b In life and death, never divided.
- IV 22^a Free from blood, from pith³⁰ of heroes
22^c The sword of Saul was sheathèd³¹ never,
22^b Nor Jonathan's bow was returnèd ever.
- V 24 Ho, maidens of Israel, wail ye for Saul
Who clad you in scarlet and gorgeous raiment,
And brought for your golden adornments.
garments
- VI 25^b, 26^a Thy death is anguish, alas! for thee, O my brother,
O Jonathan,
26^c, d ε To me thy love was a wonder above the love of a woman.
- VII 21^a, b No dew be on ye nor rain for ever ye heights of Gilboa,
21^c, 27^b Where heroes cast away abandoned the weapons of war.
shields,

18^b *It is contained in the Song-book.*

(α) 18 learn (β) 19 thy death is anguish (γ) 25^a alas, how are fallen the heroes!
(δ) 26^a Jonathan (ε) 26^b thou wast very much cherished by me
(ζ) 21^b that is, the fields of the heights of death
(η) 21^d the shield of Saul with no one to rub it with oil
(θ) 27^a alas, how are fallen the heroes!

I append a German translation of the elegy and a metrical Assyrian rendering.

DAVID'S KLAGELIED ÜBER SAUL UND DESSEN SOHN JONATHAN.

17 *David sang dieses Klagelied über Saul und dessen Sohn Jonathan:*

- 18^a, 19^a α Vernimm, Juda, die trau- trage Leid, O Israel!
rige Mär,
- 19^b, 25^a β Wie sind die Helden γ im Drange des Kampfgewühls!
gefallen
- 20 Verkündet es nicht in Gath, meldet's nicht in Askalons Strassen,
Dass der Philister Mädchen der Barbaren²⁹ Mädchen nicht
nicht jubeln, jauchzen!
- 23^a Saul und Jonathan, so lieb, so hold,
23^c Schneller als Adler, stärker als Löwen,
23^b Im Leben und im Tode stets unzertrennlich!
- [lenen,
22^a Ohne Blut der Gefal- ohne Mark der Helden,
22^c Kam das Schwert König nie in die Scheide,
Sauls
22^b Noch Jonathans Pfeile je in den Köcher.
- 24 Ihr Mädchen Israels, weinet um Saul,
Der in Scharlach euch mit köstlichen Zierrathen,
kleidete,
Der Goldschmuck heim- zu eurer Gewandung.
brachte

- 25^b.26^a Mich schmerzt dein Tod ich traure um dich, mein Bruder; δ
o Jonathan,
26^c.d ε Deine Liebe war mir viel als die Liebe jeglicher Frau.
köstlicher
21^a.b Nicht falle Thau, ihr noch Regen je auf euch, ζ
Gilboahügel,
21^c.27^b Wo der Helden Schild θ die Waffen des Krieges rosten!
weggeworfen, η
18^b Es steht im Buch der Lieder.
(α) 18 erfahre (β) 19 mich schmerzt dein Tod (γ) 25a wie sind die Helden gefallen!
(δ) 26a Jonathan (ε) 26b du warst mir gar hold
(ζ) 21b das heisst die Gefilde der Todeshügel (η) 21d Sauls Schild ohne Putzer mit Öl
(θ) 27a wie sind die Helden gefallen!

SIPITTU ŠA DAMĪD ELĪ ŠA' ŪL U IAXŪNATAN.

17 U-Damīd elī Ša' ūl u-Iaxūnatan mārišu sipitta iškun-ma iqābi:

- 18^a.19^a Marḡāti Ia' ādu idi-ma^a bikita Sir' il šuḡrixi! ³²
19^b.25^a β Akkā' i qurāde imqutū γ ina-zurub tidūki ezzi! ³³
20 Ina-Gimti lā tušannā, lā-tubasrū ina-sūqe Isqālāna,
U-mārāti Pilisti ā-ixdā, ā-irīšā mārāti gāreni!
23^a Ša' ūl u-Iaxūnatan, narāme damḡāti;
23^c Elī-našre xantū, eli-neše gašrū;
23^b Balḡāssun mūtūssun ul ipparsū.
22^a Balu-dāmi dikāti, balu-lubbi qurāde,
22^c Namḡar Ša' ūl ul itūrā-ma
22^b Qašat Iaxūnatan ul-issaxra arkiš.
24 Mārāti Sir' il eli-Ša' ūl bitakkā,
Ša-argamāna adī-nisqe ulabbišukindāši,
Elī-lubūšikina, xurda ušēlā.
25^b.26^a Iaxūnatan, ina-mūtika uššūšaku elika, axī; δ
muxxūḡaku,
26^c.d ε Narāmka ana-āši šūqur el narām aššāti.
21^a.b Šade Gilbua, zunnu u metru elikunu ζ ā iznunū,
21^c.27^b Ašar-artū qurāde θ izliḡū bele qarābi.
issalū-ma η
(α) 18 limdī (β) 19 ina mūtika muxxūḡaku (γ) 25a akkā' i qurāde imqutū
(δ) 26a Iaxūnatan (ε) 26b ana āši ma'adis damḡāta (ζ) 21b (u egle) šade mūtī
(η) 21d arit Ša' ūl balu-pāsi (ina samni) (θ) 27a akkā' i qurāde imqutū

NOTES.

- (1) Cf. Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 17.
(2) Cf. Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, cols. 1035. 3922. 3936. 3952.
(3) The religious poetry of Babylonia was discussed, on the basis of H. Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) by Professor Francis Brown in the *Presbyterian Review*, vol. ix, No. 33 (Jan. 1888) pp. 68–86; cf. KAT³ 607–612.
(4) See my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual in vol. xix of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1900).
(5) Justus Olshausen, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1853); cf. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part vi (Berlin, 1899) p. 165, below. Contrast E. Schrader's *Gedächtnissrede auf Justus Olshausen* in the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy* (Berlin, 1883) p. 18.
(6) See Baethgen's paper in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. vi (Giessen, 1886) p. 266, n. 4; cf. note 11 to my paper on the Poetic Form of the First Psalm in *Hebraica* 19, 135 (April, 1903).

(7) Cf. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, sixth edition (New York, 1897) p. 374.

(8) Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1019.

(9) See *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. vi (Berlin, 1901) pp. 151–373; cf. Alfred Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, fourth edition (Leipzig, 1903) p. 24, n. 1.

(10) In his new commentary on *Die Bücher Samuel* (Tübingen, 1902) p. 196.

(11) In the *International Critical Commentary* (New York, 1899) p. 258.

(12) S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890) p. 185.

(13) See note 11 to my paper cited above, in note 6.

(14) See note 15 to my paper cited above, in note 6.

(15) See Budde's paper *Das hebräische Klage lied* in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii (1882).

(16) See Dr. Daniel G. Stevens' Critical Commentary on the Songs of the Return with a Historical Introduction and Indexes in *Hebraica* 11, 1–100. 119–173; cf. Professor Geo. F. Moore's report on this dissertation in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 121.

(17) For Ps. 2 see Mr. Ember's paper on the Coronation of Aristobulus, below, p. 90 and note 10 to my paper cited above, in note 6. For Ps. 45 see above, note 13. In Ps. 22 we must insert v. 14 between v. 17^a.^b and 17^c, thus:

פצו עלי פיהם כִּי^a כלבים^β הקיפוני 14^a. 17^a.^b
כאריה טרף ושנא: כארו ידי ורגלי 14^b. 17^c

(β) עדר מרעים

(α) סכבוני

This couplet must be inserted between v. 13 and v. 15, while vv. 10. 11 must be inserted between v. 4 and v. 5. In v. 4 we must read: ואתה קדש יושב תהלות ישראל כן: The final כן, which was omitted owing to the כן following at the beginning of v. 5, after the intervening vv. 10. 11 had been displaced, is the כן *essentiae*; see my paper cited above, in note 6, p. 136, l. 16. The phrase כארו ידי ורגלי means, *they (the dogs) have buried (their teeth) in my hands and my feet, they have sunk (their fangs) in my hands and my feet* (German, *sie haben ihre Zähne eingegraben in meine Hände und Füße*). For כארו = כרו (from כור = כרה) cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72, p. If we read כארי, it would be the construct state of the plural of the participle Qal. See, however, Ginsburg's introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Bible (London, 1897) pp. 969–972.

(18) See above, note 17 to my paper on Archæology and Mineralogy.

(19) See my paper in *Hebraica*, vol. xix, No. 4 (July, 1903) and for Ps. 1, *ibid.*, No. 3 (April, 1903).

(20) Eduard Sievers, *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 422.

(21) See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xix (1900) p. 66.

(22) Cf. Critical Notes on Kings, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 101, l. 33 and W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, second edition (London, 1892) p. 434; see also Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2333.

(23) Cf. Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, third edition (Berlin, 1898) pp. 7. 86.

(24) Cf. the theological gloss at the end of the seventh chapter of Ecclesiastes.

(25) See Nowack, *Die Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen, 1902) p. 151.

(26) Cf. my announcement of the new Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xvi (1896) p. ix.

(27) The critical notes on the Hebrew text will appear elsewhere. Contrast Cheyne's revised text (Jerahmeel, etc.) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2334. For בתוך המלחמה תוך (v. 19^b) instead of תוך, cf. Ps. 72, 14; for נפלאתה (v. 26^e) see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 75, oo.

(28) I am indebted to Horace Howard Furness for a number of valuable suggestions.

(29) Literally, *the maidens of the uncircumcised*.

(30) Literally, *fat* (especially of the kidneys)=vital parts; the fat was regarded as the special seat of life; cf. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, second edition (London, 1894) p. 379, n. 4.

(31) Cf. Ezek. 21, 5.

(32) Or *Sir'il usšušš'š utasššš'š*.

(33) We might also render *ina qitrub taxázi danní*.

DRUGULIN'S MARKSTEINE.*

By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 18, 1903.]

This monumental work was undertaken by the well-known Oriental printer of Leipzig, W. Drugulin, to commemorate the five hundredth anniversary of the birthday of the inventor of the art of printing, Johannes Gutenberg. It contains selections from some thirty different languages in their original characters, all printed from movable type, not only Sanskrit, Avestan, Samaritan, Egyptian Hieroglyphics, cuneiform writing, etc., but also Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, etc. The texts have been selected by a number of the leading specialists of the world, including Nöldeke, Erman, Merx, Vollers, Kielhorn, etc. The first copy of the work was presented to the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Hamburg in September, 1902. There is probably no other press in the world which could duplicate this work. The original texts as well as the translations and comments are embellished with artistic borders, headings, tail-pieces, etc., designed by Ludwig Sütterlin, of Berlin.

I have contributed a paper on the lines in the oracle to King Esarhaddon of Assyria: *Trust not in men, set your eyes on me, and look at me*, with some comments on the development of the cuneiform writing as well as on the cuneiform types in outlines which I introduced twenty-two years ago at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Berlin in 1881. I have also furnished a metrical translation, with commentary, of the opening chapter of Deutero-Isaiah (Is. xl).

The edition of this unique work, which is printed on the most costly heavy plate paper and very handsomely bound, is limited to 300 copies, and will probably be exhausted before the end of this year. A new edition is out of the question, but the work should be in all the great libraries of the world, not only as a superb specimen of the acme of typographical art, but also as a most valuable collection of interesting selections from the most important languages of the world.

* *Marksteine aus der Weltliteratur in Originalschriften herausgegeben von Johannes Bænsch-Drugulin mit Buchschmuck von Ludwig Sütterlin* (Leipzig, 1902).

PHILIPPINE PROBLEMS.

By PAUL HAUPT.

[Abstract of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, held in Philadelphia, April 20th, 1900]. *

During the past year I have devoted considerable attention to Philippine history, geography, ethnology, and philology, and for the sake of convenience I have arranged my notes in alphabetical order, thus forming the nucleus of a Philippine Encyclopædia. I should like to state, as briefly as possible, some of the conclusions I have reached concerning various Philippine problems.

Now that the United States has become an Oriental power, the American Oriental Society, it seems to me, should take up some of these problems, especially the study of the languages and customs of the native population in our Asiatic possessions. Officers of the army and navy, statesmen and politicians cannot solve all the problems we are confronted with; Orientalists who have paid special attention to this branch of Asiatic research should be consulted, and American students should be encouraged to take up the study of the native dialects of the Philippine Islands.

We ought to have above all a Tagalog manual in English, somewhat like the Practical Arabic Grammar, published at the Clarendon Press, by Major A. O. Green, of the Royal Engineers. This grammar was originally undertaken to meet the requirements of English officers in Egypt, and no less than 150 copies of the first edition were issued, sheet by sheet, to the English officers serving in the Egyptian army, the gendarmery, and the police. The first edition of the work was exhausted in nine months.

Our first Philippine manuals should certainly be practical, rather than scientific and comparative. I have compiled a list of works on the native dialects of the Philippine Islands, and the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University will soon have a collection of all the important works on Philippine dialectology, which will be supplemented by the works on the Philippine Islands recently acquired by the authorities of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore. Almost all the works on Philippine dialects, that have been accessible to me, are in Spanish or in German. What we need above all is a practical Tagalog manual in English.**

In addition to Philippine branches of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the U. S. Geological Survey, our splendid Bureau of Ethnology, which has done such admirable work, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, for our aboriginal ethnology and philology, should be enabled to take up, on a comprehensive scale, the work in the Philippine Islands, and the American Oriental Society, it seems to me, should establish a special section for this branch of Oriental research, just as I suggested to my European friends at the last Oriental Congress in Rome (October, 1899) that we should have a *Colonial Section* at the next International Oriental Congress to be held at Hamburg in 1902. Instead of having a number of sections for ethnology, folklore, religion, geography, &c., all these subjects should be combined so as to form a *Colonial Section*. It does not make much difference what we call this branch of our work. If we call it *Colonial Section*, for the sake of brevity, it does not commit

* Cf. the report in the New York Herald of April 29th, 1900.

** Dr. F. R. Blake, who has conducted the courses in Tagalog, Visayan, &c., in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the past two years, has prepared a practical grammar of the Tagalog language; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxiii (New Haven, 1902) p. 365, below.

us to a colonial, expansional, or imperial policy. In Germany, tea, coffee, spices, &c., were called 'colonial goods' long before there were any German colonies. What I have in mind is a special section for the study of modern Oriental ethnology, commercial geography, &c., for practical purposes.

This would arouse a widespread interest for Oriental studies. The general public, as a rule, are not interested in our abstract scientific investigations, but in the practical problems. A *Colonial Section*, just as our Section for the Historical Study of Religions, might stimulate a general interest in Oriental studies. I am going to sail for Europe on May 1st, and as soon as I get to the other side, I shall call on the leading Orientalist of Hamburg, Dr. Geo. Behrmann, to discuss the organization of a Colonial Section for the next International Congress of Orientalists.† I shall also try to see the leading authority in the domain of Philippine ethnology, Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt, of Leitmeritz, on the Upper Elbe, in Bohemia, south of Dresden, also Dr. A. B. Meyer, the Director of the Royal Ethnological Museum of Dresden, who has published a magnificent work on the Philippine Islands.††

Time will not permit me to discuss all the various Philippine problems. I cannot discuss the question of the Spanish friars, municipal government, agricultural problems, climatological and hygienic conditions. You know, the Johns Hopkins University sent, about a year ago, a special commission to the Philippine Islands to investigate the prevalent diseases of the islands. A preliminary report of this commission is published in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* for March, 1900.‡ Nor can I discuss the questions of harbors, roads, and other means of communication, traffic, system of taxation, currency, the Chinese problem, &c. I may say, however, that I believe with John Foreman, who was consulted by the American Peace Commission in Paris, that the friars should be excluded from parochial incumbencies and prohibited from holding benefices, in accordance with the enactments of the Council of Trent. There are a sufficient number of secular clergymen, and the native Catholic priests should be supported as much as possible. Nor should the parish priests be *ex-officio* inspectors of schools for primary instruction. English instead of Spanish should be taught in the primary schools, and chairs of English and of American and Constitutional History should be established in the Dominican University of St. Thomas in Manila. Roman Catholicism is the form of Christianity most successful in proselytizing uncivilized races; you must appeal more to their eyes than to their understanding. In spite of the excellent work done by American missionaries in Western Asia and elsewhere, Protestant missionaries had better not be admitted for some time. A knowledge of different Christian doctrines would only lead the natives to immeasurable bewilderment. Ecclesiastical preponderance, however, should be stopped, especially the oppression of native tenants at the hands of ecclesiastical land owners.‡‡

† A special *Colonial Section* was announced in the first Bulletin of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists, issued in December, 1901 (p. 3); but the idea was afterwards abandoned owing to the fact that a special Colonial Congress was held in Berlin, October, 1902; see Bulletin No. 3 (issued in the summer of 1902), p. 6.

†† A. B. Meyer and A. Schadenberg, *Die Philippinen, I, Nord-Luzon* (Dresden, 1890); II, *Negritos* (Dresden, 1893) = *Publicationen aus dem Königlichen Ethnographischen Museum zu Dresden*, vols. viii and ix.

‡ Cf. the Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 1899) pp. 105-115; see also the Twenty-sixth Report (1901) p. 29.

‡‡ Cf. John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, second edition (London, 1899) pp. vii. 4. 114. 217, &c.

But, I must confine myself to what concerns especially the American Oriental Society. It seems to me we ought to do the following things:

(1) We ought to establish a *Colonial Section* for the study of modern Oriental geography, history, ethnology, and dialectology;

(2) Publish in our Journal a *Philippine Bibliography*;

(3) Issue a series of practical manuals of the Philippine dialects, especially a *Tagalog Manual in English*;

(4) Use all our influence to encourage the Smithsonian Institution to extend the work of our excellent Bureau of Ethnology to the Philippine Islands with ample provision for a number of young American Orientalists, who have some training in Malay, Arabic, and Sanscrit, to *study the languages and the customs of the natives in our new Oriental possessions*.§

The presence of a scholar familiar with native dialects and native prejudices may often prevent a good deal of mischief at comparatively little cost. It is generally stated that the direct cause of the great mutiny of 1857 in British India was the adoption of the Enfield gun, the cartridges of which were greased with suet and lard. The suet, of course, was objectionable to the Hindoo sepoys, and the lard was an abomination in the eyes of the Mohammedan soldiers. If a scholar familiar with native prejudices had been consulted at that time, this point would probably not have been insisted upon. The history of the rise and expansion of the British dominion in India and Hindu civilization during British rule should be studied by all interested in the benevolent assimilation of the Philippine Islands.|| During the past forty years the British Government has encouraged Oriental research in India as much as possible, and the United States should follow this noble example, and promote, not only the practical study of Tagalog and other Philippine dialects, but also the study of Malay, Arabic, Hindustani, Siamese, Chinese, and Japanese. We ought to have an *Oriental Seminary* in Washington, with native teachers under the direction of scientifically trained American Orientalists, for the study of modern Oriental languages, just as they have in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. A well-managed Philippine branch in Manila of our Bureau of Ethnology and an Oriental Seminary in Washington is infinitely cheaper than a large army or navy, and may in some respects accomplish just as much if not a good deal more. A couple of thousands spent under the auspices of the Bureau of Ethnology might have saved the Government millions in dealing with our American Indians. Benevolent assimilation without due regard to native prejudices is impossible.

§ At the meeting of the American Oriental Society, held at Philadelphia in April, 1900, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society respectfully urges upon Congress the importance of the extension of the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, to the Philippine Islands for the study of the languages and customs of the native populations, and the issuing of simple vocabularies and works which will be of use to officers of the army, and navy, and civil service whose duties will call them to those islands.

See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxi (New Haven, Conn., 1901) pp. 199 and 201.

|| Cf. Dutt, *Civilization in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1889-90) 3 vols.

Wheeler, *History of India from the Earliest Ages* (London, 1868-81) 4 vols.

— *India Under British Rule* (London, 1886).

Keene, *History of India* (London, 1893) 2 vols.

Kay, *History of the Sepoy War*, 3 vols.

Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1879-80) 3 vols. New edition (London, 1888-1890) 6 vols.

Lyall, *Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India* (1894) 2 vols.

Bose, *History of Hindu Civilization Under British Rule* (London, 1894) 4 vols.

THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI AND THE MOSAIC CODE.

By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 17th, 1903].

No monument of antiquity has ever been discovered, either in Western Asia, or in Egypt, of greater importance than the Code of Hammurabi, found in the winter of 1901-2 by the French expedition at Susa, and published last fall in the memoirs of the *Délégation en Perse*.^{*} As the oldest body of laws in existence, it marks a great epoch in the world's history, and must henceforth form the starting point for the systematic study of historical jurisprudence. The picture which it presents of Babylonian society in the third millennium B. C. is most vivid, and it furnishes in this respect a wealth of detail such as could be gathered from no other source. To this must be added the fact that the introductory inscription abounds in historical allusions of the most valuable character.

Hammurabi, the compiler of this justly famous code, was the sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and reigned for fifty-five years, about 2250 B. C. In the Old Testament (Gen. 14, 1) he is called Amraphel, and is represented as being a contemporary of Abraham. His great military achievement was the expulsion of the Elamites from Babylonian soil, an event which occurred in the thirtieth year of his reign and enabled him, as the deliverer of the country from the foreign invaders, to extend his sway over all Babylonia. But Hammurabi was something more than a conqueror: he was a consummate statesman as well, and he organized his kingdom upon so firm a foundation that, in spite of internal revolution and foreign invaders, his work endured for nearly two thousand years. From his time until the conquest of Cyrus, the land was no more broken up into petty independent states, and Babylon was the acknowledged capital of a united Babylonia. In every direction, moreover, he developed the natural resources of the country. By cutting new canals and clearing out the old canals, he brought the system of irrigation to a high degree of efficiency, and he built a great embankment to protect the land against the devastating floods which occurred in the spring of the year along the lower reaches of the Tigris. Throughout the land he rebuilt and adorned the temples of the local gods, and thus conciliated the good will of his subjects. He established courts of law everywhere, and gave his personal attention to the administration of justice. It was not without reason that the Babylonians of a later day looked back upon the reign of Hammurabi as the golden age of their history.^{**}

To what extent and in what manner the king made use of earlier codes in compiling his laws is at present difficult to decide. That he did so is, of course, to be presumed, and there are indications of the existence of such codes. The Sumerian family laws, elucidated by Professor Haupt in his *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) † evidently formed part of a much older collection,

^{*} Tome IV, *Textes élamites sémitiques* par V. Scheil. An excellent German translation of the Hammurabi Code was published by Dr. Winckler in *Der Alte Orient*, fourth series, part 4 (Leipzig, 1902) under the title: *Die Gesetze Hammurabis, Königs von Babylon um 2250 v. Chr. Das älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt*. An English translation, by Prof. Robert F. Harper, will be issued by the University of Chicago Press. For the name *Hammurabi* see KAT³ 480.

^{**} Cf. Delitzsch's remarks in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1902) pp. 498-500; *Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1903) p. 22.

† Cf. Professor Haupt's translation in his paper *Über einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache* in the *Nachrichten* of the Royal Society of Göttingen (Nov. 3, 1880) p. 524.

and a number of contracts, dating from an earlier period than the reign of Hammurabi, would seem to give evidence of the existence of a body of laws upon which they were based. A comparison of these documents with the laws of Hammurabi shows that the Babylonian lawgiver employed a legal phraseology which had become traditional in his time, and he may well have incorporated previously existing laws with little or no change of wording. Though the available material is too scanty to permit definite conclusions in matters of detail, the known facts, taken in connection with the previous history of Babylonia, furnish grounds at least for a plausible conjecture. It is hardly probable that there was, before the time of Hammurabi, any code of laws in force throughout all Babylonia. The various small states, into which the country was broken up in the earlier period, had doubtless their own laws; and even if it be supposed that these laws bore a general resemblance to each other, they must have differed in many important particulars. Internecine warfare, in which states were frequently absorbed by neighboring states, as also the Elamite conquest of a portion of Babylonia, must have introduced a decided element of confusion in legal matters. Now the great political achievement of Hammurabi was the union of all Babylonia under a single monarchy and its consolidation into a homogeneous whole. His administrative reforms were clearly designed to this end, and his legal enactments would naturally have the same tendency. It seems, therefore, highly probable that he conceived the plan of replacing the conflicting laws of the individual states by a uniform system which should be in force throughout his dominions. The immense advantages of such a plan are sufficiently obvious, and in any case, just as the political organization established by Hammurabi endured down to the time of the Persian conquest, so his code of laws remained the basis of Babylonian and Assyrian law until the fall of both empires. Indeed it had a far wider sphere of influence; it is not too much to say that the code of Hammurabi has had its effect upon the legal systems of the present day.††

The laws of Hammurabi embodied the needs of a settled community whose chief occupations were agriculture and commerce. The rights of persons and of property were clearly ascertained and carefully guarded. Crime was punished severely, especially when committed against religion or against the state. Class distinction was deeply rooted, and, in cases of injury, the penalty varied in accordance with the rank of the injured party. Marriage and the family were the subject of wise provisions. A Babylonian married woman was no mere chattel, but had very clearly defined rights which could not be set aside.‡ Inheritance was regulated by special enactments, and the interests of widows and orphans were duly protected. The regulations affecting mercantile affairs show that the commerce of the country was highly developed, and that its merchants had extensive connections with other lands. In short, were there no other evidence of the fact, these laws would suffice to show that a high degree of civilization existed as early as the third millennium B. C. in the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and they go far to explain the influence exerted by Babylonia upon the history of the ancient world. They afford new evidence of the most important character of the

†† Cf. J. Kohler in *Delitzsch's and Haupt's Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1902) p. 430.

‡ Cf. Victor Marx, *Die Stellung der Frauen in Babylonien* in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. IV, pp. 1-77 and Delitzsch, *ibid.*, pp. 78-87. See also Professor J. D. Prince's review in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. XXIV (Baltimore, 1903) p. 97.

fact, with which we are beginning to be familiar, that Babylon was the great source of light and culture, not only for the East, but for the western world as well.

Among the many lines of investigation suggested by this venerable body of laws, by no means the least interesting is that which concerns the relation of the Code of Hammurabi to the Mosaic legislation. That an intimate connection exists between the Babylonian and the Biblical codes must be apparent to every unprejudiced observer, and it is precisely in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20, 22—23, 33), the oldest book of laws in the Bible, that the parallels are most numerous and striking. Dr. Johannes Jeremias, in his pamphlet, *Moses und Hammurabi*, which has just appeared (Leipzig, 1903) enumerates no less than twenty-four cases in which the Book of the Covenant and the Code of Hammurabi closely correspond, and many analogies are also to be found in other portions of the Pentateuch.†† To this must be added the general similarity of form. In both the Babylonian and the Mosaic codes the enactments are put in the same hypothetical form, and in both the subject matter is expressed in the same clear and crisp phraseology. Since all the facts absolutely exclude the theory of accidental resemblance, and since it is manifestly impossible that the Babylonian laws could have been borrowed from the Biblical code, but two theories remain: either both codes must have been derived from a common source, or the Mosaic code must have been influenced directly or indirectly by the code of Hammurabi.

Dr. Jeremias, in his work cited above, decides in favor of the former hypothesis, and believes that both codes may have found a common origin in ancient Arabian customary law. Hammurabi, he points out, was in all probability of Arabian descent, and from the time of Gudea trade relations existed between Arabia and Babylonia. Moses had as his teacher Jethro, the Arabian Kenite, and introduced Arabian usages into his legal procedures. And the old pre-Islamic law of Arabia, so far as it is known, possesses many features in common with the laws of Hammurabi. Dr. Jeremias' argument is not convincing. It deals only with the general probabilities, and leaves the specific facts unaccounted for. That the code of Hammurabi contained features derived from ancient Semitic tradition is altogether probable, but in the time of Hammurabi, and probably much earlier, such traditional elements were thoroughly incorporated with the general body of Babylonian law, and the whole had assumed a definite literary form that was distinctly Babylonian in character. The laws of Hammurabi are, moreover, the laws of a settled agricultural community possessing a highly developed civilization and living under a firmly organized government, not the laws of a nomadic race leading the free and unrestrained life of the desert. Our knowledge of ancient Arabian customary law is extremely scanty, but it can hardly be asserted that in the third millennium B. C., this floating tradition had assumed the definite form that characterizes the Babylonian code and is found repeated in the Book of the Covenant. Whatever Moses may have learned from Jethro, the Kenite, it is hardly probable that that Bedouin sheikh imparted to his disciple a body of laws reflecting the needs of a settled agricultural community.

The Babylonian and the Mosaic codes are conceived in the same literary form, they contain a considerable number of practically identical laws, they present not a few cases of actual verbal

agreement, and both are designed for the regulation of a civilized community. The parallels are too close to be explained upon the somewhat vague theory of a common tradition.

The history of Israel supplies a far better explanation. When the Israelites effected a lodgement in Palestine, they found there a people greatly their superiors in culture, and learning from this people the arts of civilization, they gradually passed from the condition of nomad herdsmen to that of a settled agricultural community. § The land which from this time became the home of Israel had long been under Babylonian influence. In the time of Hammurabi, the rule of Babylon extended to the shores of the Mediterranean, and at the time of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, just before the settlement of Israel, not only was there a lively intercourse with Babylon, but the Babylonian language and the Babylonian writing were actually used in Palestine for purposes of international communication. §§ And it must not be forgotten that at this time and many centuries later Babylon was the great centre of culture for the entire East. It has been shown that in Palestine Israel learned and appropriated the ancient Babylonian myths; || why should they not learn Babylonian law as well? The possession of landed property and the new conditions by which they were environed brought new needs and demanded the establishment of fixed laws. The old Babylonian law had long been in force in the land, and it can hardly be doubted that Israel adopted many of its provisions. But the foundation of the Babylonian law was the code of Hammurabi, and thus the enactments of the old Babylonian King, formulated about 2250 B. C., passed more than a thousand years later into the Book of the Covenant, and so became the heritage of Israel and of the world.

CUNEIFORM MEDICINE.

By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

[Abstract of a paper read at a meeting of American Oriental Society, April 16th, 1903].

There is ample evidence of the fact that from the earliest times the healing art was cultivated in Babylon, where it was regarded as a most important science. Surgery also was early practiced, and about 2250 B. C. Hammurabi found it necessary to introduce into his famous code special provisions for the discouragement of rash operations, and at the same time to establish a fee table. For a successful operation upon a freeman the surgeon received 10 shekels. In case of a freedman the fee was 5 shekels, and in case of a slave 2 shekels. If, however, the patient died in consequence of the operation, the penalty was severe. If the patient were a freeman the hands of the surgeon were cut off; or, in case the patient were a slave, the unsuccessful operator must replace him with another slave of equal value. A veterinary surgeon received a fee of $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel for a successful operation upon an animal, but if the animal died he must pay $\frac{1}{2}$ its value to its owner. It would seem that a certain degree of specialization existed, as all the laws have reference to surgical practice, and it is not improbable that in 2250 B. C. there was the same distinction between physicians and surgeons that prevailed in later times. It is also to be noted

§ Cf. the notes on the translation of the Book of Judges in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898) p. 44.

§§ Cf. the notes on the Book of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899) pp. 47-55.

|| See Zimmern, *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1901); English translation under the title *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis* (London, 1901); cf. KAT* 488-587.

†† The parallel cases are tabulated in Dr. Jeremias' excellent book, in which the subject is very thoroughly discussed.

that veterinary surgery was recognized as a distinct branch of the art, though standing upon a lower plane. All this argues a considerable degree of development and affords evidence of the fact that the profession was already old in the days of Hammurabi.

Unfortunately, we have no cuneiform medical work at all approaching in completeness the famous Egyptian work, the Papyrus Ebers. Quite a number of fragments exist,* showing that the literature of the subject must once have been considerable, and it is entirely possible that some explorer in the buried cities of Mesopotamia may yet bring to light texts that will greatly elucidate the subject. But at present a considerable portion of the scanty material that has been preserved lies unpublished in various European museums, while the accessible material must be gleaned from a wide range of Assyriological publications. On the other hand, much may be learned from the magical texts, and the letters and dispatches also throw some light upon the subject.

Among the Babylonians, as among other nations of antiquity, medicine was believed to be of divine origin, and stood under the protection of special deities: the god Ninib and his spouse Gula, "the great goddess of healing"—especially the latter—were the divinities chiefly invoked, but Ea of Eridu, the god of unfathomable wisdom and the patron of magic, was frequently called upon to lend his aid. It is quite natural, therefore, that we should find physicians belonging to the priestly class, and that magic should enter largely into Babylonian therapeutics. It is also significant that the physician and the haruspex, who derived his auguries from the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice, evidently stood in close relation to each other and are mentioned in close juxtaposition in the cuneiform texts. It was undoubtedly from inspection of the sacrificial animals that the Babylonian priestly physicians obtained such knowledge of anatomy as they possessed.** There is nothing to prove that any systematic anatomical study was ever bestowed upon the human cadaver,† and all the indications tend to show that the Babylonian system of anatomy was based upon the analogy of the lower animals.††

At the basis of the Babylonian system of medicine lay the theory that disease was a separate entity which might be produced by various agencies—the displeasure of the gods, the malevolence of numberless evil spirits and demons, the influence of the stars, or the changes of the moon. All these were capable of producing baleful effects upon mankind. To obviate the ill effects of these influences the remedy was obvious—the gods must be appeased and induced to relax their displeasure, or some influence must be brought to bear of sufficient power to drive away the disease and its cause. The intimate connection of magic and medicine is thus sufficiently clear. On the other hand, observation had taught that various simples, usually prepared from plants, exerted certain physiological effects or were useful in case of particular symptoms. Of course, these remedies must possess magical properties, and so their application fell in naturally with the prevailing theory of treatment. In the preparation of these remedies great care must be observed. Simples must be gathered at a particular hour of the day or night, or at a time when special astral influences prevailed. Certain plants, for example, must be plucked before they were touched by the rays of the sun, others were only effica-

cious when gathered at the time of the new moon. When they were ground into powder or boiled into a decoction, the proper charm must be recited, and the same was the case when they were administered to the patient. What these remedies were, it is difficult to say, as they appear to have been in most cases disguised under Hermetic names, but it seems probable that the majority of them were aperients, diuretics, or diaphoretics. In any case it is evident from the cuneiform texts that in addition to their repertory of exorcisms and incantations the Babylonian and Assyrian physicians had at their disposal a considerable pharmacopeia which experience must have taught them to use with judgment. Whether the physician himself performed the necessary magical rites in all, or even in most cases, is open to doubt. It seems probable that he usually called in the aid of his reverend *confrères* of the other priestly classes in accordance with their respective functions, and that these performed the appropriate ceremonies. Be this as it may, there is ample evidence of the very general employment of magic as a remedial measure in Babylonian medicine.

Symbolic magic was held in high esteem, and gave rise to an important branch of incantatory literature. Fire was a favorite agency for destroying the principle of disease in a symbolic manner. The magician, for example, would cast into the fire of a brazier various objects and repeat over them the appropriate charm.‡ As these objects were consumed in the flames, so, by virtue of the incantation, the fire destroyed the principle of disease in the body of the patient. Water was another element that played an important part in magic. Purifying baths and sprinkling with holy water‡‡ are frequently mentioned in the magical texts, and the water of the Euphrates or of the sea was believed to possess peculiar efficacy, since all large bodies of water were under the special protection of Ea, the god of the deep, the lord of all hidden wisdom, and the patron of the magic art. A very common charm was connected with the tying and untying of magical knots in a cord. Here the cord symbolizes the spell with which the sufferer was bound, and as the knot was untied, to the accompaniment of the proper formula of words, the spell was loosed and the patient was relieved of his trouble. The Babylonian magicians also placed much reliance in the potency of numbers, the mystic number 7 being preeminent in this respect. The connection with the phases of the moon and with the seven planets is, of course, obvious. In a calendar of lucky and unlucky days for the intercalary month of Elul we read that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month are unlucky, and that upon them a physician must not treat the sick. All these, it will be observed, are multiples of 7, except the 19th day; but the exception is only apparent, for 19 added to the 30 days of the preceding month gives 49, the square of 7, and a number of special potency. It has been suggested that from this belief of the Babylonians is derived the well known Hippocratic doctrine of crises.§

Beside all this dreary hocus-pocus, there are indications that the Babylonian physicians possessed a certain amount of genuine medical knowledge. It was jealously guarded and concealed from the uninitiated, but traces of it appear even in some of the magical texts. For example, in a charm for the relief of diseased eyes, the physician is directed to prepare a poultice of the inner bark

* Cf. F. Kùchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrischen Medizin*—vol. xvii of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt.

** Cf. note 120 to Professor Haupt's paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xix (1900) p. 80.

† Contrast Professor Haupt's remarks in his paper on the Etymology of *Nekasim*, *Hebraica*, vol. iii, p. 110, n. 3.

†† Von Oefele, *Keilschriftmedizin* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 15.

‡ Cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*—vol. xii of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek* edited by Delitzsch and Haupt (Leipzig, 1901) p. 29.

‡‡ Cf. Professor Haupt's remarks in the polychrome edition of the Hebrew text of the Book of Numbers (Baltimore, 1900) p. 44, ll. 37-43.

§ Von Oefele, *Keilschriftmedizin*, p. 27.

of the palm and apply it to the eye of the patient, and this charm is immediately followed by another in which the application of ground *kasû* plant is similarly recommended. In both cases the virtue of the remedy doubtless lay in the astringent properties of the application. §§

Among the Assyrian letters of the Sargonide dynasty, published by Professor Harper, are several letters written by Arad-Nanâ, the court physician of King Esarhaddon (680-668 B. C.), and they afford some interesting glimpses into the medical practice of the period. In one of them Arad-Nanâ writes to the king concerning a patient, who would appear to have been suffering from facial erysipelas, and reports his treatment, which consisted in bandaging and the application of a dressing probably steeped in some emollient lotion, as being attended with favorable results. In another letter he advises that the nose be tamponed in a case of severe epistaxis. It is characteristic of Babylonian medicine that the same Arad-Nanâ, whose suggestion in this case is so eminently practical, prescribes for King Esarhaddon in another letter the performance of certain magical rites and recommends that the king wear a talisman about his neck.

Bloodletting, by the way, is a legacy of Babylonian medicine. It was practiced in very early times, and an interesting seal cylinder published by Dr. Zehnpfund in *Beitr. zu Assyriologie* (iv, 220) contains a representation of a Babylonian scarifier, the technical name of which was 'the scorpion.' The instrument was shaped like a whip. To the end of a rod, which formed the handle, are attached two short chains or thongs, and at the ends of these are claw-like, curved blades with sharp points. The physician, striking with this instrument, inflicted linear superficial wounds, and the rapidity of the blow limited the pain suffered by the patient to the least possible space of time. The Babylonian scorpion, in fact, served somewhat the same purpose as the modern spring lancet or spring scarifier.

As has already been stated, the available material for the history of Babylonian medicine is rather scanty and fragmentary, but even with the incomplete information that we possess it is evident that the doctrines of this ancient school survived and exerted an important influence upon European medicine in comparatively modern times. Some three or four hundred years ago men still believed in the Babylonian teaching of planetary and lunar influences, of lucky and unlucky days, of the potency of numbers, of the mystic influence of various minerals, and of the efficacy of charms and talismans. The wide dissemination of Babylonian medical ideas among the nations of antiquity, along with other products of Babylonian culture, is amply attested, and it would seem that the tradition was kept up in much later times. Dr. von Oefele, in his *Keilschriftmedizin*, points out the interesting fact that throughout medieval times two streams of medical tradition flowed constantly into Europe. One of these, which found its chief exponent in the school of Salerno, was derived from the Arabs, who received it from the Copts, and they in turn derived their tradition from the medical school of ancient Egypt. The other, represented by the school of Byzantium, may be traced through the Nestorian and Talmudic writings back to the palmy days of Nineveh and Babylon. So throughout antiquity and throughout medieval times the old Babylonian system of medicine still retained its hold upon the minds of men, and only yielded slowly and unwillingly before the revelations of modern science.

§§ Cf. my dissertation on The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians (Baltimore, 1898) pp. 161-164 (JAOS, vol. xviii).

NOTES ON THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

By FRANK R. BLAKE.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903].

In my paper, *The word נר in the Siloam Inscription*, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 22, p. 55, I proposed a new reading for the words which apparently mean 'tunnel' and 'fissure,' respectively, following Professor Haupt's interpretation of the text, given in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the session 1900-01. In the last volume of the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (ZDMG 56, 800-809) Professor Fischer, of Leipzig, suggests a new interpretation of this inscription, in which he takes exception to some of the statements made in my article. According to his theory the inscription was never completed. The stone-cutter first traced it on the rock before cutting it out, and then began work from the bottom, since that was nearer the level of his head. For some unknown reason, possibly a change in the reigning king, or perhaps only in the overseer of the work, the inscription remained unfinished.

Professor Fischer does not think that my etymology of the word for 'fissure,' i. e., from a root נר, meaning 'to be narrow,' is at all likely, but that such a derivation is possible is admitted by Lidzbarski in part 3 of the first volume of the *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* (1902) p. 310. The word for 'tunnel,' הנקה, which occurs three times in the inscription, and with which the inscription begins, he considers a Niphal infinitive with the suffix of the third feminine singular, and reads הנקה 'its being cut out.' In the word at the beginning of the inscription he thinks that the suffix refers to something in the part which was never chiseled out. This word has always been considered a noun meaning 'cutting through, tunnel,'* and has usually been vocalized נקה, נקה, or נקה. Prof. Fischer intimates that I regard the Aramaic nouns נקה and נקה as feminines, since I state that the pointing of the Hebrew is based on these forms. But if we have a form *qitl* or *qutl*, we are undoubtedly justified in reading a feminine form that has the same meaning as the masculine form quoted, either *qitlat* or *qutlat*, in Massoretic Hebrew קטלה or קטלה. Euting and Nöldeke, as quoted by Prof. Fischer in his article, say, The Arabic and Syriac supply us with *naqb*, *nigbâ*, and *nugba* 'a hole,' so we may vocalize the new word נקה or נקה. Does Prof. Fischer mean to imply that Nöldeke considers the Aramaic *nigbâ* a feminine form, because he proposes the vocalization נקה on the analogy of this form? Prof. Fischer states that the readings נקה and נקה are not possible since no *nomen actionis* of any of these forms occurs in Biblical Hebrew. He seems to have overlooked the infinitives קטש 'to whet,' קטש 'to anoint,' and קטש 'to wash,' which are really abstract nouns of the form *qutlat*, and the abstract noun קטר 'helping, help' of the form *qitlat*, all from active transitive verbs.†

Prof. Fischer is wrong in supposing that the English word 'perforation' is always active. It does not only denote the

* Cf. C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford, 1903) p. 374.

** Bertholet and Krätzschmar propose to read קטר for קטר; Toy (SBOT) reads קטר; Cornill cancels קטר. Contrast Friedrich Delitzsch, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. ii (Leipzig 1885) p. 386.

† Cf. also the intransitive *nomen actionis* קטר, קטר, קטר for קטר, etc.

act of boring or piercing through, but also a hole bored, or any hole or aperture passing through anything or into the interior of a substance. Nor is 'aperture' always passive, it denotes not only an opening, hole, perforation, etc., but also the act of opening out or unfolding, though this latter meaning is obsolete. The noun 'opening' may be, to use Prof. Fischer's terminology, both active and passive; it may denote the act of opening, or it may denote an open space, entrance, vacancy, etc. In the same way 'excavation' means not only the act of excavating, but also the resulting hollow or cavity. In Latin *perforatio* is both active and passive, it may denote the act of perforation or the result of it. In Greek *ἀνάρρησις* means both 'boring, perforation' and 'hole, hollow.' There can, therefore, be no doubt that the same word can have, to use Prof. Fischer's terminology, both active and passive meaning. It would therefore, theoretically, be perfectly legitimate to translate the same word by 'tunnel' in the first line and by 'tunneling' in the fourth. The form might be read *נִקְרָה* as was suggested in my previous paper, since nouns of the form *נִקְרָה* have both active and passive meaning, e. g., active, *נִקְרָה* Jer. 22, 19 'burying, burial'; *נִקְרָה* Ezek. 22, 20 'collecting'; *נִקְרָה* 'pouring out' I K. 7, 24; passive, *נִקְרָה* 'grave' Gen. 35, 20; *נִסְרָה* 'foundation' Ps. 87, 1. Moreover, it is not impossible that *נִקְרָה* 'tunnel' in the first line should be the feminine of a passive participle used as a noun, meaning first 'pierced, tunneled' and then 'something pierced or tunneled,' standing perhaps for *נִקְרָה* 'tunneled conduit,' just as we have *שְׁמִיעָה* 'something heard, news,' and numerous examples in Arabic, e. g. *maktúb* 'what is written, book,' *mamlúk* 'something possessed, slave,' etc. In the third line, on the other hand, *נִקְרָה* might represent the feminine, not of the passive participle *qatúl*, but of the nomen actionis *qatúl*, which is a common infinitive form in Arabic, e. g. *duxúl* 'enter' *xuráj* 'go out,' etc.

The fact that *נִקְרָה* may represent two different nominal forms, suggests the possibility of vocalizing the word differently in ll. 1 and 4, respectively. The inscription is, of course, without vocalization, and there is no reason why we should not read the same combination of consonants in more than one way if it suits the meaning. Even granting that it may be better to read with Prof. Fischer in the fourth line *נִקְרָה* 'in the day of its being cut through,' i. e. 'in the day the tunnel was finished,' it would still be unnecessary to suppose that the inscription is unfinished, and point the words in the first line in the same way. Here we may consider the form a feminine noun with article, meaning 'tunnel,' which being concrete might be vocalized in almost any of the ways suggested, viz., *נִקְרָה*, *נִקְרָה*, *נִקְרָה*, *נִקְרָה*, or *נִקְרָה*.* It is more likely, however, that we have the same word in both lines, ll. 1 and 4.

Professor Fischer's suggestion as to the unfinished character of the inscription is interesting, but his criticism of the readings which I proposed two years ago does not seem to have materially advanced the elucidation of this unique specimen of ancient Hebrew epigraphy. At any rate his chief contention that the word for 'perforation, tunnel' could denote only, either the act of boring, or the result of the action, is untenable.

* Cf. Dalman's *Aramäisch-Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 264 and Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gram.*, § 65, Nos. 22, 23; Haupt in ZA 2, 281, n. 2 (on p. 282).

SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN TAGÁLOG.

BY FRANK R. BLAKE.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Baltimore, April, 1903.]

The culture and language of ancient India have exerted an important influence on the peoples of the Malay Peninsula and the East Indian Archipelago. The influence is, as would naturally be supposed, strongest in the Malay Peninsula, and in those islands, such as Sumatra and Java, which lie nearest to India, and gradually decreases as we go eastward, until it almost, if not entirely, vanishes in the islands of Polynesia. At just what date this Indian invasion of the East Indian Islands took place, is not certain; but it is well known that there were a number of Sanskrit kingdoms in Java centuries before the advent of the Dutch.

The Sanskrit influence manifests itself principally in the vocabulary of the languages spoken in these regions, which languages all belong to the great Malayo-Polynesian family of speech; those languages which are spoken nearest to India being the most affected. The written language of Java is said to contain about 110 Sanskrit words in every 1,000, Malay about 50, Bugis, the principal language of Celebes about 17, etc.*

In Tagálog, the most important of the languages of the Philippine Islands, the vocabulary has also been somewhat influenced by Sanskrit, though by no means to the extent visible in Javanese and Malay, the percentage of Sanskrit words being given as only about one and a half in 1,000. Notwithstanding this small percentage, however, a number of important words are of Sanskrit origin.

This Sanskrit element in Tagálog has already received some attention from Orientalists. The well known Sanskrit scholar, Professor Heinrich Kern, of the University of Leyden, has published a list of the Tagálog words to which he ascribes a Sanskrit origin,† and the subject has also been treated by the Spanish Filipinologist, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, who gives a number of additional words not found in Kern's list.‡

In deciding whether a word is of Sanskrit origin, it must be remembered that likeness of form, even when accompanied by a similarity of meaning or usage, does not necessarily indicate identity of origin. For example, the Malay relative pronoun *yang* is usually connected with Sanskrit relative *ya*, but it is far more probable that this *yang* is of native origin, and that the formal likeness is simply accidental. It is unlikely that one language should borrow a pronoun from another; borrowing being for the most part restricted to nouns and verbs. Moreover *yang* may be readily explained without going outside the Malayo-Polynesian family. It seems to consist of two pronominal elements *ia* and *ng*, the first of which is used in Malay in a somewhat different form *iya* as the pronoun of the third person 'he, she, it,' while the second corresponds to the familiar connective particle, or ligature, in Tagálog and Visáyan. A similar combination is the Tagálog and Visáyan article *ang*, which is composed of the pronominal element *a*, used as a connective particle in Ilocan, Ibanag, and Maguindanao, and the ligature *ng*.

A knowledge of the cognate languages of the Malayo-Polynesian

* Cf. W. E. Maxwell, *A Manual of the Malay Language*, 4th ed. (London, 1896) p. 8.

† Cf. *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, 1880, Voig. 4, deel 4, pp. 535-564.

‡ *El sanscrito en la lengua tagalog* (Paris, 1887).

group is also a very important factor in determining whether or not a given word is borrowed from a foreign language. For instance, in Malay the word *surat* 'write' is thought to be of Arabic derivation, probably from *sūra*, *sūrat* 'a section of the Koran,' and this derivation, considered from a Malay standpoint, is very probable, since the Malays got their alphabet from the Arabs. When it is found, however, that *sulat* means 'to write' in the languages of the Visayas and Luzon, which were practically uninfluenced by Mohammedan civilization, we must conclude that the word is in all probability of native origin.

Tagalog, in common with the other Philippine languages, possesses the power of verbalizing almost anything, noun, pronoun, numeral, adverb, and even whole phrases. The words which are borrowed by Tagalog are usually treated as roots, and follow the various processes of nominal and verbal derivation, e. g. *bása*, from Sanskrit *bhāṣā*, forms the verb *b-um-asa* 'read' with the verbal infix *um*.

In some cases, however, the borrowed word is regarded as a derivative, and a hypothetical root is abstracted from it. The best example of such treatment is the word *lingo* 'week,' which is derived from the Spanish *domingo* 'Sunday.*' Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tagalogs, of course, had no week, and therefore, no names for the days of the week. The word *domingo* was regarded by them as containing the verbal infix *um* or *om*, which often indicates 'to begin to be, become' what the root denotes, as, e. g., *gumaling* 'begin to be, become good' from the root *galing* 'good.' Therefore from the word *domingo*, which began the week, they abstracted a hypothetical root *lingo* 'week,' *d* being changed to *l*, just as we have Lat. *lacrima* = *daeruma*, δάκρυμα; *levir* = δαίρ.

The Tagalog possesses by no means so many sounds as the Sanskrit, the alphabet comprising the vowels *a, i, u, o*, and the consonants *k, g, t, d, n, p, b, m, y, l, v, s, h*, a peculiar guttural nasal *ng*, and a sound between *d* and *r*, usually written *r*, in this paper *ḍ*.

Those Sanskrit sounds which have no exact correspondent are represented in Tagalog as follows: The Sanskrit aspirates may be represented (1) by the corresponding mute plus *h*,† e. g.

TAGÁLOG:

SANSKRIT:

<i>palibhāsa</i> 'therefore, since.'	<i>paribhāṣā</i> 'sentence, rule.'
<i>kathā</i> 'compose.'	<i>kathā</i> 'story.'
<i>mukhā</i> 'face.'	<i>mukha</i> 'face.'
<i>mighā</i> 'cloud.'	<i>megha</i> 'cloud.'

(2) by the simple mute, especially if the aspirate is followed by another consonant, e. g.

<i>bāsa</i> 'read.'	<i>bhāṣā</i> 'language.'
<i>siglā</i> 'hasten.'	<i>ṣighra</i> 'quick.'

The cerebrals are represented by dentals, e. g.

<i>kóta</i> 'fort.'	<i>kota</i> 'fort.'
<i>gunīta</i> 'repeat.'	<i>gunīta</i> 'multiplied.'

The palatal surd mute *c* is represented by *s*, e. g.

<i>salitā</i> 'story.'	<i>carita</i> 'done.'
------------------------	-----------------------

The sonant *j* as initial becomes *d*; as medial, *dy*, e. g.

<i>dāla</i> 'net.'	<i>jāla</i> 'net.'
<i>gadyā</i> 'elephant.'	<i>gaja</i> 'elephant.'

R is regularly represented by *l*, e. g.

<i>antāla</i> 'interrupt.'	<i>antarā</i> 'between.'
<i>lāsa</i> 'taste.'	<i>rasa</i> 'taste.'

When *r* occurs in connection with another consonant the resulting *l* in Tagalog is regularly separated by a vowel from the other consonant, e. g.

<i>balāta</i> 'promise, vow.'	<i>vrata</i> 'voluntary act of devotion.'
<i>halagā</i> 'price.'	<i>argha</i> 'price.'
<i>salantā</i> 'beggar.'	<i>grānta</i> 'ascetic.'

In some cases, however, the combination of consonants is retained in Tagalog, e. g.

<i>siglā</i> 'hasten.'	<i>ṣighra</i> 'quick.'
<i>sutlā</i> 'threads of silk.'	<i>sūtra</i> 'cord, thread.'

Sanskrit *v* may be represented by *b* or *w*, e. g.

<i>balita</i> 'news.'	<i>vārttā</i> 'news.'
<i>walnā</i> 'varicolored cloth.'	<i>varṇa</i> 'color.'

All the Sanskrit sibilants are regularly represented by *s*, e. g.

<i>sāma</i> 'accompany.'	<i>sama</i> 'same, like.'
<i>bīsa</i> 'poison.'	<i>viṣa</i> 'poison.'
<i>āsa</i> 'hope.'	<i>āṣā</i> 'hope.'

The words which have been borrowed from the Sanskrit denote all sorts of objects and ideas. Not only do we find words for things unknown to the Tagalogs before the time of the Sanskrit influence, as, e. g. *gadyā* 'elephant' = San. *gaja*, but also words for such common ideas as 'face,' 'foot,' viz. *mukhā* from San. *mukha*, *pāa* from San. *pada*. Although all of the words borrowed do not admit of classification, a number of definite categories may be distinguished, viz., (1) Words relating to the native pagan religion and superstitions;—(2) Titles of nobility;—(3) Names of plants and animals;—(4) Words for large numbers;—(5) Words denoting operations of the mind;—(6) Words referring to the written language.

The ancient pagan religion of all the Filipinos seems to have been a species of ancestor-worship. The deified ancestors were known in Tagalog as *anito*, and this word, with its cognates, Malay *hantu*, Javanese *antu*, is regarded by Tavera as derived from the Sanskrit *hantu*, said to mean 'slain, dead.' Sanskrit *hantu*, however, means 'slaying, killing;' 'killed, slain,' the passive participle would be *hata*. The Sanskrit derivation of *anito* is therefore very doubtful.

A number of words for 'idol' are derived from the Sanskrit, e. g.

<i>likhā</i> from	<i>lekha</i> 'picture, statue, deity,'
<i>linga</i> from	<i>lingga</i> 'phallus.'

The usual word for 'death' is *matáy*, a word of native origin, but the more unusual *muksá* 'destruction, death' is probably derived from Sanskrit *mokṣa*. One of the most interesting of words of this class is the word for 'eclipse' *láho*, which is identical with Sanskrit *rāhu*, a monster which was supposed to swallow up the luminary during an eclipse.* The Tagalogs say *kinakáin ang bówan nang láho* 'the moon is eaten by the eclipse or *láho*.'

Among the words denoting titles of nobility or court positions may be mentioned *ladyá*, an ancient title of nobility, San. *rājā* 'king;' *bandaháli* 'majordomo' = San. *bhāṇḍārī* 'guardian of the royal treasure.' In the last word the *h* of the Sanskrit aspirate has suffered a metathesis.†

In the animal kingdom, Sanskrit has furnished the name for

* Cf. Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

† Cf. Professor Haupt's remarks in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1890) p. 259, n. 24.

* Cf. Friedrich Delitzsch's translation of Job 3, 8 (Leipzig, 1902) pp. 20, 141 and Budde's commentary *ad loc.* (Göttingen, 1896).

† Cf. Professor Haupt's remarks in *Hebraica* 1, 231, n. 2.

elephant, *gadyá*, San. *gaja*, which the Tagalogs, however, probably knew only by hearsay, as there is no reason to suppose that this animal was ever brought to the Philippines, and probably the name for 'deer,' *usá* = San. *ṛgya*. The common word for 'snake,' *áhas*, is also perhaps to be connected with San. *ahi*.

As in the fauna, so in the flora we find a number of words of Sanskrit origin. One of the most useful of the palm family, the *nipá*, the leaves of which are used in forming the roofs and sides of Filipino houses, owes its name to Sanskrit *nīpa*.

One of the most interesting of these Sanskrit names for plants is that from which the name *Manila* is derived. Manila is spelt in Tagalog, *Maynila* and consists of two elements: *may* 'having, possessing,' (which is often used to form compound nouns, e. g. *may-anák* 'having a son, father' from *anák* 'son,' *may-kathá* 'having a composition, author' from *kathá* 'composition, story') and *níla*, the name of a tree or plant, derived according to Tavera from Sanskrit *nīla* 'indigo plant.' The name Manila, therefore, means 'having or possessing the *níla* plant,' Nilatown.

The Sanskrit higher numerals, *ayuta* 10,000; *lakṣa* 100,000; *koṭi* 10,000,000 have passed into Tagalog as *yóta*, *laksá*, *káti*. In the case of the first two, however, the meanings have been interchanged, *yóta* meaning 100,000 and *laksá*, 10,000. A similar confusion in the use of these borrowed numerals of high denomination is to be found in Malay, where *yuta* means 1,000,000, *laksa* 10,000, and *keti* 100,000.

A primitive and uncultured language has usually no expression for the finer mental concepts and emotions, so it is not surprising that a number of words indicating operations of the mind should be borrowed from Sanskrit; viz.:

TAGÁLOG:	SANSKRIT:
<i>ása</i> 'hope.'	<i>āṣā</i> 'hope.'
<i>áya</i> 'content.'	<i>aya</i> 'good fortune.'
<i>halatá</i> 'suppose.'	<i>artha</i> 'idea.'
<i>palamáda</i> 'ungrateful.'	<i>pramāda</i> 'negligence.'
<i>sampalatáya</i> 'believe.'	<i>sampratyaya</i> 'believe.'

The Tagalogs in all probability derived their alphabet and writing from India, as is indicated by the fact that every character is the sign for a consonant plus the vowel *a*, as in the Sanskrit, the other vowels being indicated by auxiliary marks. The word for 'to write,' *súlat*, however, seems to be of native origin, but 'to read,' *bása*, is probably derived from San. *bhāṣā* 'language.' The word for 'to compose' *kathá* is also no doubt derived from the Sanskrit *kathā* 'story.'

There are many other interesting loan-words which do not come under the head of any of the preceding classes. I will, however, mention only a few. The ordinary word for 'news' *balíta*, which is used in this sense in the Tagalog newspapers, seems to be derived from San. *vārtā*, which has the same meaning. The word for 'jargon, unintelligible speech,' is *káwi*, a term derived from San. *kavi* 'poet,' which was no doubt originally applied to the language of the Sanskrit immigrants just as in Java, where *kawi* is the name of the half-Sanskrit, poetical, written language. The word for 'fort' is *kóta*, derived from San. *koṭa*, so it is not impossible that extensive fortifications were unknown before the advent of the Hindus. It is rather a remarkable fact that the common words for 'face' and 'foot,' *mukhá* and *páa*, are borrowed from San. *mukha* and *pada*.

A number of words are given by Tavera, the derivation of

which from Sanskrit is extremely improbable. For example, he regards the word for 'money,' *salapí*, which denotes also a piece of money worth about 25 cents, as a combination of San. *rūpya* 'silver or gold coin' and Tag. *isá* 'one.' If this were so, we should expect the word to be *isáng lapí*, or *sanglapí*, just as we have *isáng dáan*, or *sangdáan* 'one hundred,' the two words being connected by the ligature *-ng*.

The particle *si* (which is used before proper names of persons as a sort of article, e. g., *si Pedro*, *si Maria*, etc.) is derived by Tavera from San. *ṣrī*, a title of respect, which is often prefixed to proper names in Sanskrit, e. g. *ṣrīkālīdāsa*, the great Sanskrit dramatist, author of *Čakuntalā*. From a purely phonetic standpoint the comparison is difficult; *ṣrī* would naturally appear in Tagalog as *sabí*, the consonantal group *ṣr* being represented by *sal* as in *salantá* 'beggar' from San. *ṣrānta* 'beggar.' Moreover, it is highly improbable that a foreign word should be used for this personal article, which is such a prominent characteristic of the Malay languages.

In the present article, I have confined myself to a general survey of the Sanskrit element in Tagalog. I propose, however, in the near future to give a complete list of these Sanskrit loan-words in Tagalog, and to extend the investigation to the Sanskrit loan-words in all the principal Philippine dialects. A systematic study of this subject will certainly afford us some interesting glimpses into the history of civilization in our new Asiatic possessions.

ANALOGIES BETWEEN SEMITIC AND TAGÁLOG.

BY FRANK R. BLAKE.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, April, 1902.]

It is hardly necessary to say that there is, of course, no linguistic affinity between Semitic and Tagalog. Tagalog belongs to an entirely different family of languages, the Malayo-Polynesian, embracing the tongues spoken on the islands scattered over the Pacific Ocean, and is in its general character totally unlike anything Semitic. There are, however, certain processes of word-formation and certain grammatical constructions in Semitic which find parallels in Tagalog.

In the Semitic languages the characteristic element of the interrogative pronouns is an initial *m*, e. g. Hebrew *má* 'what?,' *mí* 'who?,' Arabic *má* 'what?,' *man* 'who?,' etc. This interrogative *m* is believed to be connected with the prefixed *m* which forms, among others, numerous nouns indicating place, e. g. Heb. *ma'ór* 'place of light, luminary' from *ór* 'light,' Arabic *máṣjid* 'place of worship, mosque' from *sájada* 'worship,' *máktab* 'a writing-place, school' from *kátaba* 'write,' etc. The Tagalog particle *an* seems to be used in a way almost exactly parallel to this Semitic *ma*. The word for the interrogative 'what?' in Tagalog is *anó*, the essential element of which seems to be the syllable *an*, as appears from the interrogative adverb '*saán* 'where?,' literally 'in what.' The particle *an* attached to various roots makes nouns of place, e. g. *inám-an* 'a vessel,' from *inám* 'to drink'; *sagínġ-an* 'banana orchard,' from *ságíng* 'banana'; *ulohán* 'head of a bed,' from *úlo* 'head'; *paahán* 'place of feet of a bed,' from *páa* 'foot.' The last two derivatives are similar in meaning to Heb. מראשות *mera'shóth* 'place where the head rests' from *rósh* 'head,' מרגלות *margelóth* 'place where the feet rest,' from *reg'l* 'foot.'

In Semitic the so-called intransitive verbs have in the perfect the same form as their verbal adjectives, e. g. Heb. *kabéd* means both 'to be heavy' and 'heavy,' *malé* 'to be full' and 'full,' *qalón* 'to be small' and 'small.' This likeness is in all probability due to identity of origin, the parent Semitic forms *qatil* and *qatul* being used as either verb or adjective. A similar likeness of form exists between the active stem of the special intransitive verbal form in Tagalog and the form of the adjective. Both are made by prefixing the particle *ma* to the root, e. g. *ma-búti* 'good,' *ma-samá* 'bad,' *ma-dúnong* 'to know' and 'learned,' *ma-tákot* 'to fear,' *ma-hiyá* 'to be ashamed.'

The copulative conjunction *wa* in Semitic may be used to represent almost any conjunction. It has sometimes a causal signification, e. g. in Ps. 60, 13: *הֵבַהֲלָנוּ עֲזָרָת מִצָּר וְשׂוּא* *Hába-lánu 'ezráth miççár we-sháw teshú'áth adám*; 'give us help against the enemy, and (= because) vain is the help of man'; Gen. 22, 12: *עֵתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי יֵרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵתָּה* *'Átta yadéti kí yeré Elohím átta we lô hasákta eth-binkha eth-yehídekha mimménni*. 'Now I know that thou fearest God, and (= because) thou hast not kept back thine only son from me.' The conjunction at 'and' in Tagalog likewise often means 'because,' e. g. *ang manjá táwo at ang manjá babáyi* 'the men and the women'; *huvág mong kánin iyáng búnga at masamáng lása* 'don't eat this fruit because it tastes bad'; *hindí akó makaluwás sa Maynila at akó'y maysakít* 'I can't go down to Manila because I am sick.'

The expression of the *verbum substantivum* in Semitic and Tagalog presents certain analogies. In the Semitic languages in general the present tense of the verb 'to be' may be expressed by the personal pronouns of the third person, e. g. 'the man is good' is in Hebrew, *הָאִישׁ הוּא טוֹב*, *ha'ish hú tóv*, literally 'the man, he, good.' In Tagalog, when the subject precedes, the *verbum substantivum* is expressed by the particle *ay* placed between subject and predicate, e. g. the above sentence would be rendered: *ang táwo ay mabúti*. This particle *ay* is probably of pronominal origin, the construction thus being similar to the Semitic. This seems to be shown by the use of the corresponding word in Visáyan. In the Hiligayna dialect of this language, spoken on the island of Panay, the particle *y*, a form of *ay* which also occurs in Tagalog after a vowel, is used after a word ending in a vowel as a connective particle in certain cases where the connective particle *ng*, undoubtedly of pronominal origin, is used in Tagalog, e. g., Tag. *walá-ng salapí*, Vis. *wala-y pilak* 'he has no money'; Tag. *walá akó-ng salapí*, Vis. *wala ako-y pilak* 'I have no money.'

There are other analogies between Semitic and Tagalog which might be discussed, but the foregoing are perhaps the most striking, and will serve to show how two totally different families of speech may illustrate and explain each other.

BABYLONIAN AND ATHARVAN MAGIC.

BY FRANK R. BLAKE.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, April, 1900.]

In 1874 François Lenormant, in his interesting and suggestive book, *La magie chez les Chaldéens* (p. 11) made the statement that the fragments of incantation tablets, preserved in the British Museum, are the remains of a vast work on magic, which, in its perfect

state, was for Chaldea what the Atharva Veda was for ancient India.*

In the present paper, these two great magical collections have been compared, the principal Babylonian materials used being the *Maqlú* and *Šurpu* series, the Prayers of 'the Lifting of the Hand' and the ritual tablets,† while on the Indian side Prof. Bloomfield's Hymns of the Atharva Veda has been chiefly employed.‡

The complete collection of Babylonian incantations was possibly of a more varied character than is indicated by the fragments which remain to us, but these present comparatively few distinctly marked classes of charms. A considerable body of material consists of incantations of a general character, each incantation being a prayer for the relief of various ills, sickness, demons, sin, etc. A great number, possibly the majority, of the incantations are charms against the evil designs of witches, sorcerers, and demons, who are regarded as the source of all ills. The magical charms of the Atharvan collection, on the other hand, are of the most varied character. As manipulated in the *Kāuṣika Sūtra*, they cover every phase of the Hindu's existence. There are a number of collections of Babylonian incantations, but there is no evidence that the whole body of magical material was ever combined to form one great collection like the Atharva Veda.

The Babylonian incantations all seem to belong to the so-called 'white magic,' being used only against the powers of evil. The Atharvan collection, on the other hand, knows not only charms against the evil powers, but also those that could be used against the innocent enemies of the reciter.

The names *maqlú* and *šurpu* 'burning,' and the name *Atharva*, which is due to the association of this Veda with the mythic fire-priest Atharvan, show the importance of fire in the magic ritual of both nations.

The Atharva Veda has a separate treatise, the *Kāuṣika Sūtra*, which describes in detail the ritual to be observed in reciting each hymn or portion of a hymn. The Babylonians, on the other hand, seem to have contented themselves, for the most part, with a few lines of simple ceremonial directions inscribed on the same tablet as the incantation. The eighth tablet of the *maqlú* series, and some fragments of ritual tablets, however, give more detailed directions, and show that possibly there existed more extensive ritual texts in connection with the incantation tablets. The individual Babylonian incantations seem to have been referred to by their opening words, just as the Vedic hymns are familiarly quoted by their opening words or *prātikas*.

A prominent part is played by various plants in the magic practices of both the Babylonians and the Hindus. Sometimes in incantations for the cure of sickness, these were perhaps real remedies, but more frequently there was only some trivial or symbolic reason for their employment.

An important feature of both collections is the use for magic purposes of hymns which seem to have belonged originally to a higher sphere. The most noted example in the Atharva Veda is

* See *Chaldean Magic, its Origin and Development* (London, 1877) p. 12; cf. Zimmern's remarks in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1896-1901) p. 82, n. 3. Zimmern refers there also to Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898) pp. 253-406. For Zimmern's work cf. Professor Haupt's paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. XIX (1900) pp. 55-81.

† Cf. K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlú* (Helsingfors, 1895); H. Zimmern, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu* (Leipzig, 1896); L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896); Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger* (Leipzig, 1899).

‡ The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLII (Oxford, 1897). Cf. also Bloomfield, *The Atharva Veda in Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie*, Bd. II, Heft I, B (Strassburg, 1899).

the celebrated hymn to Varuna (iv, 16). In the Babylonian incantations, the hymns to the Fire-god may be cited.

Numerous magical formulæ in which the name of an individual is to be used in order to render the charm more effective, occur in both collections. In the Babylonian it is apparently always the name of the person in whose interest the incantation is recited, but in the Atharva Veda, owing to the twofold character of the charms, it is just as frequently the name of the person to be bewitched. The long list of diseases, curses, sins, enemies, etc., which are very frequent in both magical collections, are due, as in the preceding case, to the belief that the names made the charm apply with greater sureness to the case in hand.

Both the Babylonian and Atharvan incantations, in the invocation of a deity, often employ the most extravagant praise, the deity in question, however unimportant, being regarded for the time, as the greatest and most powerful of the gods.

The various categories of Atharvan charms are represented to a certain extent in the Babylonian incantations. The numerous Atharvanic hymns which figure in the practices pertaining to the life of the king, the *rājakarmāni*, have some analogues in Babylonian literature. The ritual tablets prescribe the ceremonies whereby the king is released from sin, while all the incantations to be recited after an eclipse of the moon, appear to be for the use of the king. These are very frequent in the Babylonian magical texts, but in the Atharva Veda there are no incantations for this purpose, and but small reference is made to either a lunar or solar eclipse.

Charms for protection against sorcerers and demons are frequent in both magical collections though occupying a much more prominent position in the Babylonian incantations than in the Atharva Veda. The symbolical use of images is a most marked characteristic of this class of practices among the Babylonians, and is also not infrequent in the Atharva Veda, though here we find it also in the love practices and in the royal rites. Among the deities called upon for protection in Babylonian incantations of this class, Marduk and the Fire-god hold the most prominent place. It is interesting to note that in the corresponding class of hymns in the Atharva Veda, a similar part is played by the fire-god Agni, and Indra, who may be compared roughly to the warlike Marduk.

In Atharvan charms for the expiation of sin, the idea of wiping off sin is quite common. In the Babylonian ritual tablets the word for 'to expiate sin' is *kuppuru*, corresponding to the Hebrew *kipper*, the original meaning of which is not 'to cover,' as was formerly supposed, but 'to wipe off.' ||

Charms for the cure of sickness and disease held a prominent place in both Babylonian and Indian magic, but while the practices accompanying the Atharvan charms are fully given in the *Sūtra*, there are comparatively few references to such practices in the Babylonian incantatory literature.

Prayers and charms for obtaining long life are found in both collections, but in the Babylonian incantations such prayers seem always to occur in connection with prayers for other benefits, especially with prayers for the relief of sickness, while in the Atharva special charms are used for this purpose.

A very important and well-defined class of Atharvan charms, is made up of hymns favoring gifts to the priestly cast, the Brahmins, and imprecations against the niggardly giver. With these may be compared, in a general way, the statement in the

ritual tablets, that the haruspex (*bārū*) shall not appear before the deity without an offering, for which, of course, the one who sought the services of the *bārū* had to pay.

There are apparently no Babylonian incantations for prosperity in the ordinary affairs of life, and no love charms, both of which are well represented in the Atharva Veda. Nor do there seem to be any Babylonian incantations which correspond to the Atharvan hymns for the production and preservation of harmony in the family and the village assembly, though in the long list of sins given in the first tablet of the *Šurpu* series, sins of causing discord among the various members of the family are expressly mentioned.

A specific Atharvanic development, also, to judge from our present knowledge, is the association and interweaving of cosmogonic and theosophic ideas with the magical charms.

There seems, therefore, to be no very striking similarity between the magical collections of Babylonia and India; the comparison of Lenormant is true only in a most general sense. The Babylonian incantations, however, are preserved only in fragments, and possibly, with the acquisition of more material, the question may assume a new aspect. Until then, however, it is not probable that a more detailed comparative study of the Babylonian and Indian magical texts will yield very important or far-reaching results.

THE SONNEBORN COLLECTION OF JEWISH CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

BY WILLIAM ROSENAU.

[Abstract of a paper presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903.]

Johns Hopkins University is the only University in this country—and perhaps in the entire world—which possesses a collection of Jewish ceremonial objects. The collection was established in 1901, by Mr. Henry Sonneborn, of Baltimore. Although it has already grown considerably since then, it nevertheless promises to assume very much larger proportions. The object of its founder is to make it as complete and at the same time as valuable as possible. Now that a pretty fair nucleus has been created, only such objects are to be added, which have special historical associations.

That a collection of Jewish ceremonial objects is a necessity, not only in institutions where the Mishnah, the Talmud, and other Rabbinical works are studied, but also in such where Hebrew instruction is confined to Biblical literature, a moment's reflection will indicate. Apart from the fact that many institutions of ancient Israel are still in vogue among Jews, and should therefore be illustrated to persons studying the Old and New Testaments, it is well-nigh impossible to obtain a clear conception of the appearance of a Biblical manuscript in Hebrew without examining a copy of the scroll of the Law. An occasional visit to a synagogue or to Jewish homes will not answer the student's need. Regard for other people's convictions will prevent him from prying into and handling things put by them to sacred use. Nor does the collection in the National Museum, open for inspection, serve the student's purpose. What the student requires is not a look at ceremonial objects at some indefinite time, when chance may bring him to Washington, but the immediate examination of the objects, when hearing or learning about them. It would not be at all surprising, if in the course of a few years the need for collections of Jewish ceremonial objects should be more generally felt, and collections become the rule rather than the exception in Universities.

|| See note 116 to Prof. Haupt's paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual.

The Sonneborn Collection, occupying a case 11 ft. 1½ in. x 6 ft. 11 in. on the third floor of McCoy Hall, contains 92 objects, which for the sake of convenience, may be classified into three distinct divisions:

- A. Objects in use in the synagogue proper.
- B. Objects in use in the home.
- C. Objects in use on special occasions.

A. *Some of the objects in use in the synagogue proper are:*

(1) A red velvet curtain, 10 ft. 2½ in. x 6 ft., with the following embroidery. Scattered over the surface of the curtain are stars. In the center is a richly studded crown with the letters כֵּת, the abbreviation for *The Crown of the Law*, כֵּתֶר תּוֹרָה below it. Immediately under these letters is found, encircled by a wreath, the inscription: *I have always set the Lord before me* שׁוֹמֵר יְהוָה לְנַפְשִׁי תָמִיד (Ps. 16, 8). All the embroidery is in gold, with the exception of the crown, which is in silver.

(2) Torah manuscript on vellum, 2 ft. 2½ in., mounted on rollers 3 ft. 2½ in.

(3) A linen wrapper for the scrolls with colored inscription.

(4) Richly embroidered red and white robes for Torah.

(5) Silver shield, pointer, and top pieces for Torah, elaborately embossed and rich in filigree work.

(6) Miniature Torah manuscript on vellum, 6 in., mounted on rollers 1 ft. high. A striking peculiarity of this scroll is, that every column of the text except the first begins with the letter *Waw*.

(7) Scroll in vellum, containing the five *Megilloth*; i. e., Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther.

(8) Manuscript of the Book of Esther on vellum.

(9) The ram's horn (Heb. *shôfâr*) in various sizes.

(10) Palm-branch (Heb. *lâláb*) and citron (Heb. *ethróg*) receptacle in silver.

(11) Seven-branched candelabrum in brass.

(12) Praying scarfs (Heb. *talliyóth*) in silk and wool with embroidered bags for carrying the same.

(13) Phylacteries (Heb. *tefillín*) with necessary bags both in velvet and satin.

B. *Objects in use in the home.*

(1) Amulets for door-posts (Heb. *mezúzóth*) differing both in designs and sizes.

(2) Ornament (Heb. *mizrákh*) usually suspended on the eastern wall of the Jewish home and showing scenes of the Holy Land.

(3) Sabbath lamp in brass.

(4) Brass candlesticks for use on the table in the dining room of the Jewish home on Sabbath eve.

(5) Wine goblet in silver, with Hebrew inscription, used for the sanctification of the Sabbath.

(6) Silk cover for the bread cut after the sanctification of the Sabbath with wine.

(7) Spice-boxes in silver, used in declaring the Sabbath concluded after sundown on Saturdays.

(8) Passover plate in silver, handsomely embossed. In the hollow of the plate is seen the Angel of Death, passing over the house of an Israelite in Egypt, who, together with his family, is awaiting Israel's redemption.

(9) Several candelabra in brass, for the kindling of lights on the Feast of Dedication (Heb. *hanukkáh*).

C. *Objects in use on special occasions.*

(1) Circumcision knife with silver handle.

(2) Knives for the ritualistic slaughtering of fowl, small and large cattle.

(3) Hebrew marriage-contracts (Heb. *kethúbóth*) on paper and vellum.

(4) Handsomely embroidered silk marriage-canopy (Heb. *huppáh*).

(5) Bill of divorce (Heb. *gét*, cf. Assyr. *gittu*) on vellum.

The objects specified suffice to convey a fair idea of the character and purpose of the Sonneborn Collection. A complete catalogue of the collection has been made by the writer of this paper and appended by him to his recent book on *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, published by the Friedenwald Company (Baltimore, 1903).

SOME HEBRAISMS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By WILLIAM ROSENAU.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 17, 1903.]

Hebraisms, in the sense of reproductions of Hebrew idioms, exist in the Authorized Version (AV) of the New (NT) as well as in that of the Old Testament (OT). Although the former is translated from the Greek, it must be remembered, that the original is not written in classical Greek. Upon examination it is found to possess a decided Semitic flavor. It may be said to bear very much the same relation to the classical Greek, as the so-called *Yiddish* bears to the German.

That the writers of the NT literature should have used a Hebraic Greek is but natural. They were, for the most part, natives of Palestine. They made the OT the basis of their thoughts. They quoted extensively from the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographia. They used Semitic dialects in their social intercourse. Many were Jews by birth. Had they expressed themselves in classical Greek, it is doubtful whether the people they wanted to reach would have understood them; cf. Rosenau, *Hebraisms in the Authorized Version of the Bible* (Baltimore, 1903) p. 81.

Gustaf Dalman in his *Grammatik des jüdischpalästinensischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig, 1894) has discussed the Aramaic words in the NT.* Arnold Meyer says in the preface to his book, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Freiburg i. B., 1896) p. v: *Ich überzeugte mich, dass an einen griechisch redenden Jesus nicht zu denken ist; and ibid.; p. 63, Der griechische Text, in dem uns heute die Reden Jesu vorliegen, ist jedenfalls Übersetzung.***

While the language of Jesus and his disciples was, not Hebrew, but Western Aramaic, it is evident that the Western Aramaic coincides in many cases with Hebrew idioms. Friedrich Blass, in his *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, accentuates the Hebrew influence on the NT Greek and cites

* See the index of Greek words at the end of his book, and cf. E. Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Mit einer Kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig, 1884) pp. 7-12.

** Professor Haupt has also called my attention to Wellhausen's paper in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1895) p. 11; his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1894) p. 312, n. 1; and his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 6 (Berlin, 1899) pp. iv-viii. 188-194; cf. E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, third edition, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1898) p. 19.

a great number of lexicographical and syntactical Hebraisms, e. g., the use of the feminine instead of the neuter gender, as in the case of the demonstrative pronoun; the use of the plural in some substantives; the peculiar use of prepositions; the pleonastic use of the participle; and the use of parallelisms. Expressions which Blass regards to be Hebrew in character are e. g., λαὸς περιούσιος (Tit. 2, 14) 'a people peculiar,' *i. e.*, עם סגולה (Deut. 7, 6); —τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ (Matt. 8, 29) 'what have we to do with thee?' *i. e.*, מה לי ולך (Jud. 11, 12); —μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὅς (Jas. 1, 12) 'blessed is the man who,' *i. e.*, אשרי האיש (Ps. 1, 1), etc., etc. Valuable as the results recorded in Blass' grammar are, they constitute only a small portion of what may be attained by careful study of the NT. Many Greek words with their corresponding renderings in AV are used in senses which their native connotations do not warrant, but which they have acquired as literal reproductions of their Semitic prototypes.

A. Nouns.

(1) *Flesh* (σάρξ = בשר) is used for (a) *muscles, fat and other tissues*: For a spirit hath not flesh and bones (Luke 24, 39); *cf.* Well favored kine and fat fleshed (Gen. 41, 2).—(b) *body*: Neither his flesh did see corruption (Acts 2, 31); *cf.* The hair of my flesh (Job 4, 15).—(c) *kinsman*: Them which are my flesh (Rom. 11, 14); *cf.* He is our brother and our flesh (Gen. 37, 27).—(d) *creatures*: And except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved (Matt. 24, 22); *cf.* The end of all flesh is come before me (Gen. 6, 13).—(e) *mankind*: And all flesh shall see the salvation of God (Luke 3, 6); *cf.* All flesh shall see it (Is. 40, 5).

(2) *Blood* (αἷμα = דם) is used for (a) *murder*: I am innocent of the blood of this just person (Matt. 27, 24); *cf.* Conceal his blood (Gen. 37, 26).—(b) *person*: I have betrayed the innocent blood (Matt. 27, 4); *cf.* Thou sin against innocent blood (1 S 19, 5).—(c) *juice*: And blood came out of the winepress (Rev. 14, 20); *cf.* the blood of grapes (Gen. 49, 11).

(3) *Head* (κεφαλὴ = ראש) is used for *leader*: Gave him to be the head over all things (Eph. 1, 22); *cf.* the head of the tribes (1 S 15, 17).

(4) *Face* (πρόσωπον = פנים) is used for (a) *the personal pronoun*: Send my messenger before thy face (Matt. 11, 10); *cf.* Laid before their faces all these words (Ex. 19, 7).—(b) *surface*: Ye can discern the face of the sky (Matt. 16, 3); *cf.* the face of the waters (Gen. 1, 2).

(5) *Mouth* (στόμα = פה) is used for (a) *unanimity (if preceded by one)*: That ye may with one mouth glorify God (Rom. 15, 6); *cf.* Declare unto the king with one mouth (1 K 22, 13).—*through*: Which by the mouth of David spake (Acts 1, 16); *cf.* By the mouth of Jeremiah (Ezr. 1, 1).

(6) *Eye* (ὀφθαλμός = עין) is used for (a) *intent*: But if thine eye be evil (Matt. 6, 23); *cf.* His eye shall be evil toward his brother (Deut. 28, 54).—(b) *personal pronoun*: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation (Luke 2, 30); *cf.* Mine eyes even seeing it (1 K 1, 48).

(7) *Voice* (φωνή = קול) is used for *sound*: The voice of thy salutation (Luke 1, 44); *cf.* The voice of your words (Deut. 1, 34).

(8) *Hand* (χερὶ = יד) is used for (a) *power*: The son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men (Matt. 17, 22); *cf.* Behold thy maid is in thy hand (Gen. 16, 6).—(b) *supervi-*

sion: The father had given all things into his hands (John 13, 3); *cf.* All that he had in Joseph's hand (Gen. 39, 6).

(9) *Heart* (καρδία = לב or לב) is used for (a) *reflexive pronoun* (if used figuratively); If that evil servant shall say in his heart (Matt. 24, 48); *cf.* If thou shalt say in thy heart (Deut. 7, 17).—(b) *mind*: For this people's heart is waxed gross† (Matt. 13, 15); *cf.* An understanding heart (1 K 3, 9).—(c) *desire*: Through the lusts of their own hearts (Rom. 1, 24); *cf.* Seek not after your own heart (Num. 15, 39).—(d) *midst*: Three days and three nights in the heart of the earth (Matt. 12, 40); *cf.* In the heart of the sea (Ex. 15, 8).

(10) *Soul* (ψυχὴ = נפש) is used for (a) *life*: If he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul (Matt. 16, 26); *cf.* My soul was precious in thine eyes (1 S 26, 21).—(b) *person*: There were added unto them three thousand souls (Acts 2, 41); *cf.* And all the souls that came (Ex. 1, 5).—(c) *personal pronoun*: My soul doth magnify the Lord (Luke 1, 46); *cf.* My soul shall live (Gen. 19, 20).

(11) *Father* (πατήρ = אב) is used for (a) *ancestor*: Our father Abraham (John 8, 39); *cf.* Brought your fathers out (1 S 12, 6).—(b) *first of a class*: That he might be the father of all of them that believe (Rom. 4, 11); *cf.* Father of all such as handle the harp (Gen. 4, 21).

(12) *Son* (υἱός = בן) is used for (a) *member of a class*: Sons of men (Eph. 3, 5); *cf.* Sons of the prophets (2 K 2, 15).—(b) *descendant*: Son of David (Matt. 1, 1); *cf.* Ordinance to thee and thy sons (Ex. 12, 24).

(13) *Daughter* (θυγάτηρ = בת) is used for *town*: Tell ye the daughter of Sion (Matt. 21, 5); *cf.* Let the daughters of Judah be glad (Ps. 48, 11).

(14) *Brother* (ἀδελφός = אח) is used for (a) *fellow-countryman*: Whosoever is angry with his brother without cause (Matt. 5, 22); *cf.* A woman among the daughters of thy brethren (Jud. 14, 3).—(b) *another*: The mote that is in thy brother's eye (Matt. 7, 3); *cf.* Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart (Lev. 19, 17).

(15) *Day* (ἡμέρα = יום) is used for *time*: In the days of Herod, the king (Matt. 2, 1); *cf.* In the days of Abraham (Gen. 26, 1).

(16) *End* (τέλος = קץ or אחרי) is used for (a) *fate*: For the end of those things is death (Rom. 6, 21); *cf.* Then understood I their end (Ps. 73, 17).—(b) *extermination*: The end of all things is at hand (1 Pet. 4, 7); *cf.* The end of all flesh (Gen. 6, 13).

(17) *House* (οἶκος = בית) is used for (a) *temple*: How he went into the house of God (Luke 6, 4); *cf.* House for the name of the Lord (2 Ch. 2, 1).—(b) *family*: The Lord give many unto the house of Onesiphorus (2 Tim. 1, 16); *cf.* house of their fathers (Num. 1, 2).—(c) *nation*: The house of Israel (Matt. 15, 24); *cf.* house of Israel (Ex. 16, 31).

(18) *Judgment* (κρίσις = משפט) is used for (a) *justice*: He shall show judgment to the Gentiles (Matt. 12, 18); *cf.* Give the king Thy judgments, O God (Ps. 72, 1).‡—(b) *ordinance*

† Heb. *heavy-hearted* has the same meaning as our *head-strong*.

‡ According to Professor Haupt למלך ה' משפטו למלך ה' has a double meaning: it denotes not only, *Bestow on the king thy justice*, but also *Execute judgment on him*. The king is Ptolemy Lagi, and the king's son is Ptolemy Philadelphus. This Psalm seems to have been written in 285 B. C., when Ptolemy Lagi, the 'second Nebuchadnezzar,' abdicated in favor of his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, the 'second Cyrus.' On equivocal phrases in Semitic *cf.* Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 43, n. 30; p. 48, n. 36; p. 52, n. 4.

or *regulation*: For true and righteous are his judgments (Rev. 19, 2); cf. The judgments which thou shalt set (Ex. 21, 1).

B. Adjectives.

(1) *Great* (μέγας = גָּדוֹל) is used for (a) *high*: Great mountain (Rev. 8, 8); cf. great mountain (Zach. 4, 7).—(b) *violent*: Great tempest (Matt. 8, 24); cf. great whirlwind (Jer. 25, 32).—(c) *loud*: great lamentation (Acts 8, 2); cf. great cry (Ex. 11, 6).—(d) *eventful*: the great and notable day (Acts 2, 20); cf. Great shall be the day (Hos. 1, 11).

(2) *Uncircumcised* (ἀπερίτμητος = עָרֵל) is used for *faithless* and *deaf*: uncircumcised in heart and ears (Acts 7, 51); cf. If then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled (Lev. 26, 41).

C. Verbs.

(1) *Know* (γινώσκω = יָדָע) is used for *heed* or *concern oneself*: The world knew him not (John 1, 10); cf. My God, we know Thee (Hos. 8, 2).

(2) *Make* (ποιέω = עָשָׂה) is used for *fashion*: Who made the heaven and the earth (Acts 4, 24); cf. God made the firmament (Gen. 1, 7).

In addition to the use of Greek words in Hebrew senses attention should here also be called to some marked syntactical Hebrew constructions:

(a) *The superlative*: King of kings (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων) 1 Tim. 6, 15; cf. מֶלֶךְ מְלִיכִים (Ezek. 26, 7).

(b) *Genitive of attribute* instead of adjectives of attribute or description: *Words of truth* (ἀληθείας ῥήματα) Acts 26, 25; cf. רִבְרֵי אֱמֶת Eccl. 12, 10.—*Children of disobedience* (τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας) Eph. 2, 2; cf. children of pride (בְּנֵי עֲוֹן) Job 41, 26.—*Son of perdition* (υἱὸς τῆς ἀπολείας) John 17, 12; cf. children of wickedness (בְּנֵי עֲוִירָה) 2 S. 7, 10.—Other expressions noteworthy under this head are: *Men of Nineveh* for Ninevites (Luke 11, 32);—*Men of Galilee* for Galileans (Acts 1, 11);—*Men of Judea* for Judeans (Acts 2, 14);—*Men of Israel* for Israelites (Acts 2, 22);—*Men of Cyprus* for Cyprians (Acts 11, 20).

(c) *The relative position of two mutually dependent verbs, one of which is finite*: He fell upon his face and prayed (Matt. 26, 39), i. e. He prayed falling upon his face; cf. And God spoke unto Moses and said (Ex. 6, 2), i. e. And God said, speaking unto Moses. ||

(d) *The frequently occurring conjunction 'for'* (γάρ), which corresponds to the Hebrew ו often incorrectly translated also in the OT by *for*.

The examples cited are only a few of the great number of Hebraisms scattered throughout the NT. They are, however, convincing enough to prove the contention that the AV of the NT has, through the medium of the Greek original, been flavored, to a marked degree, by the spirit of the Hebrew language.

THE DIPHTHONG AI IN HEBREW.

BY T. C. FOOTE.

[Abstract of a paper presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903.]

There is considerable haziness among Semitic scholars as to the nature of the semivowels ʾ and ʿ. The Semitic ʾ corresponds to the English *w*; in the same way ʿ is not a palatal spirant, but has the sound of *i* as in *Iago*.* Most Hebraists, however, pronounce ʾ as a German *w*, or English *v*, saying *sūsāw*, *abūv*,† or even *abīf*, which Nöldeke (*Syr. Gr.*, p. 27, n. 1) justly calls a barbarous pronunciation. In the same way ʿ is often pronounced as the German *ch* in *ich*, e. g. *adōnāch*. But we should say *sūsāu* (i. e., *σουσῶν*) *avū*, *adōnāi*.

The majority of Hebrew grammarians regard ʾ and ʿ, not as semivowels, but as consonants, and therefore they do not recognize diphthongs in Hebrew;‡ but when considered in their proper character as semivowels, it is plain that ʾ and ʿ, preceded by vowels, form both proper and improper diphthongs. For example, proper diphthongs, in which the first vowel is short, occur in עֹלָה, נִיץ, חֶרֶב, etc. The proper diphthong *ai* is heard in בִּיחָה, שְׂמִינָה, חֵי, שְׂבִי, בָּן, etc. The improper diphthongs, in which the first vowel is long, occur as follows: *āi* e. g. in אֶרֶץ; *āu* in מִיָּדִי etc.; *ūi* in אֶבֶי; *ēu* in עֵי 'back' שְׁלֵי 'secure'; *ōi* in הֵי, הֵי; *ūi* in גִּלִּי, etc. In the present paper I shall confine myself to the examination of the diphthong *āi* with occasional references to the diphthong *āu*.

The forms already mentioned, such as בִּיחָה, חֵי, שְׂמִינָה, etc., as well as שְׂלֵי, נִיץ, חֶרֶב, are plain examples of diphthongs; but we find also בִּיחָה, נִיץ, מִיָּדִי, etc., with a *Hireq* under the ʿ (*Hebraica* 1, 74, N). How is this *Hireq* to be explained? In בִּיחָה, נִיץ, etc., we find a *Seghōl* under the ʾ, which has no satisfactory explanation. When these forms are compared with Arabic *baʾi*, *maʾi*, written with *Sukūn*, it is clear that they are diphthongal, and should be pronounced *baʾi*, *maʾi*, *maʾim*, etc. (i. e., *biṭhe*, *mouth*, *mime*, etc.) and not as if dissyllabic, *ba-yith*, *mā-veṭh*, *ma-yim*, etc., a mispronunciation which is no doubt influenced by the peculiar spelling.

But why are these forms not written with two *Shewás*, בִּיחָה, נִיץ, מִיָּדִי? In Syriac (Nöld., § 23, C) these diphthongs are treated as closed syllables, בִּיחָה, נִיץ, and in Hebrew the diphthong *āu*, with short *ā*, is treated as a closed syllable in שְׂלֵי. According to the Massorah a *Dagesh lene* was expected after a final ʾ in cases like קִרְחָה Is. 34, 11, (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 21, C). But the diphthong *āi* is never treated in Hebrew as a close syllable—there is always a *Raphèh* after it when immediately followed by one of the forms נִיץ, בִּיחָה, etc. We should certainly expect the forms בִּיחָה, נִיץ, etc. to be pointed with two *Shewás*, בִּיחָה, נִיץ, as we have חֶרֶב, קֶשֶׁשׁ, קֶשֶׁשׁ, etc., but we find only נִיץ 'valley' with *Shewá* under the ʿ, when followed by ʾ quiescent which does not take *Shewá*, just as we have שְׁוֹן (i. e., *šay*; see below). The pointing with two *Shewás* under the last two consonants is limited to cases where the last consonant is non-spirantic or emphatic.

In several old MSS § we find בִּיחָה, נִיץ, אֶלִּי, etc., with a dot under the final ʿ. In appearance this dot is a *Hireq*, but is it really

* Cf. Haupt in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1887) p. 262, n. 1; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1890) pp. 255, 328.

† Similarly the Turks pronounce Arabic *w* as *v*, e. g. *evlād* for *aylād* 'children,' *yem* for *aym* 'day.'

‡ See, however, Ges.-Kautzsch § 8, m.

§ Cf. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897) pp. 557, 609, 637, 770. I am indebted for these references to Professor Haupt.

|| Cf. Professor Haupt's remark in the Critical Notes on Numbers (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 53, footnote (misunderstood in Ges.-Kautzsch, 27th edition, § 114, O, note 2).

such? The same MSS also point לָהּ 'to her,' with a dot *under* the ה (לָהּ) instead of *within* it. This dot is evidently not *Hreq.* Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar states (§ 14, d) that in some MSS a *Mappiq* is placed under י, e. g., יִי, and under ך, as in ךֿ 'cord,' || but, as was pointed out by Professor Haupt in his lectures on Hebrew Grammar at the Johns Hopkins University, none of the MSS collated by Ginsburg give instances of ךֿ with a dot. The final ך in those cases has *Shewá* under it, and sometimes within it, just as we find occasionally in cases like רִיחַ a *Shewá* within the ר, above the *Páthah furtive*.*

What is the original meaning of the dot under י and in ךֿ and לָהּ? Professor Haupt has called my attention to the fact that we find in old Syriac MSS עֲבִירָא 'act' with superior dot (= עֲבִירָא), and עֲבִירָא 'servant' with inferior dot (= עֲבִירָא); קִשְׁלָא with superior dot (= קִשְׁלָא) and קִשְׁלָא with inferior dot (= קִשְׁלָא †); so the dot under a consonant may be equivalent to the Heb. *Shewá* quiescens, Arat. *Sukán*. If in certain Heb. MSS we find ךֿ with a dot under the י, it is an indication that the י does not quiesce, but forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel, just as a י or ך with *Sukán* in Arabic, or a final ך in spellings like ךֿ, etc. In old Syriac MSS we find עֲבִירָא for עֲבִירָא, רִיחַ, on the other hand, represent רִיחַ, גִּישָׁא with quiescent י; cf. Nestle's *Syriac Grammar* (Berlin, 1889) § 6.

In the same way we must understand the forms פִּיט, בִּיט, etc. ‡ It is practically the same as if there were two *Shewás* under the last two consonants. The inferior dot is used as the *Sukán* in Arabic to indicate a diphthong. §

In several MSS both systems of writing are found, sometimes e. g. ךֿ will appear with the inferior dot under the final י, sometimes without it, showing that two systems of pointing were used side by side, of which the older was disappearing. Evidently then this dot is not *Hreq.* §§ Under the ך, it is another way of indicating the non-quiescence or consonantal value of this consonant,** which in the present system is indicated by *Mappiq*. Hence it may be designated *Mappiq*, or *Dagesh* for want of another name, and the same nomenclature may be used for the dot under י in פִּיט, בִּיט, etc., as the function of the point is identical with that of the dot under ך, namely, to indicate the non-quiescence of the י.

The forms פִּיט, בִּיט, etc., which have *Seghól* under the ך, present somewhat different conditions from פִּיט, בִּיט, etc. The *a*-vowel in מוֹת appears always long. According to Professor Haupt this may be compared with the Nestorian practice of writing the diphthong *ay* always with long *á*, (Nöld., § 49, B).†† Hence a

|| Cf. also Ges.-Kautzsch, § 8, m, footnote, 1.

* Cf. Merx in the Transactions of the Fifth Congress of Orientalists (Berlin, 1882) p. 181, n. 2.

† Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Grammatik*, § 6; Rubens Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) p. 63, below.

‡ For פִּיט = *maim*, *māim*, *māmi*, see Professor Haupt's remarks in the Critical Notes on Isaiah (SBOT) p. 157, l. 18; cf. Haupt in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii, p. 267, n. 2; contrast Ges.-Kautzsch, § 88, d.

§ Cf. in this connection Levia's remarks in *Hebraica* 15, 160.

§§ Professor Haupt has called my attention to the fact that in the supralinear punctuation the sign for *Hreq parvum* (· = ı) is used above the י in cases like בִּיט etc. This may be due to a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the inferior dot in בִּיט, לָהּ, etc. The supralinear punctuation is not an earlier Babylonian system, but directly dependent upon the Palestinian punctuation; see Moore JAOS 14 (1888) p. xxxviii; Gaster PSBA 22 (1900) 235.

** In the same way an inferior dot under ך indicates in certain MSS the non-quiescent character of the ך; cf. e. g. Ezr. 8, 18; Job 33, 21, ed. Baer; in Gen. 43, 26 Baer has this dot above the ך; so, too, Ginsburg. In Lev. 23, 17, Ginsburg has an inferior dot, also in Ezr. 8, 18 and Job. 33, 21; cf. Merx, *l. c.*, p. 181.

†† On the other hand, the Nestorians occasionally substitute *aj* for *ai*, e. g. הָאֵי for הָאֵי. In the specimen of the *Codex Reuchlinianus*, given by Merx, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, we

form like הָאֵי with the ending *á* (הָאֵי) does not appear, like הָאֵי, with silent *Shewá* under the י, but, as הָאֵי (Ps. 116, 15), with vocal *Shewá*, i. e. a form like הָאֵי. The vocalic character of this *Shewá* is apparent in pronouncing the diphthong, and this sound which is heard in saying הָאֵי is represented in the Massoretic punctuation by *Seghól*. The same phenomenon is observable in the form הָאֵי where the semivocalic ה has *Shewá* after the short vowel, while in the apocopated form הָאֵי the ה takes *Seghól* after the long vowel.

In this connection we may also consider forms like the Piel Impf. with י consecutive, or forms where, for any reason, the preformative י is pointed with *Shewá*. Every Hebrew scholar knows that the *Dagesh* is always absent from this י, while the *Dagesh* is never omitted from a preformative י or ך under like circumstances, i. e. when preceded by י consecutive and pointed with *Shewá*. The grammars simply state that *Dagesh forte* may be omitted in some consonants when pointed with *Shewá*. Now such forms as have been described, e. g., הָאֵי, הָאֵי, are pronounced by many scholars: *ayīēdabber*, *ayīēbarek* with vocal *Shewá*, as though there were a *Dagesh* in the י. This pronunciation is said to be the correct one, because the בִּנְיָמִין consonants always have *Raphéh* after the preformative י. Starting from these forms, the principle is applied to forms like הָאֵי which they pronounce *ayīēhí*, with vocal *Shewá*. But the feminine form has a *Dagesh* in the preformative, and the masculine has not. In order to meet such a case as הָאֵי and many others in which a *Raphéh* follows a closed syllable, the grammars advance a theory of half-open (loosely closed, wavering, intermediate) syllables, and a *Shewá medium*. § The explanation of forms like הָאֵי is simple: *ayīēdabber* is contracted to *ayīdabber*, || and this diphthong, as in הָאֵי, requires *Raphéh* after it. We should therefore say *ayīdabber*, *ayībarek*, *ayīhí*, etc.

SOME UNWARRANTED INNOVATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

By T. C. FOOTE.

[Abstract of a paper presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903.]

It is supposed to be the acme of accuracy in a Hebrew text to place = under a consonant when followed by the same consonant, e. g., סָבִיב 'surrounding,' הָלֵל 'praise ye,' סָבִיר 'the stubborn,' etc.; in the same way it is considered especially accurate to place a *Dagesh lene orthophonieum* in the first consonant of a word when the preceding word ends with the same consonant, as e. g., וְכִלְשֵׁן, etc.; also to insert a *Dagesh* in consonants which follow a guttural with silent *Shewá*. These pointings are to be found in the Bær-Delitzsch editions of the Massoretic text. Kautzsch in his editions of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar refers repeatedly to these texts and quotes Bær as a final authority on the correct Massoretic pointing. He has also, on the strength of Bær's statements, introduced new rules into

find סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר, סָבִיר (Ez. 21, 11, 12); cf. *ibid.*, p. 181, 2 and the facsimile in Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i (Berlin, 1887) pp. 32, 706.

† Cf. Swete, *A Primer of Phonetics* (Oxford, 1890) §§ 65, 211; Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 103.

§ Cf. the discussions in *Hebraica* 1, 10, 19, 43, 60, 68, 75, 132, 140; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 10, d; § 26, c; contrast Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 23, D; § 94, C. I am indebted for these references to Prof. Haupt.

|| Professor Haupt compares the contracted forms in Arabic as *maīl* = *maīl* (*maīl*, *maīl*), etc.; see Wright-De Goeje, vol. i, § 242.

the Grammar (notably §§ 10, g; and 13, c) and conformed the paradigms of verbs *medie geminatae* and *medie* † to these principles. Moreover the latest edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* quotes some of these pointings without criticism.

But according to Professor Haupt this use of the — and the *Dagesh* is at variance with the usage of the best MSS. Ginsburg, in his *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897) has for the first time put in compact form the necessary data with which to test these changes in the text of the Bible, but Kautzsch seems to have taken no notice of Ginsburg's statements regarding these points. A comparison of such model codices, early MSS, and early editions, as are cited below, shows that the vagaries we have mentioned have no authority and serve only to disfigure the sacred text.

The history of the introduction of these innovations is interesting, and furnishes a warning to scholars to verify their references. The rule as formulated by Baer-Delitzsch is to the effect that when a word begins with the same consonant as the preceding word ends with, as e. g. על-לב , a *Dagesh* is to be inserted in the second of the two consonants to keep it from being absorbed in the first consonant. This is said to be 'in accordance with the correct MSS and in accordance with the rule that, when in two words which belong to one another, the same two consonants follow each other, the one at the end of one word and the other at the beginning of the other word, the second of these consonants is furnished with *Dagesh*.*' The authority for this rule, and for the insertion of this *Dagesh*, is not obtained from first hand study of the MSS and editions in question, but the reader is referred back to Heidenheim, who published an edition of the Pentateuch (*מאור עינים*) in Rödelheim, 1818-21. In this work, Heidenheim has incorporated a treatise entitled *Eye for the Reader* (*עין הקורא*) by a celebrated *Naqdan*, named Yekuthiel. The *Naqdanim* (i. e., punctuators) spun some very fine theories as to the use of the vowel-points and other diacritical marks. Heidenheim quotes Yekuthiel to the effect that in the phrase בן-נון , some Spanish codices have *Dagesh* in the נ to guard it from being absorbed in the preceding ב . Heidenheim also states that this practice obtained wherever two of the same consonants occurred, one at the end of a word and one at the beginning of the next word. Now, whatever Heidenheim may have meant by this, it might have occurred to Baer to look up בן-נון in Heidenheim's Pentateuch. It is found in sixteen places and in not a single place is there a *Dagesh* in the נ . But nevertheless Baer has inserted it in every instance where the expression occurs in his edition.

And to go a step further back, we find that Heidenheim has misquoted Yekuthiel, who does not himself give any reason for the *Dagesh* in the נ , but simply states that 'in some Spanish codices the נ has *Dagesh*.' And it turns out that one or two isolated purists had taken upon themselves to insert a *Dagesh* in this phrase to correct such a false pronunciation as בנן ; cf. Ginsburg's *Introduction*, pp. 116-136.

The whole error, then, that has disfigured the Baer-Delitzsch texts and influenced the standard grammar, is due to Baer's taking Heidenheim's word for what Yekuthiel did not say, and then applying it to every instance in the Bible.

(1) A few examples will now be given of the first point. In

לאכל-לחם Gen. 31, 54; 37, 25, Baer inserts *Dagesh* in לחם , but this *Dagesh* is not found in British Museum Orient. 4445, the oldest pointed Heb. MS. extant. Nor does this *Dagesh* occur in Arundel Orient. 2 (dated A. D., 1216); Orient. 2201 (A. D. 1246); Additional 9401-9402 (A. D. 1286); Harley 1528; Add. 15250; Add. 15251; Add. 15252; Orient. 4227; Orient. 2626-28; Orient. 2348; Orient. 2349; Orient. 2350; the first edition of the Pentateuch (Bologna, 1482); the first edition of the entire Hebrew Bible (Soncino, 1488); the Lisbon edition of the Pentateuch (1491); the second edition of the Bible (Naples, 1491-93); the third edition of the Bible (Brescia, 1494); the Complutensian Polyglot; the first Rabbinic Bible by Felix Pratensis (Venice, 1517); Bomberg's second quarto Bible (Venice, 1521); nor the first edition of the Bible with the Massorah by Jacob b. Chayim (Venice, 1524-25).

Similarly in נתן נשמה , Is. 42, 5, Baer has *Dagesh* in the second נ , but this *Dagesh* is not found in the St. Petersburg Codex (A. D. 916); Orient. 2201; Harley 5710-11; Arund. Orient. 16; Add. 15451; Harley 1528; Add. 15250; Add. 15251; Add. 15252; Orient. 1478; Orient. 2091; Orient. 4227; Orient. 2626-28; the Lisbon edition of Isaiah (1492); nor in any of the early editions cited above.

In Is. 54, 17, Baer points וכל-לשון , but the *Dagesh* is not found in the Codex Petropol.; Orient. 2201; Harley 5710-11; Arund. Orient. 16; Add. 15451; Harley 1528; Add. 15250; Add. 15251; Add. 15252; Orient. 1478; Orient. 2091; Orient. 4227; Orient. 2626-28; nor in any of the early editions.

In Ps. 9, 2, Baer points בכל-לבי , but the *Dagesh* is not found in Orient. 2201; Harley 5710-11; Arund. Orient. 16; Add. 15451; Harley 1528; Add. 15250; Add. 15251; Add. 15252; Orient. 2091; Orient. 4227; Orient. 2626-28; the first edition of the Hagiographa (Naples, 1486-87); nor in any of the early editions.

In Ps. 15, 3, Baer points על-לשון ; also in Ps. 26, 4, עם-מתי ; Ps. 105, 44, ועמל-לאמים ; Ps. 107, 35, ישם-מדרב-לאדם-מים ; Mal. 2, 2, על-לבי ; Esther 9, 22 לחם-מינוח ; but these *Dageshes* are not found in any of the above named MSS nor in any of the editions (see Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121).

(2) Again, in regard to putting a — under a consonant with *Shewâ* when followed by the same consonant, an annotator in MS Orient. 1478, in the British Museum states that the *Naqdanim* ordained that this should be done; e. g., הלל should have — under the first ל . This is the rubric quoted by Baer and Strack,† but they fail to quote the concluding words of the annotator—after stating what the *Naqdanim* ordained, he adds: *But I have not found it so in the correct codices.*

No — is found in Harley 5720 (A. D. 1100-20). This MS, which is next in importance to the St. Petersburg Codex (A. D. 916), is written in a beautiful Sephardic hand, with vowel-points and accents. See e. g., Jud. 7, 6 where הקלקקים is declared correct (יפה). The magnificent MS Arund. Orient. 16 (A. D. 1120) has no — , e. g., ספרים Is. 1, 23 has — and not — under the ר ; עניים Is. 2, 6, not עניים ; הקלקקים Is. 10, 1, not הקלקקים . Nor have Add. 4708; Add. 9398; with two exceptions, Josh. 6, 15 and Jud. 10, 8, showing that this practice was being introduced into MSS of the German schools; Add. 9399; Add. 9403, with one exception, Gen. 42, 21; Add. 9404; Add. 9405-9406; Add. 9407; Add. 10455 (this MS. gives instances of בן-נון); Add. 15250; Add. 15252; Add. 21160; Add. 21161; Orient. 1379;

* See *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* vol. xxiv, (Leipzig, 1863) pp. 413, 414.

† *Dikdukê Ha-Teamim*, Leipzig, 1879, § 14, p. 15, quoted by Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

Orient. 1468; Orient. 1472; Orient. 1474; Orient. 1478; Orient. 2091; Orient. 2201; Orient. 2210; Orient. 2211; Orient. 2348; Orient. 2349; Orient. 2350; Orient. 2364; Orient. 2369; Orient. 2370; Orient. 2375; Orient. 2626-28; Orient. 2696; Orient. 4227; Earl of Leicester's Codex; Ginsburg 1; G. 2; G. 3; G. 4; G. 5; G. 6. See Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 488-765.

(3) Finally, in regard to the insertion of a *Dagesh* in consonants which follow gutturals with simple *Shewâ*, it is asserted that this is emphatically attested by the Massorah.† It is true that the Massorah has such statements as this: אֵת with *Dagesh*, or אֵתְּ with *Raphêh*, yet without specifying to what consonant the *Dagesh* or *Raphêh* belonged. Bæhr argues that if אֵתְּ 'and he bound' is to have *Dagesh*, it must be inserted in the א, because the ש preceding has simple *Shewâ*, and that when *Raphêh* is mentioned, no *Dagesh* is to be inserted. But Elias Levita (quoted by Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 123) plainly shows that the earlier use of the words *Dagesh* and *Raphêh* did not refer to the dot within a consonant and the absence of the dot, as the terms are now used, but that the Massorah meant אֵתְּ when it said *Dagesh*, and אֵתְּ or אֵתְּ when it said *Raphêh*. This makes it perfectly plain. The note referred to the א, and meant that it should either have אֵתְּ or אֵתְּ. The following references will show that this innovation has no MS authority. The MSS cited under (2) are against this innovation. Cf. also a particular instance, e. g., רָקָה Gen. 10, 7 where Bæhr points רָקָהְ, but the *Dagesh* is not found Orient. 4445, the oldest pointed Heb. Codex known; Orient. 2201 (A. D. 1246); Add. 9401-9402 (A. D. 1286); Harley 5710-11; Harley 1528; Add. 15251; Add. 15252; Orient. 2348; Orient. 2349; Orient. 2350; Orient. 2365; Orient. 2626-28; the first edition of entire Hebrew Bible (Soncino, 1488); the Lisbon edition of the Pentateuch, 1491; the second edition of the Bible (Naples, 1491-93); the third edition of the Bible (Brescia, 1494); the Complutensian Polyglot; Felix Pratensis' edition of the Rabbinic Bible (1517), and the quarto edition (Venice, 1521). The only MS collated by Ginsburg which has *Dagesh* in the א is Add. 15451, but even this MS points רָקָהְ without *Dagesh* in the second instance of this very verse. See also: Yekuthiel, Orient. 853; on Ez. 27, 22, Arund. Orient. 16; Add. 15451; on Job. 39, 19, Orient. 2091; Add. 15250; Orient. 2212. Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 125 ff.

Here then we have three principles which have been applied throughout the entire Bible, and which are generally regarded by Hebraists as marks of special *ἀκρίβεια*, while in reality they are quite destitute of authority, not being found in the oldest and most correct MSS, nor in any of the early editions of the Bible.

THE transliteration of EGYPTIAN.

By JAMES TEACKLE DENNIS.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 18, 1903].

The need of a system of transliteration which would clearly and simply express the sounds of the Egyptian language has always been felt by Egyptologists, and within the last decade the question has attained special prominence.* Champollion,

† See *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. xxiv (Leipzig 1863), pp. 413, 414.

* Cf. F. Legge, The History of the Transliteration of Egyptian. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxiv (London, 1902) pp. 273-282; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 355-361 and vol. xxv (1903) pp. 57-61, 102, 162, etc.

in his famous *Lettre à M. Dacier* (1822) formulated a list of 117 hieroglyphic signs with what he conceived to be their Greek equivalents, but he never deliberately adopted the Greek alphabet as the basis of a definite system of transliteration. His recognition of the relationship between ancient Egyptian and its modern representative, Coptic, suggested to him the employment of the Coptic alphabet as the best means of representing the sounds of the older language, and his *Grammaire égyptienne*, published in 1836, some four years after his death, contains a list of 232 signs with Coptic transliterations. Lepsius, in his *Lettre à M. Rosellini* (1837) corrected many errors in this list, but did not at that time propose a different system of transliteration, and for many years the Coptic alphabet was regularly used by the followers of Champollion for the transliteration of hieroglyphic texts. Chabas, the most ardent supporter of this system, adhered to it until his death in 1882, though he also employed the Roman alphabet for the benefit of those who were not Egyptologists.

In the meantime, the great advantages offered by the use of Roman letters for the transliteration of Egyptian texts came to be generally appreciated, though no uniform system was adopted. Each Egyptologist, indeed, followed a system of his own, and that not always consistently. Deveria, for example, used three different methods in three transliterations made respectively in 1857, 1858, and 1868.† In Bunsen's *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* (English edition, 1848) the hieroglyphic alphabet is reduced to seventeen sounds, all but two being expressed by Roman letters, and Bunsen's system, as later modified by Lepsius, forms the basis of all modern systems of transliteration. The first important step towards uniformity of transliteration was taken at a conference held in London, in 1854, when Lepsius proposed that "a standard alphabet be adopted for the reduction into European characters of foreign graphic systems and unwritten languages;" but the conference adjourned without taking any action, chiefly because of the difficulty of accurately representing several Egyptian sounds by means of Roman letters. In his original scheme Lepsius had reduced the sounds represented by the Egyptian alphabet to fifteen, but in his *Standard Alphabet*, published in 1862, he increased the number to twenty-eight. His system was ultimately accepted by the Berlin Academy, and was formally adopted at the Second International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1874). All the symbols used by Lepsius, with the single exception of the Greek χ , are ordinary Roman letters, sounds for which the Roman alphabet offers no equivalent being indicated by the aid of diacritical points. But though Lepsius' system, as a whole, found general acceptance, there was much diversity of opinion in matters of detail. Some scholars, for example, preferred accents to diacritical points, while others, like Maspero, Loret, and Petrie, discarded both points and accents, so far as possible, employing combinations of letters in their stead.

On one point, at least, there was practical unanimity. From the time of Champollion until about ten years ago, it was generally agreed that the six hieroglyphic signs, the eagle, the arm, the chicken, the reed-leaf, the double reed-leaf, and the

† *Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée de Lyon* (1857); *Spécimen des interprétations des écritures de l'ancienne Égypte* (1858); *Papyrus judiciaire de Turin* (1868).

double stroke (a slanting parallel), were used to represent vowels. In cases where a vowel was required by the pronunciation but was not expressed, a short *e* was conventionally inserted. In 1892, however, two eminent German Egyptologists, Adolf Erman, of Berlin, and Georg Steindorff, of Leipzig, advanced the theory that the hieroglyphic system of writing was purely consonantal, the vowels, as in Semitic, not being indicated, and advocated a system of transliteration in conformity with this view.† The advocates of this theory, who are usually termed the Berlin School, also believe that a definite relationship exists between Egyptian and Semitic,|| but, as regards the question of transliteration, the chief difference between the Berlin School and their opponents lies in the fact that by the former the six hieroglyphic characters cited above are regarded as consonantal signs, while by the latter they are held to represent vowels. In Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik* (1894) they are transliterated as follows: the eagle: *z*, representing Heb. *z*; the arm: *'*, corresponding to Heb. *v*; the chicken: *w*, equivalent to Heb. *v*; the reed-leaf: *i*; the double reed-leaf: *y*; and the double stroke (a slanting parallel): *z*. The last three correspond, broadly speaking to Hebrew *v*. §

The opponents of the Berlin School have as yet adopted no uniform system of transliteration, but, as regards the six characters in question, the transliteration employed in Petrie's *History of Egypt* (fourth edition, 1899) may be held fairly to reflect their views. In this work the signs are transliterated, in the order given above: *a* or *ā*, *a* or *ā*, *u*, *a*, *y*, and *i*. These vocalic values are derived from a number of cases in which Coptic appears to present a vowel where the corresponding Egyptian word has one of the above hieroglyphs, and from a comparison of the transliterations of Greek and Latin proper names into hieroglyphics and *vice versa*. But the correspondence is, at best, only partial, and the vowel system thus attributed to ancient Egyptian is a variance with that which prevails in Coptic. On the other hand, it appears from a mass of evidence that the Coptic consonants *w* and *y* are represented by the hieroglyphs to which these values are assigned by the Berlin School, and the hieroglyphs corresponding to Semitic *z* and *v* can be clearly identified from a considerable number of Palestinian proper names transcribed in Egyptian texts of the nineteenth dynasty. Although these gutturals are no longer to be found in Coptic,** they have nevertheless made their influence felt in certain clearly marked phonetic phenomena. The contention of the Berlin School is, moreover, strongly confirmed by Kurt Sethe's great work *Das ägyptische Verbum* (Leipzig, 1899-1902) in which the subject of Egyptian phonology is most comprehensively treated, and the phonetic values of the letters of the hieroglyphic alphabet are thoroughly investigated through all the periods of the language.

† Cf. Erman, *Das Verhältniss des Ägyptischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen*, ZDMG 46, 93 ff.; Steindorff, *Das altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung*, *ibid.*, pp. 709 ff. See also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1890) p. 327 (*ad* p. 256) and p. 328 (*ad* p. 266, n. 44).

|| Cf. Professor Johnston's paper in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 37.

§ Cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1890) p. 297, l. 14.

** *z* was doubtless pronounced, though not graphically represented; cf. Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, (Berlin, 1894) § 15, n.

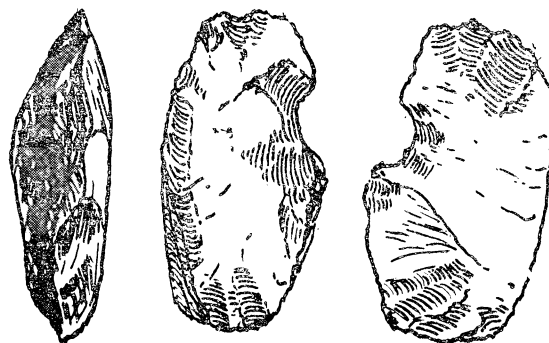
In the controversy between the Berlin School and their opponents, it has of course, been impossible to dissociate the question of transliteration from that which concerns the Semitic affinities of Egyptian,†† and many eminent Egyptologists still reject the allied theories of a distinct relationship between Egyptian and Semitic, and of the purely consonantal character of hieroglyphic writing. Nevertheless, the doctrines of the Berlin School are gaining ground, and it is a significant fact that they are very generally accepted by the rising school of Egyptologists. The confidence of the advocates of these views in their cause is exemplified by a remark of Dr. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, who says (PSBA 24, 359): "The evidence is so conclusive, that the next generation will most certainly wonder how the question could ever have been discussed at all after the publication of the evidence." In the meantime, the adoption of a uniform system for the transliteration of Egyptian appears to be a very remote possibility.

EGYPTIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS.

By JAMES TEACKLE DENNIS.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 16, 1903].

In view of the great interest attached to Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's recent discoveries at Abydos,* and the many paleolithic and neolithic tools and weapons found in that vicinity, it may



No. 1.



No. 2.

interest the members of the American Oriental Society to see a few stone implements recently obtained in Egypt. All were found by me at various points between Abydos and Thebes,

†† Cf. Erman, *Die Flexion des ägyptischen Verbums* in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy (Jan.-June, 1900) pp. 317-353.

* Cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos* (London, 1902).

with the exception of the spear-head, which was purchased at Akhmim. The use of stone implements extended from the earliest known times down to the VI. dynasty, so that these specimens *may* fall in the early historical period. The first two are probably chippers or flakers, used in the manufacture of other implements. **No. 1** is about 4.5 in. long, 2.4 in. wide, and 1.25 in. thick. It is a yellowish jasper, with black streakings; the jasper is of very poor quality, and flinty. **No. 2** is about 3.8 in. long, 3.1 in. wide, and 2.1 in. thick. It is a gray flint with white incrustation—evidently a worked nodule. The fractures are very deep on the upper side and both specimens appear to have been chipped down to a comparatively level surface on the under side. It is possible that **No. 1** is an unfinished ax-head, judging from the indentation on one side.

The two specimens of knives (**No. 3** and **No. 4**)† are very crude, and the smaller may be only a flint flake; but as such flakes were often used as knives, it may not be incorrect to consider them both in this light. The point of the larger



No. 5.

(**No. 3**) is still in good condition, though the edge is quite rough. It is chipped from a dark green rock, with brown point, and measures 4.5 in. in length, and 1 in. in breadth. The small square-ended flake (**No. 5**) is a very fine specimen. According to Dr. Petrie (*Abydos*, vol. i) the square-ended flakes appear late in the prehistoric period, and are especially frequent under Khasekhemui, ceasing with the end of the III. dynasty. It is a brownish



No. 3.

flint, with very sharp edges, and highly polished, a little over 2.5 in. long and 1.1 in. wide. Its use cannot be ascertained with certainty.

The shank of the spear-head is missing, but what remains is an excellent example of the stone-work of the early Egyptian period. It is a good quality of yellow jasper, about 4.5 in. long, 1.75 in. wide, and quite thin. The chipping on both sides is very carefully done, and the edges are quite sharp. The last three specimens may be compared with similar specimens figured and described by Petrie in *Abydos*, vol. i.

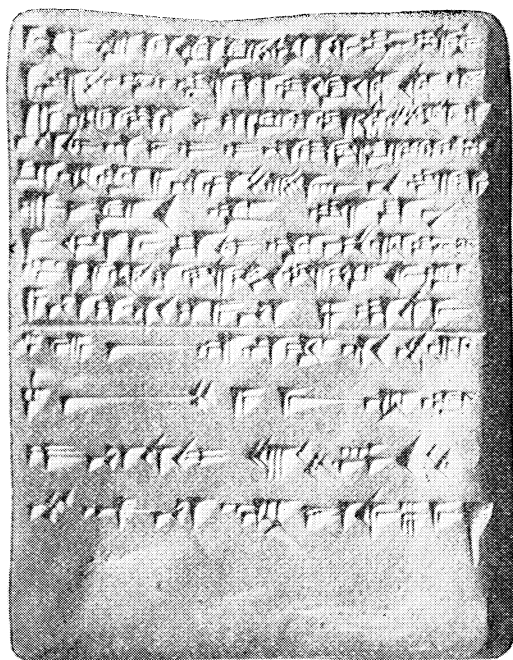
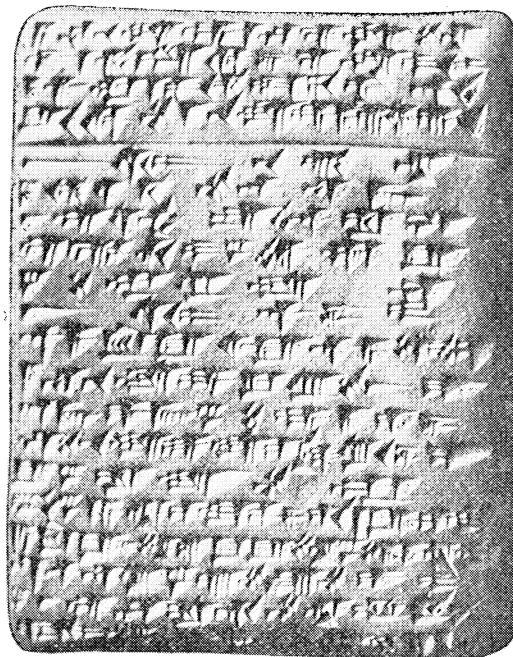
A MODERN CUNEIFORM CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE.

By WM. G. SEIPLE.

From the beginning of the organization of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University in 1883, special stress has been laid on the acquirement of a practical command of the various Semitic idioms. In addition to exercises in Hebrew and Arabic conversation, Professor Haupt has conducted, weekly through the year, written exercises in Semitic Prose Composition, in which the students translate

from English into Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, and from Hebrew and Arabic into Assyrian. During the past year also exercises for translation from Assyrian into Sumerian have been added.

Within the last few years, several modern cuneiform com-



positions have been published by the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. An Assyrian translation of the Siloam inscription was appended to Dr. F. R. Blake's paper on the word *רָחַם*, read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901 (See *JAOS* 22, 60).*

When the leading Oriental publisher of Germany, Mr. Rost, celebrated, on Aug. 1, 1891, the centennial anniversary of the

† Cf. the notes on the English translation of the Book of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899) p. 62, l. 5.

* Cf. the Assyrian translation of David's Dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan, above, p. 56.

establishment of the firm of J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, he received from Professor Delitzsch and Professor Haupt a clay tablet† with a cuneiform congratulatory message. The text of this tablet was composed by Professor Haupt, and accompanied by a transliteration and a German translation prepared by Professor Delitzsch. A transliteration of the cuneiform text with an English translation was published by the Fellow in Semitic, Dr. J. D. Prince (now Professor of the Semitic Languages in Columbia University, New York) in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. xi, No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 92.

On Dec. 30, 1899, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. D. C. Gilman's election to the Presidency of the Johns Hopkins University, Professor Haupt sent him a cuneiform congratulatory message. This was afterwards engraved on a clay tablet, which is now exhibited in the archaeological collection of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, on the third floor of McCoy Hall. A transliteration and English translation of the text were published by Rev. W. B. McPherson in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. xix, No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 41.‡

On Oct. 23, 1901, the seventieth anniversary of the senior member of the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University, Professor Gildersleeve, Professor Haupt sent him a congratulatory message in the cuneiform character. Like the letter to President Gilman, this was also engraved on a clay tablet, and is now exhibited side by side with the letter to President Gilman.

The text of this cuneiform message to Professor Gildersleeve reads as follows: ||

*Ana belî'a Basiliuš §
mâr Gildirsilîmi,
aradka Pa'ul mâr Xa'uḫti:
lû šulmu ana belî'a adanniš adanniš!*

- 5 *Ina ūmi mitgari
ša ultu LXX šanāti
ina āl tāmti^m ta'aldu,
āl rešti ša šāti
ša māt Karulîna:*
10 *ina ūmi annī
il Apullun u ilat** Atene
ana belî'a likrubā-ma
ilāni rabāti ša māt Iāmanu
balāt belî'a liṣṣurāni-ma*
15 *lušallimāka,
aza ša Arištupaniš u Iplatun,
Apulluniuš Eukuluš ša māt Amerika,
nannaru ša bīt mummu rabī
ša ina āl Baltimūri uktinā,
20 paršāmu ša mušāxizātīšu kālīšun.*

† Heb. לְבִנָּה *lōvānāh*, Ezek. 4, 1 (AV, *tile*); see Professor Haupt's remarks on the making and engraving of clay tablets in the notes on the English translation of Ezekiel (in the *Polychrome Bible*) p. 98, l. 37.

‡ Cf. the twenty-fifth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 1900) p. 29 and President Gilman's article in *Scribner's Magazine*, 1902.

§ *x* = 𐎶 (Ethiopic *Harm*) § = 𐎶; § = 𐎶; § = 𐎶 (Eth. *Ḥaddā*); cf. Professor Haupt's paper on the Semitic sounds and their transliteration in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1890) pp. 249-267 and 327.

‡ Assy. *š* was pronounced *s*, and Assy. *s* became *š*; see Professor Haupt's paper on the pronunciation of *tr* in Old Persian in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. vi, No. 59 (August, 1887) p. 118.

** For the construct state cf. the footnote on p. 72 of the Critical Notes on Chronicles in the *Polychrome Bible*.

*Xumeruš, Eškuluš, Pindaruš,
Šupukliš, Tukudidiš,
Arištupaniš, Iplatun, Dimuštiniš
ina ūmi annī inaṭalā-kū-ma izādā.*

- 25 *ebreka ana balāt napsāti belî'a
uḫallū kālīšunu.
melamme šumika ina berīni
ka'ānā-ma līlil lībīb limmīr
ana matīma ana ḫāt ūme!*

Šaṭir ina āl Baltimūri

- 30 *ša ina māt Amerika
ina ūmi ešrā šalši arxi ešri
satti Belī-ni lim tešā me išten.*

Translated into English this reads as follows:

To my lord Basilius,
the son of Gildersleeve,
thy servant Paul, son of Haupt;
A hearty, hearty greeting to my lord!

- 5 On the auspicious day,
when 70 years ago
thou wast born in the city of the sea,
the chief city of the south
of the land of Carolina: ††
10 on this day,
may the god Apollo and the goddess Athene
be propitious to my lord;
the great gods of the land of Javan ††
may protect the life of my lord.
15 May they keep thee whole,
the brother of Aristophanes and Plato,
the Apollonius Eucolus ††† of America,
the luminary of the great University,
established in the city of Baltimore,
20 the Nestor of all its teachers.

- Homer, Æschylus, Pindar,
Sophocles, Thucydides,
Aristophanes, Plato, Demosthenes
look upon thee on this day and rejoice.
25 Thy friends, for the life of the soul of my lord
pray all of them.
May the splendor of thy name among us
forever shine, beam, and be lustrous
for whensoever, for the end of days.

Written in the city of Baltimore,

- 30 which is in the land of America
on the twenty-third day of the tenth month
in the year of our Lord 1901.

†† Charleston, S. C.

††† Cf. Daniel 8, 21; 10, 20; 11, 2 (AV, *Grecia*).

‡‡ Eūkolos, not δύσκολος (*i. e.*, austere, not necessarily ill-tempered) Apollonius Dyscolus, the father of Aelius Herodianus, was a celebrated grammarian, especially in the domain of Greek syntax, who flourished at Alexandria in the second half of the second century. For euphemisms cf. Dr. Karl J. Grimm's dissertation *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendices in the Old Testament* (Baltimore, 1901) pp. 3-6.

RECENT PAPYRUS FINDS IN EGYPT.

BY WM. G. SEIPLE.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 18, 1903.]

Within the last few years, quite a number of interesting Hebrew and Greek papyri have been discovered in Egypt. In 1892 an ancient MS of the LXX was found, written in the uncial character and containing the greater part of the Book of Zechariah and part of Malachi. W. H. Hechler, who described this MS in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (Vol. II, p. 331) assigned it to the period before 300 A. D. In the summer of 1897, Dr. Schechter, now President of the Faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, found in the Cairo Genizah collection of papyri at Cambridge, England, several leaves of the long-coveted Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus. These fragments he and C. Taylor afterwards published under the title of *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira* (Cambridge, 1899); cf. also *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford and Cambridge, 1901) and Hermann L. Strack, *Die Sprüche Jesus, des Sohnes Sirachs* (Leipzig, 1903).

In a recent number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (Feb., 1903), Mr. S. A. Cook gives an interesting account of the oldest Heb. MS of any kind in existence and the oldest fragment of any Biblical text. The oldest dated Biblical MS is the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, 916 A. D. The Heb. papyri in the Berlin Museum belong perhaps to the 7th century. The undated Heb. MS 'Oriental 4445' in the British Museum, was probably written about A. D. 820-850; cf. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897) p. 469, and *A Series of XV Facsimiles of MSS. of the Heb. Bible* published by James Hyatt (London, 1897) pl. i.

The papyrus which Cook describes consists of four sheets containing in twenty-four lines the Decalogue and the Shema'. The Decalogue follows, in the main, the Deuteronomic recension. The text is without vowel-points, accents, diacritical marks, or verse-division. To the Shema' is prefixed the following introductory clause, found only in the LXX and the old Latin version: *And these are the statutes and the judgments which Moses commanded the children of Israel in the wilderness, when they went forth from the land of Egypt.* It may be of interest to note that this MS differs from the Massoretic text, in certain readings, more than any other known MS, but where it does differ, it is generally supported by the LXX. Cook considers the form of the text pre-Massoretic, but on palæographic grounds, assigns the papyrus to the 2d century of our era.

At present, three European expeditions are conducting explorations in Egypt. Because of the climate, their work is entirely confined to the months of January, February, and March each year. The English expedition, under Greenfell and Hunt, has been working in the Fayyûm and at el-Hibeh, on the right bank of the Nile, not far from Oxyrhynchus, where the famous *Logia* of Jesus were discovered. At el-Hibeh, they found a grave-yard of the Ptolemaic period. The corpses were wrapped in leaves of papyrus, some of which were inscribed.

The French are working in the Fayyûm under the leadership of Pierre Jouguet, and Gustave Lefebvre. Excavations have been

made at the village of Magdola in the southern part of the Fayyûm.

The Germans are also working in the Fayyûm. During the winter of 1901-1902, while the expedition sent out by the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, of Berlin, under the leadership of Ludwig Borchardt was excavating the ruins near Abusir (the ancient Busiris), they came upon a grave-yard of the Greek, or Ptolemaic, period. Here they found a wooden coffin. Near the head lay a broken little leather bag with pieces of sponge, some rusted iron, a carved piece of wood, and a roll of papyrus. On opening the roll, it was found to be very nearly four feet long, inscribed on one side only and containing five columns of Greek verse in ancient characters. Dr. Rubensohn, who is commissioned by the Berlin Museum to secure Greek papyri in Egypt, was hastily summoned from Cairo and pronounced it the long-lost poem *The Persians* of Timotheos of Miletus. The papyrus was unrolled and photographed on the spot, together with the still coherent fragments. The original is now in the Museum at Berlin.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in an appendix to the Sept. number (1902) of the *Mitteilungen* of the *Orient-Gesellschaft* of Berlin, gives an interesting account of the contents and general character of this MS.

The volume consists of six broad columns. The first column is almost entirely lost. Of the second, more than half is preserved, but not a single line is perfect. The third column is complete, with the exception of a few words. Of the last column, only four lines are left. The lines are irregular in length and do not end in a complete word but a complete syllable. No regard is had to verse division. A change in the thought is indicated by a new stanza. The principal sections are indicated by a mark in the left margin.

Once, where the poem proper ends, we find in the left margin something which may correspond to the later *coronis*, but which looks very much like the picture of a bird. Scribal errors abound. An epilogue follows the poem, in which the author mentions his name. A blessing on the city where the poem is recited forms the conclusion. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff considers it the oldest Greek book, probably older even than the founding of the Alexandrian Library, and much older than the MSS of Plato and Euripides taken from the coffins in the Fayyûm. He thinks the papyrus was written in Miletus or Memphis, probably 330 or 290 B. C., and that its owner was probably buried far back in the fourth century.

The Persians, which has thus been recovered, is the only specimen that we possess of the Greek *nomos*, a kind of musical composition, intended to be sung as a solo by its author, but unfortunately the musical notes are wanting. The *motif*, from which it derives its name, is the great naval victory of the Greeks over the king of Persia. Where the text first becomes intelligible, we have the picture of a sea-fight, with the rushing and thrusting of the ships and the hurling of stones and fiery arrows. In the third column, where the text becomes more coherent, a drowning man is introduced. He curses the hateful sea, but still hopes his master, the Persian king, will be victorious. The Persian fleet flees; then are heard the complaints of the castaways, who, naked and stiff with the cold, are sitting on the rocks. They are inhabitants of Asia Minor, who long for home and pray to their native gods. The victorious Greeks take these survivors captive. Then a Phrygian is introduced, who, in his plea for mercy, murders

the Greek language as horribly as does the Scythian archer in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazuse*. Then follows the flight of the king's retinue and the simple but elevated tragic speech of the Persian king, in which he orders the retreat of his forces.

Wilamowitz-Möllendorff has just issued, under the auspices of the German Orient-Society, a magnificent facsimile edition of this interesting papyrus, and also a critical edition of the Greek text, with a philological commentary; cf. *Die Perser des Timotheus von Milet. Aus einem Papyrus von Abusir im Auftrage der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff* (Leipzig, 1903) = Part 3 of the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.*

TAGÁLOG POETRY.

By WM. G. SEIPLE.

[Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 18, 1903.]

When the Spaniards conquered the Philippines, about the middle of the sixteenth century, they found the Tagalogs in possession of an alphabet of their own. This primitive alphabet was very imperfect. There was no means of expressing a consonant without a following vowel. Every consonantal sign, unless marked by a special vowel-point, indicated the combination of the consonant with a following *a*.

By means of a pointed piece of iron, or a knife, they wrote these characters on the stout stems of the green cane, and on the leaves of the palms, the banana, and other trees. These characters are said to have been written from below upward, in vertical columns as in Chinese and Japanese, beginning at the left and ending on the right. Some also wrote horizontally from left to right, but this mode of writing is probably due to Spanish influence.

This ancient character was gradually abandoned for the simpler Roman character, as the Spanish conquest was extended and closer communication opened with the natives. In 1745 the friar Sebastian Totanes wrote that the native who knew how to read these ancient characters was already rare, and he who knew how to write them, rarer still. At the present day, the natives have no recollection of them whatsoever.

No considerable portion of this ancient literature seems to have been preserved, although we have references to native manuscripts.

Tagálog literature at the present day may be grouped under three heads:

1. *The religious literature*, consisting of catechisms, manuals of doctrine, etc., translated by the friars of the various orders into the native idiom. One of the most important of these is that of the Franciscan monk Totanes, which contains directions for the celebration of the various sacraments of the Roman Church.

2. *Native newspapers*. The most important of these, containing articles in Tagálog, is *La Solidaridad*, published in Madrid in the interest of the natives during the last years of the Spanish régime. Another of these Tagálog newspapers is *El Heraldo de la Revolución*, the organ of the short-lived Philippine Republic.

3. *Tagálog poetry*, which, according to some authorities, had its rise at the festivals of thanksgiving, where the natives cele-

brated some great victory over their enemies with songs. Besides these songs of victory, there are also house-songs, street-songs, songs of the rowers, lullabies, elegies, dirges, romantic poems, and the *kundiman* or love-song, in which the gallant lavishes enthusiastic phrases and exaggerated comparisons on the lady of his thoughts.

In the romantic poems, princes and princesses of high-sounding names and imaginary kingdoms figure. In some gloomy forest, the beautiful princess, tied to the trunk of a tree, sighs, calls up memories of the court, and utters the name of her lover. In some mysterious manner, the unknown knight appears in the forest, liberates the lady, and returns with her to the court, where they are married and receive the king's blessing and the greetings of the people.

The most characteristic and essential thing in Tagálog poetry is the assonance of the final syllables of the verses of a stanza. The vowel of the last syllable must always be the same in all lines of a stanza. There are two general classes of assonant syllables: those ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel. Those final syllables which end in a consonant may again be divided into two classes: those which end in *b, k, d, g, p, s, t*, and those which end in *l, m, n*, the guttural nasal *ng, y*, and *w(o)*.

Examples of the first kind of consonantal assonance would be the words *lóob*, heart, ending in *ob*; *sigók*, to sob, ending in *ok*; *lohód*, to kneel, ending in *od*; *handóg*, to offer, present, ending in *og*; *sákop*, to redeem, ending in *op*; *tibóbos*, true, ending in *os*; and *balakiót*, a fickle man, ending in *ot*: of the second kind of consonantal assonance the words *mahál*, noble, ending in *al*; *tamtám*, to join, ending in *am*; *masongdóan*, to attain, ending in *an*; and *bílang*, to number, ending in the guttural nasal *ng*.

A word, having one of the endings in the first group, as *b, k, d*, etc., can not be used in assonance with a word having the endings of the second group, *l, m, n*, etc. Within these groups themselves, as was already stated, the vowel must be always the same. A word ending in *ab* could not be used in assonance with one ending in *ob* or *ib*. Words ending in the semi-vowels *l, m, n*, and the guttural nasal *ng* can, however, be used in assonance with words ending in the diphthongs *ay, au(ao, aw), oy*, and *io(iu)*, the last element of the diphthong being regarded for purposes of assonance as the consonants *y* and *w*: for example, the words, *áláy*, to offer, ending in *ay*; *púkao*, to awaken, ending in *ao*; *ásal*, custom, ending in *al*; *ágam*, memory, ending in *am*; *alanḡán*, to be insufficient, ending in *an*; and *bílang*, to number, ending in the guttural nasal *ng*.

Assonant syllables ending in a vowel, may also be divided into two kinds, and to distinguish between the two kinds is one of the greatest difficulties in Tagálog poetry.

The first kind, consisting of words whose final vowels take *h* or *n* before the suffixes *in* and *an* of the passive imperative, is known as *Madḡn* or *Madḡm*, 'pressed down, confined,' a term also applied to the peculiar guttural accent of certain final vowels, which is usually indicated by a circumflex.

The following is a specimen of the assonance known as *Madḡn*: *masayá*, happy; *hangá*, landmark; *tagalá*, to prepare; and *may-sála*, sinner. All these words end in *a* and take the increment of *h* or *n* in the passive imperative, as e. g.: *sayáhan*, *hangáhan*, *tagáhan*, *saláhan* or *sánlan*.

The second kind is known as *Mabábau*, probably from *bábau*, 'above or over,' and consists of words whose final vowels do not admit of the increment *h* or *n* before the suffixes *in* and *an*.

*Cf. Professor Gildersleeve's remark in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxiv (Baltimore, 1903) p. 110.

The following is a specimen of the assonance known as *Mabábau*: *hiyá*, shame; *lúpa*, earth; *halimbáwa*, example; and *kaawaáwa*, favorable. None of these words admit of the increment *h* or *n*, as, e. g.: *hiyín* or *hiyán*, *lupáan*, *halimbawáan*, and *kaawáan*.

In the case of vocalic assonance, as in consonantal, the vowel of the final syllable must always be the same. A word ending in *a* can not be used in assonance with one ending in *i* or *o*, either in *Madín* or *Mabábau*.

The Tagalog meters in general consist of seven, eight, twelve or fourteen syllables to the verse, and three, four, five, or even eight verses to the stanza. A few specimens of Tagalog poetry may serve to illustrate the preceding remarks.

A stanza of three verses with seven syllables to each verse:

<i>Magkapatid man bôo,</i>	Although you are brothers,
<i>kundi kapová súyo</i>	If not helpful neighbors,
<i>párang pinsáng maláyo.</i>	You are like distant cousins.

A stanza of four verses with seven syllables to each verse:

<i>Matáas man ang bondók</i>	Although the mountain is high,
<i>mantáy man sa bakód</i>	Even if you are on a high place,
<i>yámang mapagtaloktók</i>	Even if you reach the summit,
<i>sa pantáy din aanód.</i>	To the bottom you will come down,

or more freely: No one is nearer the ground than he who is highest.

The commonest meter is that of four or more verses with eight syllables in each verse, as, e. g.:

<i>Púso ko'y lulutanglútang</i>	My heart hesitates
<i>sa gitná nang kadagátan,</i>	In the midst of the sea;
<i>ang áking tinitimbóláng</i>	But my pole-star is
<i>títig nang matá mo lámang.</i>	The desire to gaze steadfastly on thy eyes.

House-song.

[given the *sampága*!*

<i>Abá ayá kasampága</i>	Alas, O thou to whom I have
<i>nang pónay na okíla</i>	Alas for the orphan dove!
<i>kun umambó'y pagsiáp na</i>	When it rains, although it chirps,
<i>waláng magkóp na Iná.</i>	It has no mother to cover it.

Lullaby.

<i>Híli na, híli ka na</i>	Bye-bye, bye-bye thou,
<i>Híli ka na, híli ka</i>	Bye-bye thou, bye-bye thou,
<i>Híli ka na báta ka</i>	Bye-bye thou, baby thou,
<i>Matólog ka na bíra.</i>	Sleep, dear one.
<i>Ang Iná mo'y walá pa,</i>	Thy mother is still away.
<i>Núpul pa nang sampága</i>	She has plucked <i>sampága</i> flowers
<i>Isasábog sa Álta.</i>	To put on the altar.

The word *híli* seems to be an exclamatory word like our *bye-bye*, *la la*.

Romantic Poem.

Sa isáng madilím gúbat na mapangláo
dawág na matinik ay waláng pagitan
hálos naghihirap ang kay Fëbong silang
dumálao sa lóob na lubháng masúkal.
Malalakíng káhoy ang inihahandóg
páwang dalamháti, kahapísá't longkót,
húni pa nang íbon, ay nakahulúnos
sa lálong matimpit nagsasayáng lóob.

* A flower like the jasmine.

In a dark and solitary wood,
 Where the thorny brake left no space,
 And where it was difficult for the rays of the sun
 To visit its very tangled interior,
 Great trees offered only
 Affliction, sadness, and melancholy;
 The song of the birds also was mournful,
 Even to the merriest and happiest hearts.

Religious Poems.

<i>Poon yaring áking lóob</i>	Lord, this my mind (heart)
<i>tungmatángis sumisigók</i>	Weeps and sobs.
<i>púso ko po'y lungmolohód</i>	My heart, Lord, bows down,
<i>naghaháit naghahandóg</i>	Offers and presents
<i>kahirápan mong sumákop</i>	Thy saving passion,
<i>pagaádyá mong tibóbos</i>	Thy pure defense
<i>sa kapál mong balakiót.</i>	Of Thy fickle creature.
<i>Any gracia mo pong mahál</i>	Thy noble grace, Lord,
<i>sa lóob nám'y itamtám</i>	Has been added (joined) to our
<i>at nang áming masongdoán</i>	hearts
<i>loulháting dimabilang.</i>	In order that we may attain to
	Glory ineffable.

THE TAGÁLOG NUMERALS.

By WM. G. SEIPLE.

[Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 18, 1903.]

Of the number of native dialects spoken in the Philippine Islands, the so-called Tagalog is undoubtedly the most important. We find in this dialect two systems of numeration, an older, native system and a later system, strongly affected by Spanish influence. These two systems apply only to the numerals above twenty. From one to twenty, there is only one system of numeration, which is of native origin. Both systems, like those of the Semitic and Indo-European families, are decimal systems.

The first ten numerals are the following: *isá*, *dalawá*, *tatló*, *ápat*, *limá*, *ánim*, *pitó*, *waló*, *siyám*, *pólo* or *pówo*. The numerals two and three, *dalawá* and *tatló* respectively, are reduplicated forms of *lawá* and *tló*, as is shown by comparison with the cognate languages and also by the formation of the ordinals in Tagalog. These, with the exception of 'first,' are made by prefixing *iká* to the cardinal, 'second' and 'third' being *ikalawá* and *ikatatló* respectively, not *ikadalawá* and *ikatatló*.

'Ten' is *pólo* or *pówo* when counting consecutively. Otherwise, it is *sangpówo*, contracted from *isáng pówo*, literally 'one ten.'

In Tagalog, words which stand related to each other as modifier and word modified, as the adjective and its noun, and the adverb and its verb, are joined by a connective particle called a ligature. This is the guttural nasal *ng* with words ending in a vowel or *n*, and *na* with words ending in other consonants, as for example: 'good man,' *táwo-ng mabúti*; 'strong man,' *malakás na táwo*. When, therefore, in the higher compound numerals, two words stand together in the relation of modifier and modified, they are usually joined by the ligature.

The numerals from 11-19 are formed by prefixing *labí*, 'in excess, over,' and joining it to the following unit by the ligature; as 'eleven,' *labíng isá*, i. e., 'one in excess of ten, one over ten.' We may compare with this the German numerals *elf* and *zwölf*,

which appear in Gothic as *ainlif* and *twalif*, 'one over and two over,' the Old High German *einlif* and *zweilif*, and the Lithuanian numerals from 11-19, e. g. *venūlika*, *dvýlika*, etc. The element *lif* in Germanic and *lik* in Lithuanian is connected with Greek *λείπω*, Latin *linquo*, English *leave*.

Above twenty, as was stated before, there are two ways of counting. The older native system is now practically abandoned, the later system, based on Spanish influence, being the only one in use at the present day. According to the latter system, the method of counting is as follows: above ten there are special numerals for the powers of ten, viz., one hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, and one hundred thousand. 'One hundred' is *sangdāan* or *isáng dāan*; 'one thousand' is *sanglibo* or *isáng libo*; 'ten thousand' is *sanglaksá* or *isáng laksá*; and 'one hundred thousand' is *sangyóta* or *isáng yóta*. These numerals, expressing the powers of ten, are always preceded by *sang* or *isáng*, meaning 'one,' just as in English we say 'one hundred' or 'a hundred,' 'one thousand' or 'a thousand,' and are not used alone, like the German *Hundert*, *Tausend*. The last two numerals, *sanglaksá*, 'ten thousand,' and *sangyóta*, 'one hundred thousand,' are borrowed from the Sanskrit, where, however, *lakṣa* means 'one hundred thousand' and *ayuta*, 'ten thousand,' just as the common Semitic word for 1000, *elf*, is used in Ethiopic for 10,000.

The even tens, hundreds, and thousands are expressed as multiples of these numbers. Thus twenty is *dalawáng pówo*, i. e., 'twice ten.' Three hundred is 'thrice one hundred,' *tatlóng dāan*. Four thousand is 'four times one thousand,' *apat na libo*.

The intermediate numbers are expressed by addition, as in English, except that the units are connected with the tens by the conjunction *at* 'and,' which, of course, has nothing to do with the Latin *et*. Thus, 'four thousand two hundred and sixty-one' would be expressed as 'four thousand two hundred sixty and one,' *apat na libo dalawáng dāan ánim na pówo at isá*.

The older system differs from the modern only in the formation of the numerals between the even tens, hundreds, thousands, and so on. It is more cumbersome and difficult than the modern system, and is an illustration of the characteristic Tagalog way of looking at a combination of objects from the point of view of the completed whole rather than the individual parts. For example, in Tagalog, 'he and I' is expressed as *kami niyá*, 'the we of him, his we, the we of which he forms a part.' 'Adam and Eve' would be expressed as *siná Adán ni Éva*, *siná Adán* meaning 'Adam and company' and *ni Éva*, 'of Eve,' i. e., 'the Adam combination of which Eve forms the other member.' 'Peter and his father' would be expressed as *magamá ni Pédro*, i. e., 'the father and son combination of Peter.'

In a somewhat similar way, the numbers between the even tens, hundreds, and thousands, excepting those in the first hundred, thousand, ten thousand, and so on, that is to say, those between 100-200, 1000-2000, etc., are looked upon from the point of view of the higher numeral toward which the count is made. Twenty-one is *maykatlóng isá*, i. e., 'one having thirty as its aim, one beginning the decade of which thirty is the end or limit,' thirty-one is *maykápat isá*, etc. With these intermediate numbers we may compare the German *anderthalb*, 'one and a half,' *dritthalb*, 'two and a half,' *vierthalb*, 'three and a half,' etc.

In *maykatlóng isá*, *may* is the ordinary word for 'have' or 'having.' For instance, the word for 'father,' which is regularly *amá*, may also be expressed as 'having a son,' i. e., *mayanák*.

The units with prefixed *ká*, like *katló*, seem to be remnants of an older system of forming the tens by abstract derivatives of the unit. In a similar way, in Semitic, the tens are made by pluralizing the unit, the plural idea and the abstract idea being closely allied. For example, just as in Tagalog from *banál* 'virtuous' we form *kabanálan*, 'virtue,' in the same way we say in Visáyan *kaluhaan* 'twenty' from *duha* 'two,' and *kapatan* 'forty' from *apat* 'four.' The *ka* seems to be the essential part of the abstract formation, since in Visáyan, abstracts are regularly formed without *an*, as *kaputi* 'whiteness,' and *kaayo* 'goodness' from *puti* 'white' and *ayo* 'good,' and with these Visáyan abstracts, formations like *katló*, *kápat* in these intermediate numbers in Tagalog are to be compared. It is worthy of note that, while in Tagalog the formation with *ka* and *an* is used in the formation of abstracts, and *ka* alone in the formation of the tens, in Visáyan the reverse is true.

Following the analogy of the tens, *ka* is also prefixed in these intermediate numbers to the even hundreds and thousands. Thus, ninety-one is expressed as 'one going on towards a hundred,' *maykadāan isá*, where we would expect *maydāan isá*. The forms, like *maykatló*, *maykápat*, etc., stand in the relation of the adjective to the noun, and are connected by the ligature when they end in a vowel.

This anticipatory construction, if we may so term it, applies only to the intermediate numbers between the second ten and the first hundred, the second hundred and the first thousand, etc., that is to say, between 20-100, 200-1000, 2000-10000, etc.

To express the numbers from 100-200, etc., a formation similar to that of the numerals between 10 and 20 is employed. For 11, 12, etc., you say 'over one, over two,' *labíng isá*, *labíng dalawá*. In a similar way 101 is 'one over a hundred,' *labí sa dāan isá*, 1002 is 'two over a thousand,' *labí sa libong dalawá*, etc., the phrases *labí sa dāan*, etc., being treated as adjectives and connected with a ligature to what follows when they end in a vowel.

Reasoning on the analogy of the higher numerals, we should expect *labí sa pówong isá* for 'eleven.' But it is probable, in the case of the lower numerals, that the shorter form of expression was sufficiently clear and hence the longer form was never used. In the higher numerals, however, it was necessary for clearness.

The numerals following *labí sa dāan*, etc., have the same form as they would have if they stood alone. Hence we may have combinations in which the first part looks backward towards a lower numeral and the second part forward to a higher numeral. Thus 121 is expressed as 'that number over a hundred which is the one looking toward thirty or the one in the third decade,' *labí sa dāan maykatlóng isá*.

To sum up, then, the ancient system of numeration was constructed as follows: The first ten numerals and the powers of ten up to 100,000 have special names. Ten and its powers, as landmarks in the decimal system, are distinguished by the prefix *sang* or *isáng*. In the case of 'ten,' *sang* or *isáng* is omitted when counting consecutively. The simple form *pówo* is probably the more original, the addition of the prefix *sang* being probably due to the influence of the higher numerals, like *sangdāan*, one hundred, *sanglibo*, one thousand.

The numerals in the first ten, hundred, thousand, etc., that is to say between 10-20, 100-200, 1000-2000, are expressed as so much over 10, 100, 1000, etc. In the case of the numbers from 11-19, the numeral *pówo*, ten, is not used, as these are, so to speak, excess-numbers *par excellence*. The even tens, hundreds, and

thousands are expressed as so many multiples of the tens, etc. The intermediate numbers between the second ten and the first hundred, etc., that is to say between 20-100, etc., are expressed with reference to the next succeeding ten, hundred, or thousand. Thus 21 is 'the one in the decade culminating in 30,' 201 is 'the one in the hundred culminating in 300.' This system has been greatly modified by Spanish influence and has been practically abandoned for the intermediate numbers above twenty, the simpler system, based on the Spanish numeration, being substituted.

PHONETIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN DIALECTS OF SYRIAC.

By G. OUSSANI.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903].

Syriac, by far the most important dialect belonging to the Aramaic branch of the Semitic family of speech, was originally the local dialect of Edessa in northwestern Mesopotamia, and hence it is often termed by the older writers *Edessenian* or *Mesopotamian*. It possesses a copious literature, extending from the second to the fifteenth century of the christian era, and, at the time of the Mohammedan invasion in the seventh century A. D., was the vernacular of all the inhabitants of Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and a considerable part of Persia.

It has given rise to two classical dialects, the Eastern or Nestorian and the Western or Jacobite, which, though no longer in vernacular use, are still extensively cultivated for literary and liturgical purposes in the modern Nestorian, Chaldean, Jacobite, Syrian, Maronite, and Malabaric churches. They are still studied by priests and learned laymen, and form an indispensable element in the ecclesiastical education of the oriental churches.¹

They are represented, moreover by several modern dialects spoken in Northern Persia (Adorbejân), Kurdistan, Mosul and Mesopotamia, Tûr 'Abdîn and Ma'lûla near Damascus, and considerable attention has been given to the study of these dialects by Stoddard, Nöldeke, Prym and Socin, Sachau, Guidi, Hoffmann, Duval, Lidzbarski, Maclean, Parisot and others.

The division into Eastern and Western Syriac is by no means a recent one; it is a well known distinction to which constant reference is made by the ancient Syriac grammarians and lexicographers, and is much earlier than the time of Bar-Hebraeus, who lived in the 13th century. Among the Nestorians, Bar Bahlûl² of the 10th century, the Patriarchs Elias the first and Elias of Nisibis, both of the 11th century, Johannan Bar Zu'bi and Bar Malkon, of the 12th and 13th centuries, respectively; and among the Jacobites, James of Edessa of the 8th century, James of Tagrith of the 13th century and, above all, the great Bar-Hebraeus, have furnished us with abundant materials for the study of the differences between the two classical dialects. In 1872 l'Abbé Martin published in the *Journal Asiatique* a very long and learned article on the subject,³ basing his remarks chiefly on the grammatical works of Bar-Hebraeus, which he edited in the same year.⁴ This article, as well as the two others by the same

author on the Karkaphian tradition⁵ and the Syrian Massora,⁶ have been largely utilized by Nöldeke⁷ and Duval⁸ in their valuable Syriac grammars, and by Merx in his *Historia artis grammaticæ apud Syros*.⁹

But all these scholars seem to overlook the fact that the use of classical Syriac did not die out altogether with Bar-Hebraeus, or Ebedjesus of Nisibis, or Warda, or Hamîs of the 13th and 14th centuries, but has continued to be cultivated by native scholars until the present day, and is still the liturgical language of six powerful oriental churches. In the mean time the two classical dialects have necessarily undergone many phonetic changes which should claim the attention not only of Syriac scholars, but also of all students of Semitic philology. A study of these phenomena, which necessitates, of course, a residence of some length among the modern Nestorians and Jacobites, has never been undertaken, so far as I know, by any European scholar.

In the present paper I shall endeavor to present some of the chief phonetic differences between Eastern and Western Syriac, as they are now pronounced in the East, basing my remarks upon the excellent grammars of two eminent modern native scholars, Mgr. Clemens David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus,¹⁰ and Mgr. Jeremias Maqdasi, Chaldean Archbishop of Se'ert in northern Mesopotamia,¹¹ as well as upon my own observations during my residence at Mosul and other places several years ago. I hope to treat the subject more fully in a future paper.¹²

(1). Among the W. Syrians, post-consonantal *ś* is usually assimilated to the preceding consonant, and the resulting doubling of this consonant is resolved, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel which precedes it. For example, instead of *nîś'al* 'he asks' and *ṭam'á* 'unclean,' they say *nîśāl* and *ṭámá*, just as *xîṭ'u* 'sin' in Assyrian, becomes *xîṭu* for *xittu*. The Eastern Syrians, on the other hand, pronounce all these forms correctly except the word for 'unclean' which they pronounce *ṭammá*, with doubling of the *m*.

(2). An intervocalic *ś*, followed by *á* or *ó*, is pronounced by the W. Syrians as *ś*; followed by *í* or *ê*, it is pronounced as *ṣ*. E. g. instead of *gra'an* (קראני) 'call me' and *b'a'ái* (באעאי) 'seek him' they say *grayân* and *b'avái*; and instead of *tá'en* (תעני) 'come ye (women)' and *śrá'in* (שראני) 'let me go (woman),' they say *táîn śráîn*. Instead of *Šá'al* (שאל) 'Saul' and *Qá'en* (קאני) 'Cain,' they say *Šavál* and *Qáîn*. So also the *ś* in the active participle of all verbs *mediæ infirmæ* is pronounced as *ṣ*. E. g. instead of *qá'im* 'standing' (or *qá'em* as the E. Syrians pronounce,) and *śá'il* (or *śá'él*) 'asking,' they say *qáiem* and *śáiel*; just as in modern Arabic we have *qáim*, *śáil*, *náim*, etc., instead of the classical forms *qá'im*, *śá'il*, *ná'im*, where the hamza is probably a late grammatical artificiality.

(3). In the perfect of verbs *mediæ ś*, the *shewa mobile* which European scholars insert after the first stem consonant is not pronounced either by the Eastern or the Western Syrians; they always say *ś'al* and *b'ar*, not *ś'al* and *b'ar*. *Shewa mobile* in fact, is a sound absolutely unknown to both Syrians and Jews.

(4). When followed by *ṣ*, *ś*, or *ṣ*, the Eastern Syrians pronounce *ṣ* as *ś*, and sometimes even like the hard *g* in the English word 'garden.' They say, for example, *nigpath* (נקפת)

'she followed,' *puḡdānā* (פּוּגְדָנָא) 'command,' and 'ekbōr (אֶקְבֹּר) 'I bury,' instead of *nīqpath*, *puḡdānā* and 'eqbōr. This partial assimilation is not practiced by the W. Syrians. In some cases the original *ḡ* is even replaced in writing by *ḡ*; as in the words *mdakthā* (מְדַכְתָּא) 'mortarium' and *iskopthā* (אִסְקוּפְתָּא) 'threshold,' instead of מְדַכְתָּא and אִסְקוּפְתָּא.

(5). As regards the pronunciation of the בְּרִכְתָּא in the two dialects, there is no difference so far as the consonants *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, and *ḡ*, are concerned. The spirantic sounds of the consonants *ḡ* and *ḡ*, however, while correctly pronounced by the W. Syrians as *v* and *f* respectively, have both become *ḡ* in the pronunciation of the E. Syrians. By the latter, for example, the words בְּשֵׁם אָבִי וְבְּשֵׁם בְּרִכְתָּא ('in the name of the Father and of the Son') are pronounced, not *bšēm avā vavrá*, but *bšēm avā vavrá*; and instead of *nafsā* 'soul,' they say *nayšā*. From the writings of Bar-Hebraeus of the 13th century, and from Sāḡirā, who lived a little earlier, we know that, in their times, both E. and W. Syrians very carefully observed the distinction between the spirantic and mute sound of the *ḡ* as well as of the other בְּרִכְתָּא letters. But at the same time, from the grammatical works of Bar Hebraeus, as well as from a letter of David bar Paulus, a Nestorian grammarian, who certainly lived before the 12th century, we know that the Nisibites (who were Eastern Syrians) pronounced the spirantic sound of the consonants *ḡ* and *ḡ* as *ḡ* instead of *v* and *f* respectively.

(6). On the other hand the modern Western Syrians have altogether lost the mute sound of the two consonants *ḡ* and *ḡ*, and they invariably pronounce them as *v* and *f* respectively. Instead of *malpōnō* 'teacher' and *Patrōs* 'Peter,' they say *malfōnō* and *Fatrōs*; and instead of *ba'āthō* 'supplication' and *brō* 'son,' they say *va'āthō* and *vrō*.

(7). It is to be noted, however, that among the modern Eastern Syrians the spirantic sound of the *ḡ* is observed in only a few words, not over 18 in number; in these cases the spirantic sound of the *ḡ* is of course *ḡ*, and in all other words in which the *ḡ* should be *rukahatum* the mute sound is substituted instead.

(8). The Western Syrians, as is well known, never double a consonant; even where the doubling is characteristic of the form, as in the Piel and its derivatives, it is resolved and simplified. E. g., instead of *qattēl* 'he massacred,' they say *qātēl*, etc. In the pronunciation of the Eastern Syrians, on the other hand, a consonant is very often artificially doubled after a preceding short *ā*; e. g., they say 'ammīqā 'deep,' rahhīqā 'distant,' and maijīā 'water,' instead of 'amīqā, rahīqā, and maiā.

(9). An original short *ī* is often written and pronounced by the E. Syrians as short *ē*; e. g., *šemšā* 'sun,' *Kreštīānā* 'Christian,' *melthā* 'word,' instead of *šimšā*, *Kristīānā*, and *mīlthā*.

(10). In many cases long *ē* is pronounced long *ī* by the Western Syrians; they say, for example, *hālīn* 'these,' *haīdīn* 'then,' *qārīn* 'calling' (plural), *kīpā* 'stone,' instead of *hālēn*, *haīdēn*, *qārēn*, and *kēpā*.

(11). The W. Syrians often pronounce a short *ī* instead of short *ē*; e. g. *īfšāthā* 'raisins' *taḥšiftā* 'supplication,' and *tīhrā* 'wonder' instead of *afšāthā*, *taḥšaftā*, and *tahrā*.

(12). The W. Syrians sometimes pronounce a short *ā* instead

of a short *ē*; e. g., *rahmtānā* 'merciful,' *tanyai* 'pactum,' and *zalgā* 'flash of light,' instead of *rehmtānā*, *tanyai*, and *zalgā*.

(13). The W. Syrians occasionally pronounce a long *ā* in place of a short *ā*; they say, for example, *qāīāmā* 'delegate, or representative,' 'āmūrāīā 'Amorite,' instead of *qaiīāmā* or *qaiīōmā*, and 'āmōrāīā, etc.

(14). On the other hand, the W. Syrians sometimes pronounce a short *ā* where the E. Syrians have a long *ā*; e. g., *pahrā* 'prostitute,' 'arūnā 'ark,' and *zagūnā* 'battle,' instead of *pāhrā*, 'arōnā, and *zāghōnā*. As Nöldeke has remarked, many words with original short *ā* are written in the Eastern dialect with a long *ā*, especially in the case of diphthongs; e. g., *māyta* 'death,' *sāīpa* 'sword,' etc., instead of *mayta*, *saīpa*.

(15). In some cases a long *ē* in the Eastern dialect, appears as long *ā* in the Western; e. g. *hrānīā* 'another,' and *hāyāī* 'alas!' instead of *hrēnīā* and *hēyāī*.

(16). The W. Syrians frequently pronounce a short *ā*, where the Eastern dialect has no vowel at all; e. g. *dima'tā* 'tear,' *šura'tā*, 'crime,' *divahtā* 'sacrifice,' instead of *dim'tā*, *šar'tā*, and *divhtā*. In these cases the W. Syrians appear to have inserted a helping vowel, just as in the Hebrew segolate nouns.

(17). The diphthong *ai* of the Eastern dialect is almost always reduced in the Western to long *ī*, which stands for *ē* contracted from *ai*. E. g. *rīqānā* 'exterminator' and *mmīqānā* 'scorner,' instead of *raiqānā* and *mmaiqānā*.

(18). In the Western dialect, words beginning with a guttural have the initial syllable pointed with a short *ī*, while in the Eastern dialect no vowel sign is employed. The W. Syrians, for example, write and pronounce *hilakhtā* 'journey' 'iraqtā 'flight,' 'iqarvā 'scorpion,' 'ikhal 'he ate,' instead of *hlakhtā*, *raqtā*, *qarvā*, and 'khal.

(19). In many words, consonants pronounced with *Rūkāhā* by the E. Syrians are pronounced with *Qūsāīā* in the Western dialect; e. g., *margē* 'prairies,' 'isbē 'grasses, vegetables,' and *īārī'tā* 'tent,' instead of *marghē*, 'isvē, and *īārī'thā*. In other words the W. Syrians spirate a consonant which has the hard sound in the Eastern dialect; e. g., *sthīthāīā* 'sixth,' *qāīimthā* 'arrow,' instead of *stīthāīā*, *qāīemthā*, etc.

(20). There are finally, many differences of vocalization in the two dialects which can only be learned by observation or by reference to the dictionaries.

The question naturally arises: which of these two dialects is the more primitive? Bar-Hebraeus, in his grammatical works, as well as in his other writings, continually derides the Nestorians and their dialect, asserting that the Jacobite dialect is decidedly the more primitive and the more correct. But it is well known that the illustrious Mafriān of the Jacobite church was influenced in his judgment by sectarian prejudice against the Nestorians rather than by a scientific and impartial spirit, and in this respect, he has still many followers and imitators in the East. All modern scholars agree that the Eastern or Nestorian dialect, though not correct in every case, has preserved more of the primitive forms of Syriac than the Jacobite. This is conclusively shown by comparison with the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, with the Aramaic words incidentally occurring in the New Testament, with the language of the Targums and the Talmud, with the many

Syriac loan-words in Arabic, and with the transliteration of Aramaic words preserved in classical writers. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the Western dialect has been and is still to a great extent, exclusively studied in nearly all the occidental universities. This is due to the fact that Syriac studies were introduced into Europe in the 16-18th centuries by the Syrian priests of Mount Lebanon, Georgius 'Amira, Joshua Akurensis, Isaac Sciadrensis, Abraham Echellensis, and especially the three illustrious Assemanis, who were members of the Maronite church, and therefore used the Western dialect. Syriac scholars should certainly devote more consideration to this important question. It is time that the study of the Nestorian dialect should receive the attention to which it is clearly entitled, and not, as at present, be made subordinate to that of its Jacobite rival.

NOTES.

(1) Cf. my article on The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians and the Study of Syriac among them in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* xxii, 79-96.

(2) From the writings of this famous Syrian lexicographer Larso derived the materials of his interesting essay: *De dialectorum linguæ Syriacæ reliquiis* (Berlin, 1840).

(3) *Syriens Orientaux et Occidentaux. Essai sur les deux principaux dialectes Araméens* (= *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, pp. 305-488).

(4) *Œuvres grammaticales d'Aboul-faradj dit Bar Hebraeus* († 1286) éditées par M. l'Abbé Martin. Tom. I contenant le *Ktovo d'tsemhé*. Tom. II contenant la *petite grammaire en vers de sept syllabes et le traité "de vocibus æquivocis"* texte et commentaire (Paris, 1872).

(5) *Tradition Karkaphienne ou la Massore chez les Syriens* = *Journal Asiatique*, Série vi, Tom. xiv, pp. 245-375 (Paris, 1869).

(6) *Histoire de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens* = *Journal Asiatique*. Série vii, Tom. v, pp. 81-208 (Paris, 1875). Cf. also Abbé Martin's valuable paper: *Bar Zwbî, traité sur l'accentuation chez les Syriens orientaux*, in the *Actes de la Société philologique* (Paris, Tome vii, No. 1).

(7) *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig; 1st ed. 1880; 2d ed. 1898).

(8) *Traité de Grammaire Syriacque* (Paris, 1881). It is to be noted that Nöldeke, in his grammar, points out some of the phonetic differences between the Eastern and Western dialects of Syriac, while Duval makes a number of remarks on the Aramaic dialects in general.

(9) Leipzig, 1889.

(10) *Grammaire de la langue araméens selon les deux dialectes Syriacque et Chaldaïque précédée d'un abrégé de l'histoire de la langue, de l'écriture et de la littérature araméennes* par Sa Grandeur Mgr. David, Archevêque Syrien de Damas. (1st edition, in one volume, Mosul, 1879; 2d edition, in two large volumes, Mosul, 1896-98).

(11) *Turaş mamlâ Suriđâđ* (Mossoul, 1890).

(12) In regard to the native Syrian grammarians and their works, cf., among others, the following:

1. *Fragments of Turaş mamlâ nahrâđâ or Syriac grammar of Jacob of Edessa, edited from Mss. in the British Museum and Bodleian Library* by W. Wright (London, 1871).

2. *A letter by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa on Syriac orthography, also a tract by the same author, and a discourse by Gregory Bar-Hebraeus on Syriac accents now edited in the original Syriac with an English translation and notes* by G. Phillips (London, 1869).

3. *Turaş mamlâ suriđâđ oder syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias von Tirkhan* († 1049) herausgegeben und übersetzt von Fr. Bæthgen (Leipzig, 1880).

4. *A treatise on Syriac grammar by Mar Elias of Šobbâ* († 1049) ed. R. Gottheil (Berlin, 1887).

5. *Opuscula Nestoriana syriace edidit* G. Hoffmann (Kilia, 1880).

6. *Abrahami Ecchellensis collegii Maronitarum alumni linguæ syriacæ sive chaldaicæ perbrevis institutio ad eiusdem nationis studiosos adolescentes* (Romæ, 1628).

7. *Isaac Sciadrensis, Maronita e Libano, Archiepisc. Tripolis Syriæ, Grammatica linguæ Syriacæ* (Romæ, 1636).

8. *Josephus Acurensis. Grammatica linguæ Syriacæ* (Romæ, 1647).

9. *Josephus Gurriel, Elementa linguæ chaldaicæ, quibus accedit series patriarcharum Chaldaeorum* (Romæ, 1860).

10. *Ebedjesus Khayyath, Éléments de lecture et de grammaire chaldéenne* (Mossoul, 1869).

11. *A Syriac grammar written in the dialect of Urmiah* (Urmia, no date).

12. *Kardâhi, G., Al-'Ihkâm seu linguæ et artis metricæ Syrorum institutiones* (Romæ, 1880). A second edition of this work is in preparation.

13. *Risio, G., Al-Kitâb* (Beyrouth, 1897). A Syriac grammar in Arabic.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARABIC DIALECTS.

By G. OUSSANI.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903].

Arabic, as a literary language, does not date farther back than the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era, and the early history of this important branch of Semitic speech is involved in much obscurity. In fact, until the discovery of the South Arabian inscriptions little was known in regard to it.

At a very much earlier time than was formerly supposed, the northern and southern Arabs reduced their language to writing. In northern Arabia but few inscriptions have been found; they are written in a character somewhat resembling the Sabæan, and, as they occur mainly in the district of Thamûd, are usually termed Thamûdic.

The South Arabian inscriptions, which are much more numerous, exhibit four principal dialects: Minaean, Sabæan, Ḥadramautic, and Catabanian. Although the two latter are at present represented by very few texts, their dialectic peculiarities are quite clearly marked, and it can be asserted that both the Ḥadramautic and Catabanian are more closely related to the Minaean dialect than to the Sabæan. The Minaean and the Sabæan dialects, of which numerous monuments exist, exhibit strongly marked differences in regard to grammar and vocabulary. These differences are partly to be explained on the ground of the greater age of the Minaean texts as com-

pared with the Sabaean, and it is also to be noted that, while the grammatical peculiarities of Minaean point to an older period of linguistic development, the vocabulary of Sabaean is more closely related to that of classical Arabic. As is the case with all Semitic systems of writing, except the Assyro-Babylonian, the South Arabian alphabet does not represent the vowels, and, therefore, a detailed knowledge of the forms of these dialects is rendered difficult.*

All at once, in the 6th century of the Christian Era, we meet with a perfectly developed Arabic language, surprisingly rich in forms and vocabulary, and by reason of its extreme flexibility, singularly adapted to the requirements of poetic composition. This phenomenon, which has no parallel in any other language, cannot be accounted for as a spontaneous and sudden transformation; it must have been the result of a gradual development extending over a very long time. This period, which embraces the 6th and 7th centuries of our Era, marks the real golden age of Arabic poetry; all subsequent poetical productions are imitations of these admirable ante-Islamic models.

But it is an error, as Nöldeke has already pointed out,† to suppose that the language of the ancient Arabic poets was the language of ordinary life; still less does the Koran exhibit the language in its spoken form. Ancient Arabic poetry is marked throughout by a certain tendency to artificiality and mannerism, and in order to obtain an idea of the ordinary language of the Ancient Bedouins we must have recourse to the prose of the ancient traditions (Hadiths), the genuine accounts of the deeds of the Prophet and of his companions, and the stories concerning the battles and adventures of the Bedouins in the heathen period and in the earlier days of Islām.

The formation of this *dialectus poetica*, in which only poetical compositions were written, and in which purer forms were used and colloquial expressions were avoided, marks a noble effort and a splendid achievement on the part of the ante-Islamic Arabs, and is mainly due to their frequent annual gatherings in certain public places or markets, of which the fair of 'Ukāḍ was the most famous. This fair was not only a great market open annually to all the tribes of Arabia; it was also a sort of literary, or rather poetic, congress, whither the warrior poets resorted to celebrate their exploits in rhyming verses, and peacefully to contend for the prize. It was at these congresses that the various dialects of Arabia became fused into a literary language, the language of poetry, which afterwards became the standard dialect now known as classical Arabic.

Furthermore, at the time of the Prophet, the dialect of the tribe of Koraish, which had already acquired a certain supremacy, was fixed by the Korān as the future literary language of the whole nation. Had it not been for this circumstance, we might have known Arabic in the form of half a dozen languages, differing from one another almost as widely as the modern languages of northern India and the members of the Romance group.‡

* Cf. O. Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 15, and Hommel in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia, 1903) p. 693-752, especially pp. 727-732.

† *Die Semitischen Sprachen* (2d ed. Leipzig, 1899) p. 58; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.) xxi, 652.

‡ Cf. W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Cambridge, 1890) p. 27.

It may be of interest to note here some of the dialectic peculiarities recorded by the Arabic grammarians and lexicographers of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries.||

In the dialect of the tribe of Qudā'a final *Yā*, when preceded by 'Ain, was pronounced as *Jīm*, while in the dialect of Fuqaim every *Yā* was pronounced as *Jīm*.

In the dialect of Huḍail *Hā* was pronounced as 'Ain, while in the dialects of Tamīm and 'Asad every initial *Hamza* was pronounced as 'Ain.

In the dialect of Ḥimyar the article *al* was pronounced as *am*, and in the Hadiths it is related that the Prophet himself, in addressing one day the tribe of Ḥimyar, used the same peculiarity, in order to be understood by them.

In the dialect of Rabi'a the *Kāf* of the pronominal and verbal suffix of the second person fem. sing. was pronounced as *Šīn*, and in the dialect of Mudar the same consonant, when employed as the masculine suffix, was pronounced as *Sīn*. These two dialectical peculiarities are called by the native grammarians *kaškaṣat* and *kaskasat*, respectively.

In the dialect of Yemen every *Kāf* was pronounced *Šīn* and every *Sīn* as *Tā*.

In the dialect of the tribes of Sa'd ibn Bakr, Huḍail, al-'Azd, Qais and al-'Anṣār, a vowelless 'Ain was always pronounced as *Nūn*.

In the dialect of the tribe of Māzin *Bā* and *Mīm* were constantly interchanged.

This list of phonetic differences could be greatly enlarged, and many other divergences, both in grammar and in vocabulary, can be traced in classical Arabic. The native Arabic philologists ascribe these dialectical differences wholly to foreign influences, especially to the influence of Aramaic; but this is an error. They represent, for the most part, perfectly natural local variations in the speech of the different tribes, such variations, in fact, as must occur in every language, especially when, as in the case of Arabic, the prevailing dialect is not fixed by a written literature. It is, however, undoubtedly true that one of the consequences of the foreign conquests, achieved by the Arabs under Mohammed's four immediate successors, was an extensive corruption of the Arabic language; the nations subdued were obliged to adopt the speech of the conquerors, a speech which is notoriously difficult for foreigners to acquire, and they naturally spoke it incorrectly. Their corrupt speech reacted upon the idiom of the Arabs dwelling among them, and a new dialect arose, characterized by the omission of inflections and the neglect of those grammatical niceties which constitute the chief difficulty of classical Arabic. In the latter half of the first century of Islām, this simplified dialect was generally spoken in the foreign towns and villages inhabited by the Arabs, and it gradually extended to the deserts, as well as to the towns of Arabia itself, until, within a century after the death of the Prophet, the speech of even the desert tribes had lost the purity of ante-Islamic times. Here, the change was accelerated by the military expeditions which brought the desert Arabs into contact with remote districts like 'Omān, Baḥrain, and especially northern Yemen.

|| I have been engaged for the past two years in collecting material in regard to the early dialectic peculiarities of Arabic, and hope to treat the subject more fully in a future paper.

The famous Arabic geographer al-Hamadâni, in his valuable geographical description of the Arabian peninsula,§ gives an interesting account of the correct and incorrect speech of about 150 different tribes, in the 3d and 4th centuries after Islâm.

In case of the Arabs dwelling outside of Arabia the change was even more profound. In addition to the effect on their speech of the corrupt Arabic spoken by the peoples they had conquered, another powerful factor was at work. The rapid change, from poverty and the simple life of the desert to great wealth and a life of luxury in great cities, brought with it new conditions and new ideas for which the speech of desert nomads contained no proper equivalent. Many Arabic words went out of use, foreign words were freely borrowed, and occasionally new words were coined. In this way about half the rich vocabulary of classical Arabic fell into disuse, while a large number of words from Syriac, Persian, Coptic, Berber, and later from Turkish, were adopted into the language. Along with the change of vocabulary went a corresponding mutilation of grammatical forms. The change took place independently, to a greater or less extent, in all the provinces under the Arab dominion. With the dismemberment of the Arabic Mohammedan Empire, which began to take place as early as the 2d century after Mohammed, and the consequent independence of its many Asiatic and African provinces, these linguistic changes became decidedly more distinct, so that the Arabic spoken in the African provinces differed greatly from that spoken in Asia, in Spain, in Sicily, or in Malta.

It is very difficult to define the boundaries of Arabic as a spoken language. In certain countries like Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia it is exclusively dominant; in others like Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and many other Berber States it is the tongue most commonly used. It is also spoken in Malta, in certain towns of Persia and India, by about fifteen different tribes of northwestern and northeastern Africa, in some parts of the Sahâra, and even by some tribes in southern and in equatorial Africa.

Prof. Nöldeke rightly observes** that the Arabic dialects of the present day resemble one another more closely than might be expected, considering the great extent of country over which they are spoken, and the very considerable geographical obstacles that stand in the way of communication. But it must not be supposed that people, for example, from Baghdâd or Mosul, in Mesopotamia, Morocco, San'a, and the interior of Arabia, would be able to understand one another without difficulty. On the contrary this difficulty amounts, in many cases, to an impossibility. It is an error to regard the difference between the modern Arabic dialects and the classical language as a trifling one, or to represent the development of these dialects as something wholly unlike the development of the Romance languages. No living Arabic dialect diverges from the classical speech so much as French from Latin; but, on the other hand, no Arabic dialect resembles the classical language so closely as the Lugodoric dialect, still spoken in Sardinia, resembles its parent speech.

Until quite recently, dialectic varieties of language were

looked upon indiscriminately as corruptions and barbarisms and were noticed by schools only in order that they might be avoided. A more rational philology, however, considers that they are essential parts of the speech of a people, and that a knowledge of them is necessary to any thorough investigation of the genius, nature, and development of that speech. The modern Arabic dialects have lately been the subject of careful investigation by some of the leading Arabists of the world, and the brilliant results obtained in this field of research have demonstrated the importance of such dialectic studies, not only for Arabic, but for Semitic philology in general.

MOURNING RITES AND CUSTOMS IN EARLY ARABIA.

By G. OUSSANI.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April, 1903].

A few years since, Professor Morris Jastrow, of Philadelphia, discussed in two interesting articles, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,¹ the principal mourning customs of the ancient Hebrews. In the present paper I shall endeavor to describe some of the mourning customs of ancient Arabia, with special reference to certain points of comparison suggested by Professor Jastrow's article. My material is derived from the works of the ante-Islamic poets, the only reliable source of information in regard to the subject.

A characteristic difference between the Hebrews and the Arabs lies in the fact that, while among the former both sexes alike participate in these expressions of grief, among the Arabs it is chiefly the women that appear as mourners. The practice of rubbing dust and ashes over the face, and sprinkling ashes and earth upon the head and body of the mourners, although a general custom among the ancient Hebrews, does not seem to have prevailed in early Arabia. The only reference I have been able to find is in the *Ḥamâsa* of Abû-Tammâm where the poetess Hind bint 'Asad-ad-dubâbiijja² refers to the cousins and relatives of the dead hero as seated around him weeping and wailing, and scattering on him dust and earth; where, evidently, the dust is scattered on the dead and not on the mourners, just as at the present day it is customary to throw dust and ashes upon the coffin as it is lowered into the grave.

The ancient christian Arabic poet and orator Qiss ibn Sâ'idah, first a monk and then bishop of Najrân in Arabia, before the introduction of Islâm, in a short elegy on the death of two monks, who were friends of his, refers to the practice of pouring wine on the grave in order that the body may be refreshed by the libation. He says: "I pour on your two graves wine; accept it, pray, that it may refresh your bodies."³ This custom as well as that of offering sacrifices at the grave, and the worship of ancestors among the heathen Arabs, has been discussed by Robertson Smith,⁴ Wellhausen,⁵ and Goldziher.⁶

A similar custom was that of throwing stones on the grave as a symbol of mourning, and as a tribute of love and affection, which is still practiced by many Jews in our own days. This is alluded to in the *Diwân* of the poetess Al-Ḥansâ', where we read that the friends of Şahr "whenever they passed

§ *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884-91), vol. 1, pp. 134-136.

** *Die Semitischen Sprachen* (2d ed. Leipzig, 1899) p. 63; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.) xxi, 653.

by his grave, threw stones on it, which was considered as a tribute of love on their part, and was practiced in the time of Ignorance (al-jāhiliyya)."⁷ This practice is evidently a trace of the older custom of covering the grave with stones in order to protect the body from the animals.

In early Arabia women cut off their hair, while men, as a rule, let it grow long as sign of mourning. The poet Lebid in fact, shortly before his death, said: "My two daughters would like to see their father live; but am I not a mortal like any man of the tribe of Rabi'a and Mudar? Arise then and chant the praise of your father, and do not scratch your faces and do not shave your heads."⁸ And the poetess Al-Hansa' says: "Cease thy wailing and be brave; be patient by all means, for patience is far better than shaving the head and beating the face with the sandals."⁹

In the *Aghānī* it is related that when Kulaib was killed by Giassās, his brother al-Muhalhil, the famous poet, was just returning from a banquet. Approaching his tribe, he saw them clipping the manes of their horses, and breaking to pieces their swords and lances in sign of mourning, by which he knew that his brother was killed. Then and there he vowed that he would neither drink wine, nor perfume his hair and clothes, but would let his hair grow until he had avenged the death of his brother.¹⁰

Another custom was that women after the death of a husband or near relatives, besides shaving the head, wrapped it in a black cloth, and hanging one or both sandals of the deceased upon the head or around the neck, beat with them their faces and chests. This custom is clearly mentioned by Al-Mubarrad in his *Kāmil*,¹¹ by the Hudāilite poet 'Abd Manāf ibn Rab'¹² and by many other poets.

A similar custom was that women after the death of their husbands took a piece of cotton (called *as-siqāb*), saturated it with their own blood, and put it on top of the black cloth in which they wrapped their heads. The custom is clearly alluded to by al-Azhari, who is quoted by the author of *Lisān-ul-'Arab*;¹³ and another poet says: "When she learned that her husband was dead, she shaved her head, and put the siqāb on the top of her head."¹⁴

The custom of tearing off the garments was undoubtedly the most common mourning custom in early Arabia. It was very extensively practiced, but, strange to say, only by women. It did not consist, as a rule, in stripping off all the clothes, but simply in tearing off the sleeves and the upper parts of the garment, and sometimes in putting on sackcloth, woven of black goat's hair, covering the body from the chest to the knees. I have found over fifty references to this custom in the ante-Islamic poets.¹⁵

As to the origin and symbolical meaning of the mourning customs among the ancient Hebrews and Arabs, Schwally¹⁶ has protested against the method which seeks the explanation of popular customs, such as these under consideration, in psychological motives. Weeping, he says, is a natural expression of emotion, and among peoples unaccustomed to restrain their feelings, we can easily understand that a tendency should exist to tear out the hair under the influence of extreme grief; but the removal of the clothes, or the putting of dust on the head are clearly symbolical acts, and must be accounted for in some other way than as a manifestation of humility, or as a

natural expression of grief. The late Robertson Smith¹⁷ suggested that the dust used was taken from the grave, and the ashes from sacrifices performed at the grave. Schwally thinks that the rites in question may have some connection with the institution of slavery.¹⁸

Both these explanations are quite improbable. In fact, Robertson Smith's theory is omitted in the 2d edition of his lectures, while Schwally's explanation has been severely criticised by Dr. Johannes Frey in his "*Die Altisraelitische Totenträuer*." Besides, as Professor Jastrow rightly observes, these two theories do not solve the problem, and the question still remains: "why should the dust have been placed on the head? why should ashes have been rubbed over the face? and why should the garments have been torn off." Dr. Jastrow practically agrees with Robertson Smith, as far as the use of dust and ashes is concerned, but as to the tearing off the garments he suggests an ingenious explanation of his own. He thinks that the tearing of garments, as well as the use of sackcloths, is an illustration of the fact, well known to students of the history of religions, that in religious rites there is, in general, a marked tendency to return to primitive fashions and earlier modes of life, and that the tearing of garments is not primarily a specific funeral or mourning custom, but a ceremony observed in connection with religious rites in general, prompted by the general tendency to preserve in all religious ceremonies the customs of primitive days.

In support of his interpretation Professor Jastrow points to the fact that both ancient and modern Mohammedan pilgrims, in approaching Mecca, take off their clothes and put on a very simple linen garment called '*ihrām* or '*izār*'; he refers also to the general custom in the East, from time immemorial, of taking off the sandals in approaching sacred places, exemplified in the command given to Moses by JHVH to take off his sandals upon approaching the burning bush.

But, notwithstanding the ingenuity of Dr. Jastrow's interpretation, I think the old view, which considers all these mourning customs as the natural expression of emotion in extreme grief, is more satisfactory. Oriental peoples are naturally very emotional, and are not accustomed to suppress and control the external manifestation of their feelings and passions. In the East I have myself seen persons, altogether outside the Mohammedan influence, in time of extreme grief, scratch their faces, tear their flesh, pull out their hair, strike their heads and chests, tear their sleeves and the upper parts of their garments, and even the handkerchiefs in their hands, simply because they are unable, or rather unaccustomed, to place restraint upon their feelings.

The custom of the Arabs to take off their ordinary clothes and put on a clean loin-cloth (the '*izār* or '*ihrām*) when approaching Mecca may be explained in another way. It is done in accordance with the principle that one who approaches a sacred place should try to be clean both in soul and body, to lay aside his ordinary common clothes, and put on a new and clean garment in order to be worthy to appear before the majesty of his god. Robertson Smith and Wellhausen have shown that in early Arabia the appearance of the worshipper in a sanctuary without clothes is an alternative to appearing in a special garb, borrowed from the priest, as was the case in the sanctuary of al-Jalsad, or obtained in some other way.

The ordinary clothes were looked upon as unfit to wear when appearing before the divinity and coming in contact with holy objects, and therefore other garments were provided. Besides, all these Mohammedan pilgrimages are expiatory rites in which the sinner approaches God with fear and humility for the purpose of placating his wrath and of imploring his mercy. He approaches God as a stranger, not with the old joyous confidence of national worship, but with atoning ceremonies and rites of self-mortification.

The taking off of the sandals in approaching sacred places does not necessarily mean a tendency to readopt the customs of primitive ages. Any one who has been in the East knows how a man's sandals or shoes look after he has walked in the muddy and dusty streets, and is aware that the Orientals take off their shoes not only when entering mosques, churches, and synagogues, but also whenever they enter a room in any house. It is simply a matter of social etiquette and politeness.

I contend, therefore, that all the mourning customs among the ancient Hebrews and Arabs, as well as among other Semitic peoples, are to be explained on purely psychological grounds. They are simply the spontaneous manifestations of an afflicted spirit, and represent the humiliation and self-mortification of the human heart under the influence of extreme grief and affliction.

NOTES.

(1) *Dust, earth and ashes as symbol of mourning among the ancient Hebrews*, JAOS xx (1899) 133-150; and *The tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning, with especial reference to the Customs of the Ancient Hebrews*, *ibid.* xxi (1901) 23-39.

(2) Cf. *Ḥamāsa* (Beirut edition) p. 105, and Cheikho's *marāthī sayā'ir-el-'Arab*, Part 1, p. 154.

(3) Cf. *Ḥamāsa* p. 98, and Cheikho's Arabic Christian poets (*Šu'arā' ul-naṣrāniyya*, Beirut, 1890-91) p. 215, where the elegy is ascribed to Qiss, and not to a poet of Banu Asad as in the *Ḥamāsa*.

(4) *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed. London, 1894).

(5) *Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums* (Berlin, 1887).

(6) *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1884 (extrait). Cf. also the recent valuable work of Père M. T. Lagrange (Director of the Revue Biblique) *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques* (Paris, 1903).

(7) *Diwān* (Beirut, 1896) p. 243.

(8) Cf. Alāsi's *Bulugh-el-'arab fi'ahyāl-el-'arab* (Bagdad, 1314) vol. iii., p. 10; Ibn Hišām, pp. 626-627; Ḥansā', pp. 20, 16, 164; *Lisān*, i, 451; xi, 346; *Šu'arā' ul-naṣrāniyya*, p. 162; Cheikho's *marāthī sayā'ir-el-'arab* (Beirut, 1897) p. 50; and Ibn-es-Sikkīt *Critique du langage* (Beirut, 1896) p. 297.

(9) *Diwān*, p. 173.

(10) Cf. *Aghānī*, iv, 151; Mubarrad's *Kāmil*, i, 216; *Šu'arā' ul-naṣrāniyya*, pp. 162-164-168; and Cheikho's *marāthī sayā'ir-el-'arab*, pp. 10-11.

(11) *Kāmil*, p. 742; *Lisān*, ix, 346; and Ḥansā', pp. 20, 173, 174.

(12) Quoted in Ḥansā's *Diwān*, p. 174.

(13) Quoted in *Lisān*, i, 451, and Ḥansā', p. 16. The verse, though attributed by the author of the *Lisān* to this Arabic Sappho, does not appear in her *Diwān*.

(14) Ḥansā', *loc. cit.*

(15) Cf., e. g., *Ḥamāsa*, pp. 105, 122; Cheikho, *Šu'arā' ul-naṣrāniyya*, pp. 162, 179, 828; *Marāthī*, pp. 94, 105, 106 Nöldeke, *Delectus carminum veterum arabicorum*, pp. 41, 64, Ibn Hišām, pp. 516, 518, 626, 627, 730.

(16) *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (Giessen, 1892) p. 135.

(17) *Religion of the Semites*, 1st ed., p. 413.

(18) *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

THE WORDS SŌRĀH AND NISMAN IN ISAIAH
xxviii. 25.

By WM. B. McPHERSON.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 16, 1903.]

The ἀπαξ λεγόμενα *sōrah* and *nismān* in the proverbial poem at the end of Is. 28 have always been a stumbling-block. The Authorized Version, following some of the older interpreters, regards both words as adjectives, meaning respectively *principal* and *appointed*, and renders the passage, When he hath made plain the face thereof (*i. e.*, of the ground) doth he not . . . cast in the *principal* wheat and the *appointed* barley, and the rye in their place? The Revised Version, on the other hand, takes them as adverbial accusatives, and translates, Does he not put in the wheat *in rows** and the barley *in the appointed place*?, referring to the so-called drill-husbandry (German *Drillkultur*) which in modern agriculture is performed by special machinery. LXX reads καὶ πάλιν σπείρει πυρὸν, καὶ κριθὴν καὶ κέγχρον καὶ ξέαν ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις σου, omitting שורה; but several of the best MSS, including the *Sinaiticus* and *Alexandrinus*, omit also καὶ κέγχρον and millet = נסמן. If we reconstruct the Hebrew text on this basis it would read as follows: —ושם חטה ושערה וכסמם ונבלהו. The Peshita also omits both שורה and נסמן.

In view of these omissions Wellhausen, following Koppe, conjectured—in the first edition of his *History of Israel*,† subsequently issued under the title of *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*—that שורה and נסמן were 'undeleted *corrigenda*' of the preceding שערה and the following כסמם, respectively. This conjecture has been adopted by a number of the most distinguished Old Testament critics: Cheyne, Duhm, Grätz, Kautzsch, Oort, and Marti, all believe that the scribe first wrote שורה instead of שערה, then he corrected his mistake and added the correct form, but forgot to cancel שורה. In the same way, they think, the copyist wrote first נסמן instead of כסמם, then he added the correct נסמם without canceling נסמן. But we can hardly believe that a scribe should have forgotten, twice in the same line, to cancel a *corrigendum* after having added the correct form; and besides (as was pointed out by Professor Haupt during the interpretation of the text in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University) we find both words, supposed to be undeleted *corrigenda*, in enumerations of different kinds of grain.

The twelfth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon, published in 1895, called attention to the fact that שורה was found as the

*Jehudah ben-Koreish, cited in Gesenius' commentary (Leipzig, 1821) p. 846, translated wa-yuṣabbir el ḥiṣṣe fi sūrat eljaddān. The Vulgate reads, et ponet triticum per ordinem.

†Geschichte Israels (Berlin, 1878) p. 409, n. 1; Proleg. (1883) p. 417.

name of some grain in one of the Zenjirli texts, viz., in l. 6 of the Inscription of Panammû, a contemporary of Tiglath Pileser III (745-727 B. C.) where we read:—שאה ושורה ושורה ושורה. Professor Sachau, in his paper printed in part xi of the *Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen* (Berlin, 1893) p. 72, below (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 68, 80, l. 6) conjectured that שורה meant *durra*,* the African or Indian millet, *Sorghum vulgare*, adding that the word was translated *millet* in some of the Ancient Versions of Is. 28, 25; but this statement is erroneous; it is נסמן, not שורה, that some of the Ancient Versions translate by κέγχρον 'millet.' Even if שורה were an expression for *millet*, it would not necessarily denote African millet or *durra*, since several varieties of millet are cultivated in the East, not only *durra*, the African millet, but also the Italian millet, *Setaria Italica*, and the ordinary millet, *Panicum miliaceum*, etc.

Of the remaining names of grain contained in the Panammû Inscription, we know that שורה is *barley*, and חטה *wheat*. As to שאה, Sachau combined it with Assyr. še'u 'grain,' adding that שאה must be some special kind of grain; similarly *corn* is used in Scotland for *oats*, in the United States for *maize*, while in Germany *Korn* is applied especially to *rye*.† Now it is possible that שאה is the name for *durra*, the African millet, which is one of the staple grains in the East; while שורה may have been the so-called Italian millet, *Setaria Italica*.

In the Critical Notes on Isaiah, in the Polychrome Bible, Cheyne makes the remarkable statement, 'There can hardly be a doubt that the carver of the Inscription of Panammû at Zenjirli really made the same mistake which we have supposed the scribe to have made in our passage.' Cheyne has evidently overlooked the fact that in the Panammû Inscription שורה is not followed immediately by שורה, as in the Isaianic proverbial poem, but is separated from it by חטה. However, we must appreciate the fact that Canon Cheyne refrained in this instance from applying to the obscure שורה his panacea *Jerahmeel*.

Heb. שורה in Is. 28, 25 is warranted, not only by the Panammû Inscription, but by a passage in the Palestinian Talmud, where we also find נסמן mentioned. In *Hallâh* 1^b we read שורה, שורה זה שבורה שועל נסמן זה השופן, *Sôrâh* is *shibbôleth-shû'âl*, *nismân* is the *shîphôn*; and in *Pesahim* 2, 5 we read, *Shîphôn* is a kind of spelt, and *shibbôleth-shû'âl* is a variety of barley. Lazarus Goldschmidt in his Babylonian Talmud ‡ translates *shibbôleth-shû'âl* by 'oats,' following the modern usage of the Jews;|| but no importance can be attached to this usage, since the Jews have applied many of the ancient names of plants and animals to things which do not at all correspond to them: they use not only שושנה 'sword-lily' § for 'rose,' but even ירדאים 'mandrakes' for 'violets,'** and רם 'wild bull' †† for 'reindeer.' Moreover 'oats' is not cultivated in the East; 'barley' is the grain fed to horses, just as in ancient Greece. The

term שבורה שועל must have denoted some kind of grain with long, bushy head, just as certain varieties of *Setaria* are now called 'foxtail, or 'bristly fox tail' (*Setaria glauca*)*.

In like manner Goldschmidt translates שימן, the word given in the Talmud to explain נסמן, by 'rye,' but rye also is unknown in Bible lands; ‡ there is no word for it either in Hebrew or Arabic. Levy, in his *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, and Krauss, in his *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud*, &c., part 2 (Berlin, 1899) p. 581, translate שימן by 'oats,' and regard it as borrowed from the Greek σιφών 'oats,' but Löw states, in a note to Krauss' paragraph on שימן, that a Greek word σιφών 'oats' is unknown, although it is true that σιφώνιον is used in Dioscurides (1, 620) as a synonym of βρώμος 'oats.' Löw, however, regards this σιφώνιον as a Semitic loan-word. Heb. שימן is certainly a genuine Semitic word and may be derived from שיה 'to bruise' ‡ or 'grind' just as *tritricum* 'wheat' is connected with *terere* 'to grind.' Heb. שימן stands for שופין, || exhibiting the same dissimilation which we find in ראשון for ראשן, or חיצון for חיצן, §. If שימן is a variety of 'spelt,' as the passage in the Talmud cited above states, then it may be either the so-called St. Peter's corn, i. e., one-grained wheat, *Triticum monococcum* ** or the emmer wheat *Triticum dicoccum*, †† both of which afford excellent food for horses.

The term שורה may be a by-form of שורה, borrowed from some Semitic dialect in which ש quiesced, as e. g. in Assyrian or Phœnician; just as we find נלה (Josh. 19, 3) = נעלה (Josh. 15, 29) or אשהמה (Josh. 15, 50) = אשהמע (Josh. 21, 14 etc.).

Now it is well known that doublets, one of which is borrowed from another language, often have different meanings (cf. e. g. our *captive* and *cattif*, or the French *captif* and *chétif*); therefore, while שורה is the name for *barley*, שורה may have been used as the name of some other bearded or awny grain. The original meaning of שורה is 'bristly,' hence we see its applicability to barley, but Italian millet, *Setaria Italica*, which is originally an Asiatic cereal, also presents a bristly appearance, ‡‡ and שורה may well have been used as the name for it.

It is also possible that שורה is a dialectic contraction of שורה, from שרה 'to bristle,' from which the word for 'nail, spike,' Heb. משרר, Arab. *mismâr*, |||| is derived. As Professor Haupt showed in his paper on the semi-vowel *y* in Assyrian, published in the second volume of the *Journal of Assyriology*, Assyr. *m* often becomes digamma and is finally elided; e. g., the name of the month *Tammûz* appears in Assyrian as *Duzû* (ZA 2, 270), and the term *bît nakamâti* 'treasure house' is found in the Old Testament in the form בית נחם (ZA 2, 266, n. 5). In the same way we find in modern Syriac *Zônâ* 'time' (ZA 2, 268, n. 2) for *Zavnâ*, *Zamnâ*, Heb. זמן, which is a loan-word

* Cf. also D. H. Müller, *Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli* (Vienna, 1893) pp. 6, 64 and Lidzbarski, *Epigr.*, p. 374.

† Modern Jews, therefore, use רנן for *rye*.

‡ Cf. e. g. vol. i, p. 257; vol. ii, p. 445.

§ Cf. also Michael L. Rodkinson's English translation of the Babylonian Talmud, vol. v (New York, 1898) p. 52 and *Le Talmud de Jerusalem traduit pour la première fois par Moïse Schwab*, Tome iii (Paris, 1879) pp. 262-312.

‡ Greek σάκκινος; see Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 51 = *Hebraica* 18, 241.

** See e. g. Rosenberg's *Hebräische Konversations-grammatik* (Vienna) pp. 154, 158.

†† Cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1903) p. 7; contrast Professor Haupt in the notes on the English translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 173.

* Cf. e. g. the plate *Getreide* iii, no. 2 in Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. vii, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1894) p. 490.

† Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 316b, below, states: 'The genuine rye (*Secale cereale*) was probably not cultivated in Bible lands; it is called in Gemara *neshman* by a paronomasia on Is. 28, 25.'

‡ Cf. Professor Haupt's Note on the Protevangelium in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 106 (June, 1893) p. 107.

|| Cf. modern Arabic *šafân* which seems to be an Aramaic loanword.

‡ Contrast Margolis in *Hebraica* 19, 165, w.

** German *Einkorn*, *Peterskorn*, *Pferdedinkel*.

†† German *Zweikorn*, *Amelkorn*, *Gerstendinkel*, *Reisdinkel*, *Emmer*, *Ammer*, *Sommerspelz*.

‡‡ *Setaria* means 'provided with bristles' (*sete*); cf. *setarius*, *setaceous*, *setose*.

|| Arab. *mismâr* is an Aramaic loanword; see Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leyden, 1886) p. 89.

THE CORONATION OF ARISTOBULUS.

BY AARON EMBER.

[Abstract of a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, April 16th, 1903.]

Ps. 2 is generally considered to be Messianic. But like all the so-called Messianic psalms it can be shown to refer to contemporary events. Various interpretations of this psalm have been proposed. Nearly all of the Jewish commentators refer it to the uprising of the Philistines against David (2 S 5, 17-21). Ewald assigned it to the reign of Solomon, while others thought of the reigns of Jehosaphat, Uzziah, Hezekiah, etc.

However, there is no incident in the history of pre-Exilic Israel, which exactly suits Ps. 2. Moreover, the Aramaic word **רנש** in v. 1, and **רעע** in v. 9, and also the advice of the poet, in v. 12, to the heathen rulers to embrace Judaism point to post-Exilic times.

Professor Haupt, in his article on The Poetic Form of the First Psalm in the last number (April, 1903) of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, remarks that Ps. 2 was composed for the coronation of Aristobulus, the eldest son of the Maccabean conqueror John Hyrcanus (105-104 B. C.).

We infer from the poem that a number of heathen tribes of Palestine, which had been for some time under Jewish supremacy, planned rebellion against the King of the Jews. The conspiracy was doomed to failure inasmuch as JHVH Himself had appointed him King of Zion, thus making him His theocratic representative on earth. The heathen rulers are advised to desist from their futile undertaking, to accept the Jewish religion, and submit to JHVH. These circumstances agree quite well with the reign of Aristobulus.

John Hyrcanus, the father of Aristobulus, during his prosperous reign of thirty years (135-105 B. C.) greatly enlarged the boundaries of Judea to the North, East, and South, and compelled a number of heathen tribes, especially the Idumeans, to embrace Judaism. Before his death John Hyrcanus proclaimed his wife queen, while Judas, his eldest son, who afterwards assumed the Greek name Aristobulus, was appointed high-priest. After the death of his father, Aristobulus starved his mother to death in prison, incarcerated all his brothers, except Antigonus, and ascended the throne. He was the first of the Hasmoneans to assume the regal title. It is quite conceivable that a number of tribes subdued by Hyrcanus should have endeavored to take advantage of this condition of political affairs, and attempt to throw off the Jewish dominion. The coronation of Aristobulus took place in 105 B. C., and great must have been the rejoicing of the Jewish people at the coronation ceremony of their first national king after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. This psalm may have been composed for this occasion by one of the followers of Aristobulus.

The objection might be raised, however, that Aristobulus is usually represented as one of the darkest figures in the history of the Hasmonean dynasty, and therefore it might be argued that such a psalm would never have been written in his honor. But we must bear in mind that our information concerning the Hasmoneans is almost exclusively derived from Pharisean sources, which would naturally be more or less prejudiced against a ruler of such Philhellenic tendencies as Aristobulus. Even if we concede the sanguinary character of Aristobulus, it is not at all inconceivable that one of his followers should have written such

a song in his honor. It is true that the Pharisees were the final editors of the Psalter, but the fact that Ps. 2 commemorated the coronation of the first Jewish king would account for its admission into the collection.

Before giving a metrical translation and the original text as restored in connection with the interpretation of Messianic Psalms in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the session 1902/3, it may be well to prefix a few remarks on the poetic form of the psalm as well as on some passages which are generally misunderstood. The phrase **בני אתה** *thou art my son* means that the king will be a special *protégé* of JHVH; God will protect him as a father protects his son (*cf.* 2 S 7, 14).

The phrase **אני היום ילדתיך** is usually translated *I have this day begotten thee*; but a father cannot say to his son: *I have this day begotten thee*. We must translate it *I have this day created thee* (*i. e.*, appointed thee) *King over the Jews*. The King of the Jews is a 'creature' of JHVH; he owes his rise and appointment to JHVH, and is subject to His will and influence. He is King over the Jews by the grace of JHVH. Just as the king of England may create one of his subjects a peer, so JHVH created (*i. e.*, appointed) His high-priest Aristobulus King of the Jews. The whole clause, however, is shown by the meter to be a gloss to the preceding *Thou art my son*.

The most difficult passage is that generally translated *Kiss the son*, Heb. **נשקו בר**. The Midrash and the Talmud explain **בר** by **תורה** *law, discipline*. Such an explanation is more or less allegorical. Similarly the Ancient Versions give for **בר**: *discipline, purity*, or the adverb *purely*. But these renderings do not suit the context. Kimchi, Delitzsch, Bæthgen, and many other Biblical scholars translate **בר** by *son*. But **בר** *son* is Aramaic. If the poet intended to use **בר** instead of the Heb. **בן**, we should expect, in v. 7, **ברי** instead of **בני**. Moreover, we should expect *Kiss His son*, or *Kiss the feet of His son*, instead of *Kiss a son*. Hupfeld read **בו** instead of **בר**, translating *Submit to him*. But **נשקו בו** is not good Hebrew.

Professor Haupt thinks that **בר** in this phrase is identical with the word for *field, land, ground* which we find in Job 39, 4 and in several passages of the Talmud. Moreover *barr* is a common word for 'land' in Arabic. It is especially used for *terra firma*.

With regard to meter, Ps. 2 must be divided into four stanzas. Each stanza consists of three *meshalim* or poetic lines. Each *meshal* has two hemistichs, and each hemistich has three beats.

The Hebrew text should be restored* as follows:—

ולאקים יהנו ריקם:	1 למה רנשו גוים
ורונום נוסרו יחד:	2 יתעצו מלכי ארץ
ונשליכה מן עבדיו:	3 ננתקה את מוסדותיו
ארני ילעג למו:	4 יושב בשמים ישחק
ובחרוני יבהלמו:	5 אז ידבר אלימו
על ציון הר קרשי:	6 ואני נסכתי מלכי
אקר אלי בני אתה:	7 אספרה את חק יחיה
ואחזק אפסיר ארץ:	8 שאלמקני ואתנה נחלקך
ככלי יוצר תנפצם:	9 תרעם בשבט ברזל
תנסרו שפטי ארץ:	10 ועתה מלכים השבילו
נשקו בר ברערה:	11 עבדו את יחיה בראה
כריבער כמעש אפז:	12 פריאנה ותאבדו דרך

1 על יחיה ועל משיחו (α) 5 באפו (β) 7 אני היום ילדתיך (γ)
8 גוים (δ) 11 וחילו (ε) 12 אשרי כל חוסי בו (ζ)

* Contrast Cheyne, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 3950, note 6.

This may be translated into English as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Wherefor do gentiles rage, | and peoples devise what is naught, |
| 2 The Kings of the lands contrive plots | and princes take counsel together? |
| 3 "Their bonds we will break asunder, | their cords we will cast away!" |
| 4 He laughs whose throne is in heaven, | the Lord derides them all. |
| 5 But thereupon He asks | (His anger strikes them with terror): |
| 6 "Have not I established my King | on Zion, my holy mountain?" |
| 7 JHVH's decree I proclaim, | He said to me, Thou art my son. |
| 8 Ask and thy heritage is thine, | and the ends of the land thy possession. |
| 9 With iron sceptre thou'lt shatter them, | like a potter's vessel break them. |
| 10 And now, ye Kings, be wary! | Ye rulers of the land take warning! |
| 11 See ye serve JHVH with fear, | with trembling kiss ye the ground! |
| 12 Lest He rage, and ruin seize ye; | His wrath is easily kindled. |

- (a) 1 against JHVH and against His anointed (b) 7 I have this day created thee
(c) 8 the gentiles (d) 11 and tremble
(e) 12 Happy all they who in Him put their trust!

The last hemistich of the psalm *Happy all they who in Him put their trust* is shown by Dr. Grimm** in his dissertation to be a euphemistic liturgical appendix which was added in order to offset the ominous conclusion *For His wrath is easily kindled*.

LIST OF ORIENTAL PAPERS IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY CIRCULARS, 1879-1903.

COMPILED BY AARON EMBER.

A.—Semitic.

- ADLER, CYRUS. The City of Harran: Note on its Name and History: No. 32 (July, 1884) p. 126.
- On the Catalogue of Old Testament Writings contained in the MS. of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles: No. 41 (July, 1885) p. 120.
- On Hebrew Words in the Codex Sangallensis 912: No. 47 (March, 1886) p. 63.
- The Book of Job, with a New Commentary, by Benjamin Szold: No. 53 (Nov., 1886) p. 26.
- The Legend of Semiramis and the Nimrod Epic: No. 55 (Jan., 1887) p. 50.
- The Shofar—Its Use and Origin: No. 77 (Dec., 1889) p. 26.
- ARNOLT, W. M. Selah in the Psalms and Habakkuk: No. 81 (May, 1900) p. 76.
- Remarks Introductory to a Comparative Study on the Deluge Tablets, with special reference to Dr. P. Jensen's "Kosmologie": No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 95.
- On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin: No. 102 (Jan., 1893) p. 22.
- BLAKE, F. R. The Opening Chapter of Deutero-Isaiah: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 39.
- Professor August Fischer's Notes on the Siloam Inscription: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 62.
- Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 65.
- Babylonian and Atharvan Magic: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 66.
- BROWN, F. The Akkadian and its Influence on Semitic Languages: No. 11 (July, 1881) p. 149.
- CASANOWICZ, I. M. The Book of Ecclesiastes in the Septuagint Version: No. 90 (Jan., 1892) p. 117.
- Professor Haupt's Nimrod Epic: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 91.
- Paronomasia in the Old Testament: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 96.
- CHEYNE, T. K. Phases of Jewish Religious Life After the Exile. Announcement of Course: No. 133 (Dec., 1897) p. 32.
- EMBER, AARON. The Coronation of Aristobulus: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 90.
- FOOTE, J. C. The Biblical Ephod: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 40.
- The Diphthong *ai* in Hebrew: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 70.
- Some Unwarranted Innovations in the Hebrew Text of the Bible: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 71.
- FROTHINGHAM, A. L. Historical Sketch of Syriac Literature and Culture: No. 30 (Apr., 1884) p. 73.
- Assyrian Archaeology. Announcement of Course: No. 45 (Dec., 1885) p. 32, cf. No. 46 (Jan., 1886) p. 56.
- Babylonian and Assyrian Archaeology. Announcement of Course: No. 49 (May, 1886) p. 90.
- Babylonian and Assyrian Art. Announcement of Course: No. 52 (Nov., 1886) p. 35.

- GRIMM, K. J. The Double Accentuation of the Decalogue: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 38.
- HAUPT, P. The so-called Woman's Language of the Ancient Babylonians: No. 29 (March, 1884) p. 51.
- Special Course in Assyriology: No. 52 (Nov., 1886) p. 16, cf. No. 56 (March, 1886) p. 117.
- On the Etymology of Nekasim: No. 59 (Aug., 1887) p. 117.
- A Proposed Assyrian-English Glossary: No. 61 (Dec., 1887) p. 18.
- Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology): No. 61 (Dec., 1887) p. 19; No. 76 (Nov., 1889) p. 16; No. 110 (March, 1894) p. 56; No. 128 (Feb., 1897) p. 24; No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 96.
- Study Collection of Casts of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities in the National Museum, Washington, D. C.: No. 62 (Jan., 1888) p. 23.
- On Assyrian Writing: No. 64 (March, 1888) p. 41.
- Address on Modern Researches in Assyria and Babylonia: No. 64 (March, 1888) p. 46.
- On some passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge: No. 69 (Feb., 1889) p. 17.
- Contributions to the History of Assyriology with Special Reference to the Works of Sir Henry Rawlinson: No. 72 (Apr., 1889) p. 58.
- Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark: No. 75 (Sept., 1889) p. 104.
- On the Book of Ecclesiastes with Special Reference to the closing section: No. 90 (June, 1891) p. 115.
- Proposed New Translation of the Bible: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 87.
- Note on the Protevangelium: No. 106 (June, 1893) p. 107.
- On a New Hebrew Particle: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 107.
- A New Polychromatic Edition of the Old Testament, prepared by Eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and America, under the Editorial Direction of Paul Haupt: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 108, cf. No. 116 (Jan., 1895) p. 30, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 98.
- Polychromatic Large-Paper Edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew, edited by Paul Haupt: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 123.
- Batim lo benuyim: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 108.
- Denominal Verbs in Semitic: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 109.
- Note on Psalm 110, 3: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 110.
- The Possessive Suffix of the First Person Singular in Assyrian: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 111.
- Assyrian Names of Lapis Lazuli and Magnesite: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 111.
- Written Examination of C. Johnston in his Principal Subject: Assyriology: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 120.
- Written Examination of Daniel G. Stevens, Jr., in his Principal Subject: Biblical Philology: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 120.
- Written Examination of Daniel G. Stevens, Jr., in his first Subsidiary Subject: Assyrian: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 121.
- The Chaldean Flood Tablet: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 124.
- The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 121.
- Babel and Bible: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 47.
- Archaeology and Mineralogy: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 51.
- David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 53.
- Drugulin's Marksteine: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 57.
- Philippine Problems: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 57.
- HIRSCH, E. G. Medieval Jewish Poetry, Announcement of Course: No. 157 (Apr., 1902) p. 66.
- JOHNSTON, C. The Alleged Grecisms of Ecclesiastes: No. 90 (June, 1891) p. 118.
- Report on some Oriental Manuscripts owned by the Johns Hopkins University: No. 90 (June, 1891) p. 119.
- Dr. Lehmann's Samassumukin: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 90.
- Note on K. 84: No. 106 (June, 1893) p. 108.
- The Suffix Pronoun of the Second Person, Feminine Plural in Assyrian: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 117.
- Assyrian Medicine: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 118.
- Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 119.
- The Letter of an Assyrian Princess: No. 126 (June, 1896) p. 91.
- The Laws of Hammurabi and the Mosaic Legislation: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 59.
- Cuneiform Medicine: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 60.
- LEHMANN, C. F. The Dialectic Equivalence of *n* to *š* in Proto-Babylonian: No. 32 (July, 1884) p. 125.
- LEON, (Ibn Abi Suleimān) The Study of Classical Arabic among Modern Arabs: No. 77 (Dec., 1889) p. 27.
- Arabic Conversation. Announcement of Course: No. 86 (March, 1891) p. 72, No. 91 (July, 1891) p. 140.
- Jewish Philosophers in the Middle Ages. Announcement of Course: No. 91 (July, 1891) p. 140.
- LEVIAS, C. On the Etymology of the Term Ševā: No. 118 (Apr., 1895) p. 64.
- The Use of the Imperative in the Protasis of a Conditional Sentence: No. 118 (Apr., 1895) p. 64.
- MOORE, G. F. Report on the Thesis of G. D. Stevens: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 121.
- MCPHERSON, W. B. A Modern Cuneiform Congratulatory Message: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 40.

**Karl J. Grimm, *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendices in the Old Testament* (Baltimore, 1901).

79. MCPHERSON, W. B. The Words Sôrah and Nismân in Isaiah xxviii, 25; No. 163 (June, 1903), p. 87.
80. OUSSANI, G. Arabic Conversation. Announcement of Course: No. 153 (July, 1901) p. 100; No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
81. — Phonetic Differences between the Eastern and Western dialects of Syriac: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 81.
82. — Mourning Rites and Customs in early Arabic: No. 163 (June, 1904) p. 85.
83. — Origin and Development of the Arabic Dialects: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 83.
84. PRINCE, J. D. A Modern Cuneiform Congratulatory Tablet: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 92.
85. — Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 94.
86. — List of Books Presented to the Semitic Department of the Johns Hopkins University: No. 98 (May, 1892) p. 94.
87. ROSENAT, W. The Talmud (Lectures) Announcement of Course: No. 147 (July, 1900) p. 77; No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
88. — Hebrew Conversation. Announcement of Course: No. 153 (July, 1901) p. 100; No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
89. — Medieval Jewish Philosophers, (Lectures) Announcement of Course: No. 147 (July, 1900) p. 77.
90. — Jewish Ceremonial Institutions. Announcement of Course: No. 153 (July, 1901) p. 99.
91. — The Sonneborn collection of Jewish ceremonial objects: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 67.
92. — Some Hebraisms in the New Testament: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 68.
93. SEIPLE, W. G. A Modern Cuneiform Congratulatory Tablet: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 75.
94. SMITH, G. A. Hebrew Poetry, (Lectures) Announcement of Course: No. 117 (March, 1895) p. 49.
95. STEVENS, D. G. The so-called Songs of Degrees: No. 95 (Feb., 1892) p. 115.
96. — Messianic Psalms: No. 106 (June, 1893) p. 108.
97. — A Translation of Leviticus, Chapters 1-5: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 112.
98. — The Songs of Return: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 115.
99. UHLER, P. R. List of Works in the Library of the Peabody Institute relating to Assyrian, Chaldean, etc., Texts, and Inscriptions: No. 25 (Aug., 1883) p. 153.
100. WARD, W. H. On recent Explorations in Babylonia: No. 49 (May, 1886) p. 89.
101. WILLIAMS, G. A. Natural Occurrence of Lapis Lazuli: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 111.
102. WILLIAMS, T. Translation of Some Arabic Medical Prescriptions of the End of the Fifteenth Century: No. 84 (Dec., 1890) p. 31.

B.—New Testament.

103. CROSS, J. M. The Testaments of the Twelve Apostles: No. 3 (Feb., 1880) p. 34.
104. — On the exaggerated Influence of the Septuagint on the Greek of the New Testament: No. 10 (Apr., 1881) p. 128.
105. — Final Sentences in the New Testament: No. 10 (Apr., 1881) p. 128.
106. HALL, I. H. Hopkins Hall Lectures. The New Testament: Bibliographical, Biographical, and Textual Studies. Announcement of Course: No. 45 (Dec., 1885) p. 29.
107. — Reproduction in Phototype of a Syriac Manuscript (Williams MS) with the Antilogomena Epistles: No. 46 (Jan., 1886) p. 55.
108. — Lectures on the History of the Printed New Testament. Announcement of Course: No. 46 (Jan., 1886) p. 55.
109. HARRIS, J. R. New Testament Autographs: No. 21 (Feb., 1883) p. 51.
110. — On the Normal Forms of Early Epistles: No. 22 (Apr., 1883) p. 66.
111. — Introductory Note on the Euthalian Stichometry: No. 25 (Aug., 1883) p. 140.
112. — On the Exemplar of Cod. C in the Apocalypse: No. 27 (Nov., 1883) p. 6.
113. — On an Etymology of Isidore: No. 28 (Jan., 1884) p. 40.
114. — Stichometry and the Vatican Codex B: No. 29 (March, 1884) p. 54.
115. — Notes on Early Stichometric MSS.: No. 29 (March, 1884) p. 54.
116. — On the "Pistic Nard" of Mark xiv, 3 and John xii, 3: No. 39 (May, 1885) p. 77.
117. — On the Western Text of the New Testament: No. 39 (May, 1885) p. 78.
118. — The Teaching of the Apostles and Sibylline Books: No. 46 (Jan., 1886) p. 44.

C.—Indo-European.

119. BEVIER, L.—On the Guttural Nasal as Consonant and Vowel and its Representation in Sanskrit and Greek: No. 7 (Dec., 1880) p. 82.
120. BLAKE, F. R. See A, No. 13 and D, No. 147.
121. BLOOMFIELD, M. Final *as* in Sanskrit before Sonants: No. 13 (Feb., 1882) p. 174; cf. No. 17 (Aug., 1882), p. 243.
122. — On the Grhyasamgraha-pariçîṣṭa of Gobhilaputra: No. 15 (May, 1882) p. 205.

123. BLOOMFIELD, M. A search for Functional or Dialectic Difference in the Present System of the Veda: No. 20 (Dec., 1882) p. 26.
124. — Arthur C. Burnell and Talavakāra-Brahmana: No. 21 (Feb., 1883) p. 51.
125. — On the Etymology of *ψιλος*: No. 25 (Aug., 1883) p. 141.
126. — On certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives: No. 27 (Nov., 1883) p. 6.
127. — On an edition, proposed by the Writer, of the Kāuṣika-sūtra of the Atharva-Veda: No. 29 (March, 1884) p. 52.
128. — Latin *usque*=Vedic *āchā*: No. 36 (Jan., 1885) p. 32.
129. — *πεπων* 'ripe' and *πεπων* 'mild, weak': No. 36 (Jan., 1885) p. 33.
130. — On a probable Equivalent in Sanskrit of the Greek particle *ἄρ, ἤ*: No. 39 (May, 1885) p. 76.
131. — On a New Group of Vedic words belonging to the root *praç* "to ask": No. 41 (July, 1885) p. 119.
132. — Note on the Study of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology: No. 41 (July, 1885) p. 119.
133. — The Correlation of *v* and *m* in the Veda: No. 49 (May, 1886) p. 93, cf. No. 56 (Jan., 1887) p. 56.
134. — A Vedic Concordance: Being a Collection of Hymns and Sacrificial Formulas of the Literature of the Vedas: No. 99 (June, 1890) p. 99.
135. — Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda. Third, fourth, and fifth series: No. 99 (June, 1892) p. 101.
136. — The Unique Manuscript of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda: No. 154 (Dec., 1901) p. 17.
137. — Kashmirian Atharva-Veda: No. 155 (Jan., 1902) p. 28.
138. HAUPT, P. On the Pronunciation of *tr* in Old Persian: No. 59 (Aug., 1887) p. 117.
139. HAWKS, W. J. Modern Persian. Announcement of Course: No. 87 (March, 1891) p. 72.
140. LANMAN, C. R. Why has the Sanskrit Ablative so seldom a Form exclusively its own?: No. 2 (Jan., 1880) p. 17.
141. — On the Relative Frequency of ancient and modern grammatically Equivalent Forms as a criterion of the age of different Vedic Texts: No. 2 (Jan., 1880) p. 17.
142. MAGOUN, H. W. The Asuri-Kalpa: No. 65 (July, 1888) p. 81.
143. — The Kāuṣika-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda: No. 84 (Dec., 1890) p. 34.

D.—Malayo-Polynesian.

144. BLAKE, F. R. Tagalog for Beginners. Announcement of Course: No. 153 (July, 1901) p. 100; No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
145. — Tagalog (Second Year's Course). Announcement of Course: No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
146. — Visayan for Beginners. Announcement of Course: No. 159 (July, 1902) p. 102.
147. — Sanskrit Loan-Words in Tagalog: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 63.
148. — See A, No. 12.
149. HAUPT, P. Malay for Beginners and Interpretation of Selected Texts. Announcement of Course: No. 141 (July, 1899) p. 81.
150. — The Philippine Islands (Lectures) Announcement of Course: No. 147 (July, 1900) p. 77.
151. SEIPLE, W. G. Tagalog Poetry: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 78.
152. — The Tagalog Numerals: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 79.

E.—Egyptology.

153. ADLER, CYRUS. Note on a Coptic Inscription in the Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities: No. 84 (Dec., 1890) p. 30.
154. COHEN, MENDES. On "the Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities" and its collector, Colonel Mendes I. Cohen: No. 35 (Dec., 1884) p. 21.
155. DENNIS, J. T. The transliteration of Egyptian: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 73.
156. — Egyptian stone implements: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 74.
157. JOHNSTON, C. The Relation between Egyptian and Semitic: No. 145 (May, 1900) p. 37.
158. SEIPLE, W. G. Recent Papyrus Finds: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 77.

F.—Miscellaneous.

159. ADLER, CYRUS. Accessions to the University Library. Oriental Languages: No. 37 (March, 1885) p. 59.
160. — List of Books relating to the East in Enoch Pratt Free Library: No. 81 (May, 1900) p. 82.
161. — Ancient Eastern Politics: No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 116.
162. EMBER, AARON. List of Oriental Papers in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, 1879-1903: No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 91.
163. PRINCE, J. D. Modern Turkish (Osmanli) Announcement of Course: No. 86 (March, 1891) p. 72; No. 91 (July, 1891) p. 140; No. 98 (July, 1892) p. 98.
164. — Linguistic Position of Turkish: No. 87 (Apr., 1891) p. 80.

INDEX TO LIST OF ORIENTAL PAPERS IN UNIVERSITY CIRCULARS.

- Arabic: Nos. 72, 73, 80, 82, 83, 102.
 Assyrian: Nos. 5, 8, 13, 16, 24, 26, 29, 31-38, 48-50, 52, 53, 55, 63-71, 78, 84, 93, 99, 100.
 Egyptian: Nos. 153-158.
 Greek: Nos. 9, 103-119, 125, 129, 130.
 Hebrew: Nos. 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 17-22, 27, 30, 39-45, 47, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 74-77, 79, 85, 87-92, 94-98.
 Latin: Nos. 9, 128.
 Malay: No. 149.
 Miscellaneous: Nos. 56, 58, 59, 62, 101, 150, 159, 160-162.
 Persian: Nos. 138, 139.
 Sanskrit: Nos. 13, 119-128, 130-137, 140-143.
 Semitic: Nos. 9, 12, 46, 51, 86, 157.
 Sumerian: Nos. 14, 28.
 Syriac: Nos. 23, 81.
 Tagalog: Nos. 12, 144, 145, 151, 152.
 Turkish: Nos. 163, 164.
 Visáyan: No. 146.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY DURING THE SESSION 1902-1903.

In the Oriental Seminary, under the direction of Professor Haupt, twenty-eight courses in the various departments of Oriental research were given during the past year, special attention being paid to the interpretation of the Bible as well as to Oriental History and Archæology.

Eleven hours weekly during the first half-year, and thirteen hours weekly during the second, were devoted to the study of *Hebrew* and the *Old Testament*. In the Old Testament Seminary, Professor Haupt gave, two hours weekly through the year, a *Critical Interpretation of Selected Messianic Psalms*, preceded by some introductory lectures on the origin of the Psalter, the Messianic idea in the Old Testament and in cuneiform literature, the history of the Maccabean period, the Dispersion of the Jews, the form of Hebrew poetry, etc. Professor Haupt also conducted a series of weekly exercises in *Hebrew Prose Composition*, the students translating idiomatic English sentences into Hebrew. Dr. Blake, Instructor in Oriental Languages, gave a course in *Hebrew Syntax*, and in conjunction with the Rayner Fellow in Semitic, Dr. Foote, conducted the *Second Year's Course in Hebrew*, two hours weekly through the year. During the second half-year Dr. Rosenau met a class for the reading of *Unpointed Hebrew Texts*, and also conducted exercises in *Hebrew Conversation*. The instruction in *Elementary Hebrew* was given by Dr. Foote, under the supervision of Professor Haupt, two hours weekly through the year. Dr. Foote also gave a course of lectures on the *Literature of the Old Testament*, on the basis of the Authorized Version.

Associate Professor Johnston lectured on the *History of the Ancient East*, with special reference to the History of Israel, and also gave a series of lectures on *Biblical Archæology*. During the second half-year Dr. Rosenau lectured on the *Talmud*.

Professor Haupt gave a course of lectures on *Comparative Semitic Grammar* with special reference to roots and stems in Semitic.

In *Biblical Aramaic*, Dr. Blake gave a minute grammatical analysis of the Aramaic portions of the Book of Ezra.

In *Syriac* Professor Johnston gave an elementary course during the second half-year, and a more advanced course through the

year, while Professor Haupt conducted a series of exercises in *Syriac Prose Composition*.

In *Arabic*, Professor Haupt conducted weekly exercises in *Prose Composition*, while Professor Johnston met a class for the reading of selections from *Arabic Historians*. The instruction in *Elementary Arabic* was given by Dr. Blake, and the Fellow in Semitic, Mr. Oussani, interpreted selected *sûras* of the *Korân*, during the first half-year, and conducted exercises in reading *Unpointed Arabic texts*, during the second half-year. Mr. Oussani also gave a course in *Arabic Conversation*.

In *Ethiopic*, exercises in *Prose Composition* were conducted by Professor Haupt, while Dr. Blake interpreted *selected texts* in Dillmann's *Chrestomathy*.

Four hours weekly were devoted to the study of *Assyriology*. Professor Haupt gave a series of lectures on *Sumerian Grammar*, and interpreted selected *Sumerian Hymns and Penitential Psalms*. He also explained the Babylonian *Ninrod Epic*, and conducted weekly exercises in *Assyrian and Sumerian Prose Composition*, the students translating Arabic sentences and selected Hebrew texts into Assyrian, and Assyrian sentences into Sumerian. Under the guidance of Professor Johnston, a class met, two hours weekly through the year, for the study of Assyrian and Babylonian *Historical Inscriptions*.

In *Egyptology*, Professor Johnston gave a course in *Hieroglyphic Egyptian*; he also interpreted selected *Hieratic Papyri*.

Two courses in *Tagalog*, the most important native language of the Philippine Islands, an elementary and a more advanced course, were conducted by Dr. Blake.

As delegate of the Johns Hopkins University, the Smithsonian Institution, and the American Oriental Society, Professor Haupt attended the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg in September, 1902. He read three papers in the Semitic section of the Congress: (1) The Poetic Form of the Biblical Love ditties; (2) Quotations in the Old Testament; (3) Tarshish. Abstracts of these papers will appear in the Proceedings of the Congress. The paper on Tarshish will be published in full in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

At the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, held in New York, December, 1902, Professor Haupt read two papers: (1) The Poetic Form of the First Psalm; (2) The Stones of Tarshish. The first paper appeared in the April number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (vol. XIX, pp. 129-142), while the July number of this Journal contains a paper by Professor Haupt on Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard. The same number contains also a review of R. F. Harper's *Assyrian Letters* (vols. VI-VIII), by Professor Johnston.

Two elaborate dissertations by graduates of the Oriental Seminary were published during the session: one by Dr. Rosenau on *Hebraisms in the Authorized Version of the Bible*, a volume of 283 pages, and the other (255 pp.) by Dr. Guttmacher, on *Optimism and Pessimism in the Old and New Testaments*. Dr. Rosenau also published an illustrated book on *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs* with a catalogue of the Sonneborn Collection (193 pp.).

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, held in Baltimore, April 1903, twenty-three papers were presented by members of the Oriental Seminary: viz., Professor Haupt: (a) David's Dirge on the Death of Saul and Jonathan, (b) Difficult Passages in the Gilgamesh Epic, (c) Bible and Babel, (d) Drugulin's *Marksteine*;—Associate Professor Johnston: (a) Moses and

Hammurabi, (b) Cuneiform Medicine ;—Dr. Blake : (a) Intransitive Verbs in Hebrew, (b) Prof. August Fischer's Notes on the Siloam Inscription, (c) Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog ;—Dr. Rosenau : (a) The Sonneborn Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects, (b) Some Hebraisms in the New Testament ;—Dr. Foote, (a) The Diphthong *ai* in Hebrew, (b) Some Unwarranted Innovations in the Hebrew Text of the Bible ;—Mr. Oussani : (a) Mourning Rites and Customs in Early Arabia, (b) Phonetic Differences between the Eastern and Western Dialects of Syriac, (c) Origin and Development of the Arabic Dialects ;—Mr. McPherson : The Words *sôrâh* and *nismân* in Isaiah xxviii. 25 ;—Mr. Dennis : (a) The Transliteration of Egyptian, (b) Egyptian Stone Implements ;—Mr. Seiple : (a) Tagalog Poetry, (b) The Tagalog Numerals, (c) Recent Papyrus Finds in Egypt ;—Mr. Ember : The Coronation of Aristobulus. Abstracts of these papers are given in No. 163 of the University Circulars [pp. 47-93] issued at the end of the session.

Before the University Philological Association, members of the Oriental Seminary read the following papers : Professor Haupt (Dec. 19) : King Solomon's Mines ; Associate Professor Johnston (Feb. 20) : The Laws of Hammurabi ; Dr. Blake (Oct. 17) : Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog ; Mr. Seiple (Nov. 21) : Theocritean Parallels to the Song of Songs [printed in the January number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xix, pp. 108-115].

Professor Johnston also read a paper (April 20) on Magic and Medicine in Ancient Babylonia before the Historical Club of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The first part of the fifth volume of the *Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar*, edited with the coöperation of the Johns Hopkins University, by Professor Haupt in conjunction with Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin, appeared at the end of the session. It contains a number of modern Arabic stories (with a glossary and a grammatical sketch) collected by Professor Meissner, of Berlin, during his sojourn in the ruins of Babylon. The second part of the fifth volume, containing an edition of the Arabic poems of Mutalammis by Professor Vollers, of Jena, formerly Director of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, Egypt, is in press.

The Sonneborn Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects was increased by a number of valuable additions, and several rare objects with interesting historical associations will be added before the beginning of next session.

The Strouse Semitic Library of the Oriental Seminary received during the past year, besides a number of the latest publications on Semitic Languages and Biblical Literature, an exceptionally valuable addition in an excellent collection of Rabbinical literature comprising 1,700 titles in about 3,000 parts.

PROGRAMME OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY FOR THE YEAR 1903-1904.

Oriental History.

1. History of the Ancient East (Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Israel and Judah).
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Friday, 12 m.*
2. Historical Geography of Palestine.
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Wednesday, 12 m.*

Biblical Philology.

3. The Literature of the Bible (on the basis of the Authorized Version).
Professor HAUPT and Dr. FOOTE. *Thursday, 5 p. m.*
4. General Introduction to the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament (Masorah, etc.).
Dr. FOOTE. *Thursday, 9 a. m.*
5. Elementary Hebrew.
Professor HAUPT and Dr. FOOTE. *Wednesday, 2-4 p. m.*
6. Hebrew (Second Year's Course).
Dr. BLAKE. *Thursday, 3 p. m.*
7. Hebrew Syntax.
Dr. BLAKE. *Thursday, 2 p. m.*
8. Reading of Unpointed Hebrew Texts.
Dr. ROSENAU. *Wednesday, 9 a. m.*
9. Prose Composition (Hebrew, Arabic, Assyrian, Sumerian, Syriac, Ethiopic).
Professor HAUPT. *Tuesday, 4-5.30 p. m.*
10. Comparative Semitic Grammar.
Professor HAUPT. *Monday, 2 p. m.*
11. Old Testament Seminary (Critical Interpretation of The Book of Ecclesiastes).
Professor HAUPT. *Tuesday, 2-4 p. m.*
12. The Ancient Versions of the Book of Ecclesiastes (Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Syriac, etc.).
Associate Professor JOHNSTON, Dr. FOOTE, Mr. OUSSANI. *Thursday, 4 p. m.*
13. Hebrew Conversation.
Dr. ROSENAU. *Wednesday, 10 a. m.*
14. Post-Biblical Hebrew (The Mishnic tract *Yomâ*, ed. Strack ; Talmud, *Berakhoth*).
Dr. ROSENAU. *Tuesday, 9-11 a. m.*
15. Lectures on Jewish Ceremonial Institutions.
Dr. ROSENAU. *Monday, 5 p. m.*
16. Biblical Aramaic Grammar and Interpretation of the Aramaic Portions of the Book of Daniel.
Dr. BLAKE. *Thursday, 11 a. m.*

Syriac.

17. Syriac (Rödiger's Chrestomathy).
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Tuesday, 12 m.*
18. Syriac Prose Composition.
Professor HAUPT. See No. 9.

Arabic.

19. Elementary Arabic.
Dr. BLAKE. *Monday, 9 a. m.*
20. Extracts from Arabic Geographers.
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Friday, 9 a. m.*
21. Reading of Unpointed Arabic Texts.
Mr. OUSSANI. *Friday, 3 p. m.*
22. Arabic Conversation.
Mr. OUSSANI. *Monday, 11 a. m.*
23. Arabic Prose Composition.
Professor HAUPT. See No. 9.

Ethiopic.

24. Elementary Ethiopic.
Dr. BLAKE. *Monday, 10 a. m.*
25. Ethiopic Prose Composition.
Professor HAUPT. See No. 9.

Assyriology.

26. Elementary Assyrian.
Dr. FOOTE. *Monday and Thursday, 12 m.*
27. Assyrian Historical Texts.
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Tuesday and Wednesday, 10 a. m.*
28. Babylonian Nimrod Epic.
Professor HAUPT. *Monday, 3 p. m.*
29. Sumerian Hymns and Penitential Psalms.
Professor HAUPT. *Monday, 4 p. m.*
30. Assyrian and Sumerian Prose Composition.
Professor HAUPT. See No. 9.

Egyptology.

31. Hieroglyphic Egyptian for Beginners.
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Friday, 10 a. m.*
32. Coptic (Steindorff's Grammar).
Associate Professor JOHNSTON. *Friday, 11 a. m.*

Malayo-Polynesian Philology.

33. Malay.
Dr. BLAKE. *Thursday, 10 a. m.*
34. Elementary Tagalog.
Dr. BLAKE. *Friday, 5 p. m.*
35. Tagalog (Advanced Course).
Dr. BLAKE. *Friday, 4 p. m.*
36. Visayan.
Dr. BLAKE. *Wednesday, 4 p. m.*

CONTENTS.

NOTES FROM THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY:—

	PAGE.
Bible and Babel. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -	47
Archæology and Mineralogy. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -	51
David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -	53
Drugulin's Marksteine. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -	57
Philippine Problems. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -	57
The Laws of Hammurabi and the Mosaic Code. By C. JOHNSTON, - - - - -	59
Cuneiform Medicine. By C. JOHNSTON, - - - - -	60
Notes on the Siloam Inscription. By FRANK R. BLAKE, - - - - -	62
Sanskrit Loan Words in Tagalog. By FRANK R. BLAKE, - - - - -	63
Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog. By FRANK R. BLAKE, - - - - -	65
Babylonian and Atharvan Magic. By FRANK R. BLAKE, - - - - -	66
The Sonneborn Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects. By W. ROSENAU, - - - - -	67
Some Hebraisms in the New Testament. By W. ROSENAU, - - - - -	68
The Diphthong <i>AI</i> in Hebrew. By T. C. FOOTE, - - - - -	70
Some Unwarranted Innovations in the Text of the Hebrew Bible. By T. C. FOOTE, - - - - -	71
The Transliteration of Egyptian. By J. T. DENNIS, - - - - -	73
Egyptian Stone Implements. By J. T. DENNIS, - - - - -	74
A Modern Cuneiform Congratulatory Message. By W. G. SEIPLE, - - - - -	75
Recent Papyrus Finds in Egypt. By W. G. SEIPLE, - - - - -	77
Tagalog Poetry. By W. G. SEIPLE, - - - - -	78
The Tagalog Numerals. By W. G. SEIPLE, - - - - -	79
Phonetic Differences between the Eastern and Western Dialects of Syriac. By G. OUSSANI, - - - - -	81
Origin and Development of the Arabic Dialects. By G. OUSSANI, - - - - -	83
Mourning Rites and Customs in Early Arabia. By G. OUSSANI, - - - - -	85
The Words <i>Sôrâh</i> and <i>Nisman</i> in Isaiah xxviii, 25. By W. B. MCPHERSON, - - - - -	87
Coronation of Aristobulus. By A. EMBER, - - - - -	90
List of Oriental Papers in the University Circulars. By A. EMBER, - - - - -	91

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY FOR THE YEAR 1902-1903, - - - - - 93

PROGRAMME OF THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY FOR THE YEAR 1903-1904, 94

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
OF BALTIMORE.

LIST OF SERIALS.

- I. American Journal of Mathematics. FRANK MORLEY, Editor. Quarterly. 4to. Volume XXV in progress. \$5 per volume.
(A very few complete sets of this journal remain. These will be sold for \$100 per set.)
- II. American Chemical Journal. IRA REMSEN, Editor. Monthly. 8vo. Volume XXX in progress. \$5 per year.
- III. American Journal of Philology. B. L. GILDERSLEEVE, Editor. Quarterly. 8vo. Volume XXIV in progress. \$3 per volume.
(Only a few complete sets remain. Price will be stated on application.)
- IV. Studies from the Biological Laboratory. 8vo. Volume V complete.
- V. Studies in History and Politics. J. M. VINCENT, J. H. HOLLANDER, W. W. WILLOUGHBY, Editors. Monthly. 8vo. Volume XXI in progress. \$3 per volume.
(The set of twenty series in cloth will be sold for \$60, and including subscription to the current (twenty-first) series for \$63. The twenty series with nineteen extra volumes will be sold for \$80.)
- VI. Johns Hopkins University Circulars. Monthly. 4to. Volume XXII in progress. \$1 per year.
- VII. Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin. Monthly. 4to. Volume XIV in progress. \$1 per year.
(The set of fourteen volumes will be sold for \$35.)
- VIII. Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports. 4to. Volume XI in progress. \$5 per volume.
(The set of eleven volumes will be sold for \$60.)
- IX. Contributions to Assyriology, etc. Volume IV complete.
- X. Memoirs from the Biological Laboratory. W. K. BROOKS, Editor. Volume V complete.
(The set of five volumes will be sold for \$35.)
- XI. Modern Language Notes. A. M. ELLIOTT, Editor. Monthly. 4to. Volume XVIII in progress. \$1.50 per volume.
- XII. The Journal of Experimental Medicine. W. H. WELCH, Editor. Bi-monthly. 4to. Volume VI in progress. \$5 per volume.
(The set of five volumes will be sold for \$30.)
- XIII. American Journal of Insanity. HENRY M. HURD, Editor. Quarterly. 4to. \$5 per volume.
- XIV. Reports of the Maryland Geological Survey.
- XV. Terrestrial Magnetism and Atmospheric Electricity. L. A. BAUER, Editor. Quarterly. 8vo. Volume VIII in progress. \$2.50 per volume.
(The set of eight volumes will be sold for \$22.50.)
- XVI. Reprint of Economic Tracts. J. H. HOLLANDER, Editor. First Series. 1903. \$1.
- XVII. Annual Report of the Johns Hopkins University. Presented by the President to the Board of Trustees.
- XVIII. Annual Register of the Johns Hopkins University. Giving the list of officers and students, and stating the regulations, etc.

ROWLAND'S PHOTOGRAPH OF THE NORMAL SOLAR SPECTRUM. 10 plates. \$20.

THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SPANISH AMERICA. By John H. Latané (The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History for 1899). 294 pp. 12mo. \$1.50.

THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. By J. M. Callahan. (The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History for 1900). 304 pp. 12mo. \$1.50.

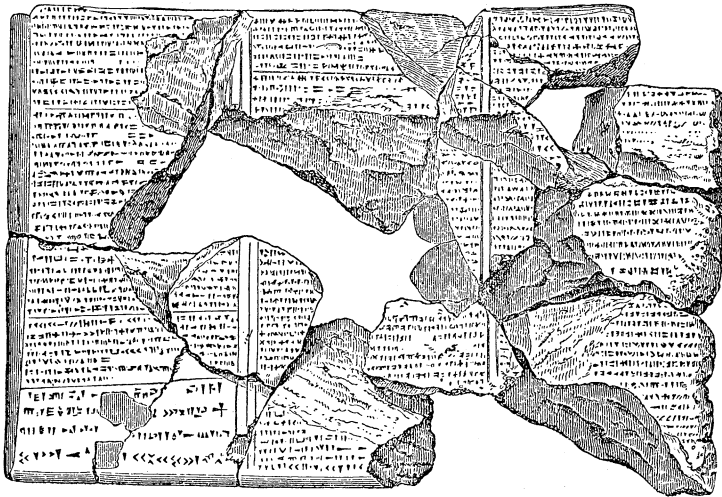
ESSAYS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. J. Franklin Jameson, Editor. Cloth, \$2.25.

THE PHYSICAL PAPERS OF HENRY A. ROWLAND. 716 pp. Royal 8vo. \$7.50.

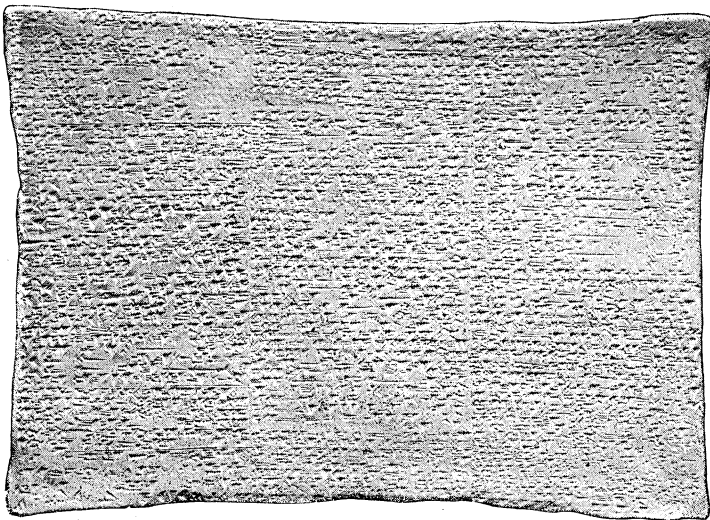
Communications and requests for detailed lists of publications should be addressed to The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.

The Chaldean Flood Tablet.

The Johns Hopkins Press has now on sale a few plaster casts of the eleventh tablet of the so-called Izdubar or Gilgamesh Legends, commonly known under the name of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. The tablet contains the cuneiform text of the Chaldean Account of The Deluge as restored by Professor Paul Haupt in the second part of his edition of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. The text is based on thirteen different copies of the Flood tablet, the fragments of which are published in Professor Haupt's edition. The originals were found during the British excavations in the Valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and are now preserved in the British Museum. The present clay tablet has the size of the largest Deluge fragment ($8\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ in.) known in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum as K 2252. The text has been engraved in clay under the direction of Professor Haupt by Rev. R. Zehnfund, Ph. D., of Rossau, Germany.



REVERSE OF ORIGINAL TABLET, K 2252.



REVERSE OF THE MODERN REPRODUCTION OF THE CHALDEAN FLOOD TABLET, RESTORED FROM DUPLICATES.

The casts have been most carefully finished in colored plaster so as to give them the appearance of a real cuneiform clay tablet. The tablet contains in six columns 331 lines of cuneiform writing. An accompanying statement gives explicit directions for the reproduction of cuneiform tablets.

The present tablet will be found especially valuable for academic classes, as it will enable students who have not access to originals to study the cuneiform writing. It is proposed to issue a number of the most important Assyrian and Babylonian texts in this manner.

The tablets are safely put up in handsome boxes and will be sent post free on receipt of \$1.50.

Orders should be addressed to THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, BALTIMORE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASSYRIOLOGY AND SEMITIC PHILOLOGY.

(*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.*)

Edited by Professor FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, and Professor PAUL HAUPT.

Volume I. 636 pages, royal 8vo., 2 portraits and 14 plates of inscriptions. Price, \$10.00.—Volume II. 645 pages, royal 8vo., 2 portraits and 83 plates of inscriptions. Price, \$10.50.—Volume III. 590 pages, royal 8vo., 48 plates of inscriptions, 30 illustrations, 3 maps and 1 plan. Price, \$10.00.—Volume IV. 590 pages, royal 8vo., 19 plates. Price, \$10.00.

Attention is called to the very limited edition in which the *Beiträge* is published. The completion of the sets of the older periodicals (the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, for example) is often difficult, if not quite impossible.

Subscriptions in America should be addressed to THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, Baltimore.

CONTENTS OF VOLUMES I—IV.

- BELSER, CARL WILHELM, Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften (Mit 24 Tafeln, autographiert von F. H. Weissbach). II. S. 111—203.
- BILLERBECK, A., und ALFRED JEREMIAS, Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch (Mit 30 Abbildungen und 3 Karten). III. S. 87—188.
- BORK, FERDINAND, Elamisches. IV. S. 431—433.
- BROCKELMANN, C., Ibn Gauzi's *Kitāb al-Wafā fi fadd'il al-Mustafā*, nach der Leidener Handschrift untersucht. III. S. 1—59.
- DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH, Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Briefliteratur.
- Erster Aufsatz I. S. 185—248.
 - Zweiter Aufsatz I. S. 613—631.
 - Dritter Aufsatz II. S. 19—62.
- Ein Thonkegel Sin-idinnam's (Mit Abbildung in Lichtdruck und 4 Tafeln autographierter Keilschrifttexte). I. S. 301—311.
- Nachträgliches zu Hagen's Cyrus-Texten. II. S. 248—257.
- Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein. II. S. 258—273.
- Bemerkungen zu einigen altbabylon. Königs- u. Personennamen II. S. 622—626.
- Notizen zu den neubabylonischen Kontrakttafeln. III. S. 385—392.
- Zur juristischen Literatur Babyloniens IV. S. 78—87.
- Randbemerkungen zu E. Lindl., „Die Datenliste der ersten Dynastie von Babylon.“ IV. S. 403—409.
- Zusatzbemerkungen zu Nagels Abhandlung über Kings Hammurabi-Briefe. IV. S. 483—500.
- und J. A. KNUDTZON, Briefe Hammurabi's an Sin-idinnam. (Mit 2 autographierten Tafeln). IV. S. 88—100.
- DEMUTH, LUDWIG, Fünfzig Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Kyros (538—529 v. Chr.) III. S. 393—444.
- FLEMMING, J., Der litterar. Nachlass G. F. Grotefend's (Mit Portrait). I. S. 80—93.
- Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie (Mit Portrait). I. S. 537—582. II. S. 63—110.
- Sir Henry Rawlinson und seine Verdienste um die Assyriologie (Mit Portrait). II. S. 1—18.
- FRAENKEL, S., Zum sporadischen Lautwandel in den Semit. Sprachen. III. S. 60—86.
- FRIEDRICH, THOMAS, Die Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli und das *bīt hillāni* (Mit 6 Abbildungen). IV. S. 227—278.
- GELDEREN, CORNELIS VAN, Ausgewählte babylonisch-assyrische Briefe, transskribiert und übersetzt. IV. S. 501—545.
- HAGEN, O. E., Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus (Mit 2 Tafeln: die Nabūdān-Annalen). II. S. 205—248.
- HARPER, EDWARD T., Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dīb-barra (Mit 32 Tafeln Keilschrifttexte autographiert von H. Zimmern und 10 Lichtdrucken nach photograph. Aufnahmen von E. T. Harper). II. S. 390—521.
- HAUPT, PAUL, Das Nominalpräfix *na* in Assyrischen. I. S. 1—20.
- Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos (Mit 9 Tafeln autographierter Keilschrifttexte). I. S. 48—79.
- Ergebnisse einer neuen Collation der Izdubar-Legenden. I. S. 94—152.
- Zur Assyrischen Nominallehre. I. S. 158—184.
- Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift. I. S. 249—267.
- Die beiden Halbvocale *u* und *i*. I. S. 293—300.
- Verzeichniss der Abkürzungen. I. S. 362—368.
- *Makkāzu* oder *makkāru*? I. S. 631.
- The Hebrew term *shālsh*. IV. S. 583—587.
- HOMMEL, FRITZ, Über den Grad der Verwandtschaft des Altägyptischen mit dem Semitischen. II. S. 342—358.
- HROZNÝ, FRIEDRICH, Zum Geldwesen der Babylonier. IV. S. 546—550.
- JÄGER, MARTIN, Der Halbvocal *i* im Assyrischen. I. S. 443—491.
- Das babylonische Hiatuszeichen. I. S. 589—592.
- Assyrische Räthsel und Sprüchwörter. II. S. 274—305.
- JASTROW JR., MORRIS, A new Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend (Mit 4 Tafeln in Photolithographie und Autographie). III. S. 363—384.
- JEREMIAS, ALFRED, siehe: Billerbeck.
- JEREMIAS, JOHANNES, Die Cultustafel von Sippar. I. S. 268—292.
- KNUDTZON, J. A., Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Lay. 17. 18. II. S. 306—311.

- KNUDTZON, J. A., Ergebnisse einer Collation der El-Amarna-Tafeln. IV. S. 101—154.
 — — Weitere Studien zu den El-Amarna-Tafeln. IV. S. 279—337 und 410—417.
 — — Briefe Hammurabi's an Sin-idinnam siehe: Delitzsch.
 KOHLER, J., Ein Beitrag zum Neubabylonischen Recht. IV. S. 423—430.
 KOTALLA, EDUARD, Fünfzig babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Artaxerxes I. (464—424 v. Chr.). IV. S. 551—574.
 KRAETZSCHMAR, RICHARD, Relativpronomen und Relativsatz im Assyrischen. I. S. 379—442.
 — — Die Präposition *ša* im Assyrischen. I. S. 583—588.
 LEHMANN, C. F., Ein Siegelcylinder König Bur-Sin's von Isin (Mit einer Abbildung des Cylinders). II. S. 589—621.
 LINDL, ERNEST, Die Datenliste der ersten Dynastie von Babylon (Mit 4 Abbildungen und Nachträgen). IV. S. 338—402.
 MARK, VICTOR, Die Stellung der Frauen in Babylonien gemäss den Kontrakten aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezar bis Darius (604—485). IV. S. 1—77.
 MCGEE, DAVID W., Zur Topographie Babylons auf Grund der Urkunden Nabopolassars und Nebukadnesars. I. Teil. III. S. 524—560.
 MEAKIN, BUDGETT, The spoken Arabic of Morocco. IV. S. 575—582.
 MEISSNER, BRUNO, Altbabylonische Briefe (Mit 4 Tafeln autographierter Keilschrifttexte). II. S. 557—564 und 573—579.
 — — Assyrische Freibriefe (Mit 5 Tafeln autographierter Keilschrifttexte). II. S. 565—572 und 581—588.
 — — Altbabylonische Gesetze (Mit 9 autographierten Tafeln). III. S. 493—523.
 — — Falkenjagen bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern. IV. S. 418—422.
 — — und PAUL ROST, Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons (Mit Plan u. 35 autographierten Tafeln). III. S. 189—362.
 MITTWOCH, EUGEN, Hebräische Inschriften aus Palmyra (Mit 1 Tafel in Lichtdruck). IV. S. 203—206.
 MUSS-ARNOLT, W., The Works of Jules Oppert (With Portrait). II. S. 523—556.
 NAGEL, GOTTFRIED, Die Briefe Hammurabi's an Sin-idinnam. IV. S. 434—483.
 NESTLE, E., Die Verba mediae *æ* im Syrischen. I. S. 153—157.
 PHILIPPI, F., Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung in ihrem Verhältniss zu einander. II. S. 359—389.
 PRAETORIUS, FRANZ, Zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie. I. S. 269—378.
 — — Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrikas. II. S. 312—341.
 ROST, PAUL, siehe: Meissner.
 SOBERNHEIM, MORITZ, Palmyrenische Inschriften (Mit 1 Plan und 1 Abbildung). IV. S. 207—219.
 STEINDORFF, GEORG, Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen. I. S. 330—361 und 593—612.
 STRONG, S. ARTHUR, On some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal (Mit 5 Tafeln autographierter Keilschrifttexte). II. S. 627—645.
 THUREAU-DANGIN, F., Les chiffres fractionnaires dans l'écriture babylonienne archaïque. III. S. 588—589.
 WEISSBACH, F. H., Zur Serie *Maḫlu* (Mit autograph. Tafeln). IV. S. 155—167.
 — — Susische Tontäfelchen (Mit 14 autographierten Tafeln). IV. S. 168—202.
 — — siehe: Belser.
 WILLIAMS, TALCOTT, The spoken Arabic of North Morocco. III. S. 561—587.
 ZEHNFUND, RUDOLF, Babylonische Weberrechnungen. I. S. 492—536.
 — — *Zuqqāpu*, das Schröpfungsinstrument der Babylonier (Mit 1 Abbildung). IV. S. 220—226.
 ZIEMER, ERNST, Fünfzig Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Kanbyses (529—521 v. Chr.). III. S. 445—492.
 ZIMMERN, H., Zusatzbemerkungen zur Legende von Adapa. II. S. 437—438.
 — — siehe: Harper.

Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve.—527 pages. Octavo. \$6.00.

This volume contains 44 separate papers with a photogravure of Professor Gildersleeve.

The Teaching of the Apostles.—(ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ).—Newly edited, with facsimile, text and a commentary. (From the manuscript of the Holy Sepulchre, Convent of the Greek Church, Jerusalem.) By J. RENDEL HARRIS. 110 pages quarto, and 10 plates. \$5.00.

The Syrian Antilegomena Epistles.—2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. Written A. D. 1471, by Suleiman of Husn Keifa. Edited by ISAAC H. HALL. 17 phototype pages. \$3.00.

Selections from the Early Scottish Poets.—By WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. 240 pages. 12mo. \$1.25.

The Taill of Rauf Coilyear.—A Scottish metrical romance of the 15th century. Edited with introduction, notes and glossarial index by WM. HAND BROWNE. (In press).

Orders may be sent for the above works to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION

OF

THE UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA-VEDA,

THE SO-CALLED PĀIPPALĀDA-ĀKĀHĀ.

The photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, the so-called Pāippalāda-ĀkĀhā, is now completed. It has been edited under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Tuebingen by Professor Maurice Bloomfield of Baltimore and Professor Richard Garbe of Tuebingen. It contains 544 plates 15½ x 12 inches. The technical work has been done with great success by the firm of Messrs. Martin Rommel & Co., of Stuttgart, and it is believed that no more handsome and satisfactory reproduction of such a manuscript has ever been made. The work has been reproduced in three parts, in temporary binding.

In the entire domain of Indian Manuscript tradition there is no single manuscript which claims so much interest as the unique birch-bark manuscript of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda now in possession of the library of the University of Tuebingen. The eminent Sanskrit scholar, the late Professor Rudolf von Roth, as early as the year 1856, was led by a remark of the traveller Baron von Huegel to the belief that a new version of the Atharva-Veda might be found in Kashmir. Baron von Huegel in his work, "Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek," vol. ii, p. 364, remarked that the Brahmins of Kashmir belonged to the Atterwan, or as they said Atterman Veda, and upon the strength of this statement Professor von Roth induced the authorities of the British Government in India to institute a search in the inaccessible earthly paradise in the hope of finding a new version of the Atharva-Veda. His prophetic surmise came true most brilliantly. In the year 1875 His Highness the late Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Ranbir Singh, had this manuscript sent to Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Provinces, by whom it was in turn dispatched to Professor von Roth. The latter, after publishing a stirring account of its discovery, character and contents in his famous tract, "Der Atharva-Veda in Kaschmir" (Tuebingen, 1875), guarded it until his recent lamented death; it has now passed into the possession of the University library of Tuebingen, whose greatest and priceless treasure it forms. Repeated search and persistent enquiries have conclusively shown that no other original manuscript of this Veda is likely to turn up.

The manuscript is written on birch-bark in the Kashmirian, the so-called Sharada, character. It consists of 287 leaves (written on both sides) of about 20 by 25 centimeters in size.

The few copies of the volume not subscribed for in advance will be sold at the price of \$50.00—a very low price considering the cost of the reproduction.

Subscriptions may be sent to The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS OF BALTIMORE.

A NEW POLYCHROME EDITION

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

Exhibiting the composite structure of the books, with Critical Notes in English, under the title:

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW TEXT,
PRINTED IN COLORS.

With Notes, prepared by eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and America
under the Editorial Direction of

PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, LL.D.

THE FOLLOWING PARTS ARE NOW READY:

- PART 1: **GENESIS**, in eight colors, by the Rev. C. J. BALL, Oxford. 120 pp. 1896. \$2.00.
- PART 3: **LEVITICUS**, in three colors, by Prof. S. R. DRIVER and Rev. H. A. WHITE, Oxford. 32 pp. 1894. 75 cents.
- PART 4: **NUMBERS**, in eight colors, by Prof. J. A. PATERSON, Edinburgh. 67 pp. 1900. \$1.50.
- PART 6: **JOSHUA**, in eight colors, by Prof. W. H. BENNETT, London. 32 pp. 1895. 75 cents.
- PART 7: **JUDGES**, in seven colors, by Prof. G. F. MOORE, Cambridge, Mass. 72 pp. 1900. \$2.50.
- PART 8: **SAMUEL**, in nine colors, by Prof. K. BUDDE, Marburg. English translation of the notes by Professor B. W. BACON, D. D., New Haven, Conn. 100 pp. 1894. \$2.00.
- PART 10: **ISAIAH**, in seven colors, by Prof. T. K. CHEYNE, Oxford. 206 pp. 1899. \$3.75.
- PART 11: **JEREMIAH**, in black and red, by Prof. C. H. CORNILL, Breslau. English translation of the notes by Prof. C. JOHNSTON, Baltimore. 80 pp. 1895. \$1.25.
- PART 12: **EZEKIEL**, by Prof. C. H. TOY, Cambridge, Mass. 116 pp. 1899. \$2.50.
- PART 14: **PSALMS**, in black and red, by Prof. J. WELLHAUSEN, Göttingen. English translation of the notes by Prof. J. D. PRINCE, Columbia University, New York. 96 pp. 1895. \$1.75.
- PART 15: **PROVERBS**, in black and red, by A. MÜLLER and E. KAUTZSCH, Halle. English translation of the notes by Prof. D. B. MACDONALD, B. D., Hartford, Conn. 86 pp. 1901. \$1.50.
- PART 17: **JOB**, in four colors, by Prof. C. SIEGFRIED, Jena. English translation of the notes by Prof. R. E. BRÜNNOW, Heidelberg. 50 pp. 1893. \$1.00.

PART 18: **DANIEL**, in black and red, by Prof. ADOLPH KAMPHAUSEN, Bonn. English translation of the notes by Prof. B. W. BACON, D. D., New Haven, and Prof. D. B. MACDONALD, B. D., Hartford, Conn. 43 pp. 1896. \$0.80.

PART 19: **EZRA AND NEHEMIAH**, in ten colors, by Prof. H. GUTHE, Leipzig, and Rev. L. W. BATTEN, Ph. D., New York. English translation of the notes by Prof. B. W. BACON, D. D., New Haven, and Prof. D. B. MACDONALD, B. D., Hartford. 55 pp. 1896. \$1.00.

PART 20: **CHRONICLES**, in five colors, by Prof. R. KITTEL, Leipzig. English translation of the notes by Prof. B. W. BACON, D. D., New Haven. 82 pp. 1895. \$1.75.

IN PRESS:

PART 5: **DEUTERONOMY**, by Prof. GEO. A. SMITH, Glasgow.

PART 9: **KINGS**, by Prof. B. STADE and Prof. F. SCHWALLY, Giessen.

COPIES IN CLOTH, GILT TOP.

In addition to the regular edition, in quarto size, there is a **large paper edition** in folio, limited to 120 copies, each signed by the editor, and printed on a very fine stout paper.

Of Jeremiah, the Psalms, and Daniel, there is also an edition printed on *hand-made paper*. Of this edition only 50 numbered copies are issued.

Information as to these editions will be sent on application.

Orders should be addressed to THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS,

Baltimore, Maryland.

POLYCHROME BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

Edited by Professor PAUL HAUPT.

Of the POLYCHROME BIBLE IN ENGLISH, the following parts are now ready:

LEVITICUS, translated by Prof. S. R. DRIVER, of Oxford.

JOSHUA, translated by Prof. W. H. BENNETT, of London.

JUDGES, translated by Prof. G. F. MOORE, of Andover.

ISAIAH, translated by Prof. T. K. CHEYNE, of Oxford.

EZEKIEL, translated by Prof. C. H. TOY, of Harvard.

PSALMS, translated by Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, of Göttingen, and Dr. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, of Philadelphia.

A detailed prospectus of these parts of the English edition of the POLYCHROME BIBLE may be had in America from Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

ASSYRISCHES HANDWÖRTERBUCH.

By Professor FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

750 pages. Price, bound in paper, \$12.00; bound in half leather, \$13.00. Orders in America should be addressed to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS,
Baltimore, Maryland.