THE

HEBREW LANGUAGE.
THE
HEBREW LANGUAGE
VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF
ASSYRIAN RESEARCH.

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WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.
1883.
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Printed by Metzger and Wittig at Leipzig.
PREFACE.

The substance of the present treatise is a reprint, in a revised and augmented form, of a series of articles which appeared in Nos. 2897, 2898, 2900, 2902, 2908, 2909, 2913 of the Athenaeum. In reissuing these articles in the shape of a separate publication I have in view the double object of making them accessible to a larger circle of readers and of eliciting the opinions of scholars competent to judge of the soundness or otherwise of the principles here advocated. My esteemed teacher, Professor Dillmann, in his discussion on the site of Paradise, ironically refers to my own solution of that difficult question as having been effected by "the well known wand of cuneiform research." I am prepared to hear the same remark applied to the present work, which endeavours to apply the results of Assyriology to the lexicographical treatment of the Hebrew language. I reject from the very outset the reproach that I am trying to explain "everything" by Assyrian. It is true I have explained Assyrian itself by its own help and it is no small satis-

1 The importance of Assyriology to Hebrew lexicography; see Athenaeum, May 5, 12, 26; June 9; July 21, 28; August 25, 1883.
faction to me that I have arrived at results which have already met with the approval of scholars not biased in favour of Assyriology.

When I commenced the study of Assyrian, Assyriology was in a state of slavish dependency on Arabic lexicography. People were happy to compare the Assyrian *tahálū*, “to trust,” now recognised to mean originally “to be strong,” with the eighth form of the Arabic *qal* (*qâl*), and felt only secure under the sheltering roof of Arabic lexicography. I soon became convinced that Arabic was less important to the study of Assyrian than the North Semitic languages, the Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects, a conviction which I regard as the fundamental principle of Assyrian research. When I undertook the compilation of my Assyrian dictionary and, in obedience to the first principle of lexicography, began to explain Assyrian by the rich and various stores of its own literature, I was first taught by the instructive instances of the verbs *bâth* and *bânâ* that Assyrian assigns to these and other stems a meaning far different from that based on the comparison of Arabic, a meaning which not only admirably suits the context, but is also directly confirmed by the *parallelismus membrorum*. Thus the Assyrian dictionary, which embodies a world of ancient Semitic thought and speech, disclosed an entirely new foundation for the understanding of the sacred language of the Old Testament and created a new line of interpretation directly opposed to the old system of Assyrian as well as of Hebrew lexicography.

Lest it should be supposed that I am guided in this little work by a principle of unjust warfare against the ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary, I would remark that
my censure is limited to those cases where the editors have erroneously deviated from the correct views of Gesenius himself, or have failed to recognise what Fürst and Levy had already anticipated. It is also to be deplored that in a book intended to introduce young beginners to the study of the Semitic languages the boundary of hypothesis and certainty is not marked with sufficient clearness. On the other hand, I cheerfully acknowledge that the ninth edition contains a good many improvements in matters of detail. In opposing my own views to those expressed in the ninth edition nothing is more remote from my intention than personal controversy. The warm interest which my revered teacher, Professor Fleischer, has taken in the preparation of the two last editions of the dictionary excludes controversy, in the common sense of the word, on the part of an attached pupil. Nor am I so unreasonable as to charge the editors with having taken no notice of results which they could not have known. I oppose my own view to that of the ninth edition, because Gesenius’s dictionary occupies the first and foremost place in Hebrew lexicography, and claims to represent the mental labour which men of different shades of theological opinion have devoted to the exegesis of the Old Testament. I have myself experienced the greatest difficulty in breaking through the spell of ideas imbibed at an early age. The disputes here raised are only concerned with facts, and for them I am not responsible, unless I be reproached for having recognised and proclaimed them before the world. If, in spite of these assertions to the contrary, this treatise should still be considered too controversial, I shall derive comfort from the thought, that this very character may induce the advocates of the old system to oppose their own views to my statements, and
thus to bring about the establishment of truth which is the desired end of all our efforts.

The facts here brought forward are of such fundamental importance, that I shall be grateful for any well-founded objections which may be urged against them. They materially change our views of the different degrees of affinity between the Semitic languages, and assign chiefly to Arabic a position quite different from that which it has hitherto occupied. If we take a single Arabic verb like \( \text{ال} \) as compared with the North Semitic \( \text{תנ} \), and consider the loss sustained by Arabic of so many ancient Semitic words (see Dillmann, Ethiopic Grammar, p. 5, note), and the numerous inflections of late origin, we are compelled to admit that Arabic cannot be the prototype of the other Semitic languages, least of all of Hebrew. This opinion receives the fullest confirmation from Assyrian research. It is, therefore, time to abandon the ordinary practice of forcing the peculiar, often late, meanings of the Arabic words upon the much older Hebrew sister. The editors of the last editions of Gesenius's dictionary will perhaps now agree with me that in future it will no longer be sufficient to patch some new Assyrian pieces upon an old cloth, but that a thorough revision of every Hebrew stem and of every Hebrew word must be effected. This salutary reformation of the Hebrew dictionary by means of Assyrian, so far from increasing the bulk of the lexicon\(^1\), will save much useful space by the removal of a mass of erroneous statements and worthless speculations.

The transfer of the leading part in Hebrew lexicography from Arabic to Assyrian is, however, only one point

of five, which justify, in my opinion, the compilation of a new Hebrew dictionary. The Hebrew proper names occurring in the Old Testament require a thorough and extensive revision scarcely imagined by the continuators of Gesenius's work. I forbear mentioning here a considerable number of Hebrew post-exilic names receiving the most satisfactory explanation by the corresponding Babylonian names; a number of Hebrew stems and words preserved only in proper names like קסנ, תֶשֶנ, כֶשֶנ, מְשֶנ, רֶשֶנ, which obtain the most surprising light by the Assyrian language; and the illustration of many proper names like יִרְנ, פֶשֶנ by parallel names in Assyrian. But I wish to draw particular attention to the mode of naming the children which is again a point of essential agreement between Babylonian and Hebrew. An attentive study of the several thousand Babylonian and Assyrian proper names cannot fail to sharpen our eye for a better understanding of the Hebrew names of persons. I do not mean here explanations like בָּשֶנ, "heat of god," שֶׁכֶנ, "killer of moths," נַשֶנ, "perhaps like נַשֶנ, desert," רֶשֶנ, "brother of the water, i.e., dwelling near the water, or, perhaps, man of a watery heart, i.e., a coward," or בָּשֶנ, "divine simplicity, if not for בָּשֶנ"—though it seems to me impossible that a child ever and anywhere could have been called "desert" or "divine simplicity," or that the hereditary prince of the Hamathites was named יִרְג (1 Chron. xviii. 9), meaning "madness." Nor have I in view the names of prophetic import, which predict the future station and avocation of a man, as בָּשֶנ, which, according to Dietrich, means "line of battle or general," an explanation by which that Canaanitic commander is invested as a helpless infant with the staff of military command. I rather refer to the
explanations of the purest and most easy Hebrew proper names given in Gesenius's dictionary, names like חֹוֹדִי, מִלְחָמָה, שָׁנָה. It is no small difference whether these names are interpreted with Gesenius's dictionary "Jahve is merciful," "Jahve hears," "my God judges," or, in accordance with grammar and true Semitic thought, "Jahve has been gracious," "Jahve has heard," "my God has judged." The interpretations of Gesenius's dictionary express divine qualities in general, but the names simply relate to, and commemorate, facts connected with the birth of the child. It is difficult to understand, how that beautiful and easy department of Hebrew nomenclature could have been so carelessly treated. Thus, כֹּלָה is rightly translated by "my king is sublime," while מְשִׁיר is wrongly rendered "lord of the height." The name חַיָה, evidently a name like חָיָה, and others, could never have meant "praising Jahve." How can the Qal חָיָה mean "to praise"? Nor does יָדָע mean "ear of Jahve." It has the same meaning as יָדָע, "the hearing of my prayer," — the birth of the child is the divine fulfilment of the father's prayers. I assert with the fullest confidence that there are scarcely a hundred Hebrew proper names the explanation of which in Gesenius's dictionary does not challenge criticism. It is here out of place to seek an excuse by the convenient saying Dies diem docet, the truth could here have been seen many years ago.

A second and still more serious point of disagreement with Gesenius's dictionary is the treatment of the roots. The exasperating consistency with which all Hebrew stems are derived from a root of two consonants and the most various meanings deduced from one common primary meaning, is open to many serious objections. Even granted
that some of these curious speculations on the meanings attached to the Semitic sounds are right, they do not deserve a place in the Hebrew dictionary itself, but ought to be separately dealt with in an appendix. Hebrew lexicography in its present state has to supply desiderata of a far more solid and important character. A sharper understanding of the Hebrew stems themselves, as to their sounds and accurate meaning or shades of meaning is especially required. I cannot see any real profit resulting from such a vague theory as that of the supposed roots. The eighth edition of Gesenius's dictionary derived the word סָמוֹ, "tribute", from סָמָ, "to number," the root of which we are taught is ס, "to cut, to separate"; counting is said to be separating, dividing. The ninth edition has given up this explanation; following Fleischer, it rightly states that סָמוֹ is the stem. But Arabic مكس means "to oppress, to harm some one"; how, then, could סָמוֹ mean tribute? The editors of the ninth edition enlighten us on the subject. Going back to the root of the stem, סָמ, which is said to mean "to press, comprimere," they state that "to count" is "to compress, numero comprehendere". סָמוֹ is, therefore, "tribute" as that which is comprised in a certain number. I am at a loss to see the force of this mode of etymological reasoning. Is there any scientific value in the conjecture that סָמָ, "to kindle fire", may go back to the root סָמ, allied with סָפ, and mean originally "to lay the fire"? According to the preface of the ninth edition, the etymologies have been carefully revised and that which is certain has been separated, as far as possible, from that which is only probable. Nevertheless, סָמָ is still identified with סָמ (for the interchange of ס and סָמ, "thou", and the suffix סָמ are compared!), which itself is derived from the root סָמ,
“to sit down,” and יָשָׁר, “to drink,” is stated to mean originally “to make the thirst sit down, sedare sitim.” Yet, in another place, יָשָׁר is again derived from the root פָּשׁ and is said to be akin to the other verbs רָשֶׁה, פָּשַׁה, לָשֵׁה! I could give many more instances of this kind. I think, all these speculations upon the roots and their vague meanings could be omitted without any harm to the Hebrew dictionary and the enormous space saved by this omission could be turned to a better and more useful account.

I have not yet decided whether I shall discuss these and other points in a special introduction or Prolegomena to a new Hebrew dictionary or publish at once my own Hebrew dictionary which I have compiled along with my Assyrian dictionary. In the meantime I submit this treatise to the judgment of Semitic scholars. Its publication was necessary, because the philological notes added in my Assyrian dictionary to every stem or word will be only understood in connexion with the principles expounded in this treatise. I am not bold enough to believe that, in this first attempt, I have shed light everywhere by the “wand” of Assyriology. I shall be satisfied if I have succeeded in unearthing from the mines of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquity some material useful for a better understanding and appreciation of the sacred records of the Old Testament.

London, October 1883.

Frederic Delitzsch.
THE
HEBREW LANGUAGE
viewed in the light of Assyrian Research.

I.

Few departments of linguistic research have been so thoroughly investigated as that of the language of the Old Testament. As a natural consequence of such unremitting labour, the Biblical books written in that tongue are now better understood than perhaps any other sacred record handed down to posterity. Yet it is a fact well known to every serious student of the Old Testament that there still remains a large number of passages, some of them of the highest importance, which have received very divergent and far from satisfactory explanations at the hands of commentators. There is likewise a long list of single words of which the true sense is quite uncertain. We have here in view not only the names of some of the animals specified by the Levitical law\(^1\); the names of plants\(^2\) and precious stones\(^3\); the nouns and verbs of rare occurrence and the

1 For instance שָׁבָעַת.
2 E. g. דִּבְשָׁנָה.
3 E. g. שֶׁבַע, תִּפְרַךְ.

Delitzsch, Hebrew and Assyrian.
so-called ἀπαξ λεγόμενα₁, but also verbs of frequent use, including such as have a number of derivatives.² There are, besides, certain grammatical problems, whose true solution has not yet been found.

These difficulties of interpretation are mainly due to the want of a tradition based on a minute and exact knowledge of Old Testament language and literature. Nor is it difficult to see why such a tradition is wanting.

The transportation of the ten tribes from Palestine to Mesopotamia and Media, and the close intercourse of those left behind with people of different nations, as the Elamites, Babylonians, and Arabs, who supplied the places of the exiled Israelites, struck a deadly blow at the ancient language of the kingdom of Israel. Nor was it destined to flourish much longer in the kingdom of Judah. In the year 701 B.C. Sennacherib carried away captive from the mountain districts of Judah no less than 200,150 inhabitants³, and Nebuchadnezzar afterwards completed the work commenced by his Assyrian predecessor. Still, the language continued to live for a time in Babylonia, as is amply shown by the pure, classical Hebrew of that great national prophet whom modern criticism has styled the “Deutero-Isaiah.”

The termination, however, of the Babylonian exile marks the beginning of that process by which Hebrew gra-

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₁ E. g. ἀνάρρητος, ἀπόρος; ὁμοίως ἀνάρρητος; ὁμοίως ἀναδικαιόω.

² For instance יָשִׁיא, from which רָשִׁיא, "heathen priest"; and וַﬠַנִּים, "net" are derived.

³ See Sennacher. iii. 11 ff. It is difficult to understand, how Sennacherib was capable of transporting such a multitude after the destruction, which his army is reported to have suffered at the hand of the angel of the Lord.
dually disappeared from among living languages. It is true that that small portion of the nation who availed themselves of the permission to return to the Holy Land still wrote and spoke Hebrew, but the Aramaic dialect, which had been favoured by the Persian kings and was almost regarded as the official language of the Western portion of the Persian empire, had already begun to bring its deteriorating influence to bear upon it, and, rapidly advancing, was conquering one portion of Palestine after the other. This process continued under the dominion of the Greeks and was greatly hastened by the various wars and revolutions which the Jewish nation experienced during that period. Hebrew became more and more confined to the narrow circle of the learned, in whose hands it gradually assumed the character of an artificial language and was corrupted by an intermixture of Aramaic elements. It was still used for literary purposes at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, but it had already ceased to be a spoken language. This is strikingly illustrated by the book of Daniel (composed about 167 B.C.) and the book of Chronicles (about 200 B.C.). Even so erudite a Jew as the compiler of the last-named work fails to grasp the import of the more difficult passages and expressions in the older portions of the sacred code on which his own work is based. The learned among the Jews, during the last two centuries before Christ, even preferred to write in Aramaic, and at the time of Christ that dialect reigned supreme as the adopted language of the country.

It is true that the study of their sacred language remained a favourite occupation among the Jews, who trans-

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mitted their knowledge to succeeding generations, but a deeper understanding of the sacred text was lost. The Greek translation of the Septuagint, some portions of which date as far back as the third century B.C., and the so-called Targumim, or Aramaic interpretations, though in some respects valuable for the understanding of the text, show unmistakable signs of an imperfect knowledge of the old Hebrew language. As Noeldeke justly remarks, "Those old translations are, at the present state of Biblical philology, not very important for the recognition of the true sense. They rarely assist, where the usual philological resources fail, in the explanation of difficult words and passages, their translation being usually due to a mere guess."¹

Fortunately another resource is available which supplies in some measure the want of a trustworthy tradition. We refer to the wonderful aid afforded by the language of the Old Testament itself by means of the context, parallel passages, and the so-called parallelismus membrorum. The comparison

¹ "Für den jetzigen Standpunkt der biblischen Philologie sind jene Uebersetzungen zur Erkenntnis des wahren Sinns nicht besonders wichtig. Man ist zu der Einsicht gekommen, dass in den Fällen, wo uns die sonstigen philologischen Hülsmittel zur Erklärung schwieriger Worte und Stellen im Stich lassen, die alten Uebersetzungen selten fördern, denn gewöhnlich haben auch sie dann den Sinn nur errathen." See Nöldeke, Alttestamentliche Literatur, p. 246. Even among the Jews themselves the necessity was sometimes felt of going beyond the traditional interpretation. The illustrious Abu'l-Walid often applies the Arabic language to the elucidation of Hebrew. The Karaite Jews, who naturally opposed the traditional mode of interpretation, wrote chiefly in Arabic and had frequently recourse to that language in explaining the sacred text.
of the kindred Semitic tongues is in this respect only of a secondary value and often misleading. And here it must be stated that the indiscreet use made of the cognate dialects, and more particularly of Arabic, has blinded the eyes of many distinguished labourers in this field against the native power of the Hebrew language.

The value of Arabic for Hebrew lexicography has been greatly exaggerated. It seems to me that the continuators of Gesenius’s great and admirable work have fallen in this respect into errors, against which the original compiler had wisely guarded himself. The well-known fact that the Arabic language has preserved in numerous instances original forms of the Semitic idiom which are lost in the kindred dialects, combined with the enormous copiousness of its vocabulary, has led to the erroneous supposition that the same degree of unchanged originality is to be assumed for the meanings of the Arabic words. The common practice of arbitrarily forcing Arabic meanings upon Hebrew words constitutes a fundamental error of modern Hebrew lexicography. A few instances will suffice to show the fatal consequences of this practice. Because Arabic نه means “to drink” (“primo haustu bibit camelus”), the same meaning is ascribed to Heb. לנה, and the Piel לנה is explained to mean “to give to drink, to lead to water” in general, “to lead, guide, protect”! We question whether this generally accepted sense of לנה can be entertained any longer. It is plainly indicated by the parallelismus membrorum in Ps. xxiii. 2, and by the parallel passages 2 Chron. xxxii. 22 and 1 Chron. xxii. 18, that לנה is a synonym of לנה, “to lie down,” and לנה, “to rest,” which is further confirmed by the fact that נדלו, נדלו, and נדלו are the equivalents of the same ideogram in the
old Babylonian bilingual texts. We therefore translate the passages Ps. xxiii. 2, "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he causes me to rest beside the still waters"; 2 Chron. xxxii. 22, "And the Lord gave them rest on every side" (as in 1 Chron. xxii. 18, not "And guided them on every side"); Ex. xv. 13, "Thou in thy strength hast placed them in safety in thy holy habitation"; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, "And put all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho"; finally, Gen. xlvi. 17, "And he (Joseph) satisfied them with bread," not "And he fed them with bread" &c.

Another striking instance is afforded by the zoological name דס or ד"ר. We read in Job xxxix. 9—10: "Will the rēm be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib? Canst thou bind the rēm with his band in the furrow, or will he harrow the valleys after thee?" What animal is the דס? It is evident from the poet's words that it must be a wild animal, certainly one quite unfit for the peaceful labour of ploughing the field. The Authorized Version translates דס by "unicorn." But even granting the existence of such an animal, it was surely never at home in Palestine. Besides, who does not see the obvious contradiction involved in the translation of Ps. xxii. 21, "For thou hast heard me from the horns [dual in Hebrew] of the unicorns," where more than one horn is ascribed to the unicorn? The last two editions of Gesenius's dictionary explain דס by the Arabic גל, Antilope leucoryx, although that animal could never have lived in Palestine, since its home being in the sandy wastes of Arabia and of the north-eastern regions of

1 Compare for na'ālu = rabhēu, for instance, W. A. J. iv. 27, 19 and 20a with 17, 51 and 52a. 16 and 17b.
Africa. Besides, in spite of its two spear-shaped horns, the *Antilope leucoryx* is known to be an animal of meek disposition, directly opposed to the wild, hostile nature ascribed to the *םִנְנֶה*. Gesenius, guided by the *parallelismus membrorum* in passages like Deut. xxxiii. 17, translates buffalo; but the existence of the buffalo in further Asia is traceable only a short time before the Christian era. We know now, by the cuneiform inscriptions and the pictorial representations on the Assyrian sculptures, that the *םִנְנֶה* is the Assyrian *rimon*, that strong-horned, fierce-looking wild bull, skilled in climbing the mountains, whose colossal and formidable likeness was placed by the Assyrian kings before the entrance of their palaces to ward off and terrify the approaching enemy.

It may be expedient to mention here another deplorable error of modern Hebrew lexicography, which is centred in the common practice of representing the sense of Arabic words as the original meaning of their Hebrew equivalents, even in cases where each of the two languages exhibits a totally different usage of the word in question. Thus Hebrew *םִנְנֶה* is explained by the Arabic *עַצָּד*, "to deposit," *i.e.*, to deposit in the mind, to know; *רִמְא*, "to be fat," by *דָּאָל*.

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1 This character of the animal seems to be alluded to in the above mentioned passage: "will he harrow the valleys after thee?"

2 It may be interesting to enumerate here the synonyms of *rimon*:

1) *ארֹּה*, *i.e.*, the quick one (*זִנָּה* "to be quick").
2) *פָּרֹה*, originally "strong" (*פִיָּר*, a synonym of *קֹרָדַד* "strong", and probably *פִּיר*, the Assyrian name of the "elefant," are derived from the same root).
3) *לָד*, with its feminine form *לֶדָה* from the stem *הָנָּב*, which is a common Assyrian word for "to be strong."

3 Gesenius in *Thesaurus*, second edition, rightly remarks *s. v. פָּרֹה*:

"Non audiendi sunt qui sciendo potestatem apud Hebraeos repetant a *reponendo* sc. in animo hominis."
"to break," i.e., to be broken, to be languid, soft, fat; לָשׁוּךְ, "to send," by לַלָּעַח, "to skin," i.e., to draw out, to extend, to stretch out, to send; לְהַעֲשֹׁר, "to lie," by לְהַשְׁמֹר, "to be red," i.e., to redden, to paint red, to varnish the truth, i.e., to lie; yea, we are told that עָשֹׁר means "to join," and is to compared to the Arabic كسر, "to break," because joining as well as breaking may be effected by striking one object against the other.

It must be owned that these combinations do credit to the ingenuity of their authors. Their plausibility becomes, however, seriously impaired when we consider the totally different history of the two languages. Hebrew became a literary language many centuries before the Christian era. Arabic was not used for literary purposes until the seventh century of our era. How, then, is it possible to make Arabic the prototype of a sister tongue so much older as Hebrew? Further, it must be taken into account, that the Aramaic dialect and, in some instances, even Ethiopic exhibit the same late meanings ascribed to Hebrew. If we admit that Arabic is the prototype of the other Semitic languages, we cannot but conclude, that they have passed side by side through the same phases of development to arrive at the same stage of decay as to the meanings of their words. How, then, can we account for the differences of sound by which one is separated from the other? These considerations alone suffice to shake our belief in a system of etymological research so exclusively based on Arabic. The whole fabric is, however, finally overturned by the monumental literature of Babylonia and Assyria.

On the other hand, the comparison of the kindred tongues is of inestimable value in the explanation of the He-
brew sounds. In this respect especially the Aramaic and Arabic dialects have done good service in advancing Hebrew lexicography. By their help a rigid philological method was for the first time applied to the treatment of the Hebrew roots. The comparison of the cognate dialects demonstrated clearly that certain roots—as ערב תְוָב “to mix,” and ערב “to enter, to set” (of the sun)—which in spelling had come to be one in Hebrew, were originally distinct and of entirely different etymology. In this respect Arabic is very instructive for the roots containing one of the gutturals $\gamma$ ($h$, $\check{h}$) and $\delta$ ($g$, $\check{e}$), and, combined with Syriac, for those containing one of the sibilants $\zeta$, $\protect\gamma$ and $\zeta$. It is to be lamented that even in the latest editions of Gesenius’s dictionary the necessity of consistently applying this fundamental law of Hebrew lexicography is not sufficiently recognized. To quote a few instances, נתי, “year,” is still explained as meaning the “repetition of the same natural phenomena” (the seasons), and is compared with the Semitic numeral for “two,” though the latter has an original ט, $\tau$. In like manner נתי, “woman,” is represented, in accordance with the etymology set forth in Gen. ii. 23, as the feminine form of נתי, “man,” though it is clearly derived from the root נתי, “to be feeble,” denoting the woman as the feeble one, while נתי must be referred to a root נתי, “to be strong,” marking the man as the strong one.

1 Another derivative of the root נתי is נתי, generally wrongly translated by “apple of the eye,” because occurring in passages like Deut. xxxii. 10 (“he kept him as the apple of his eye”) in connexion with נתי, “eye.” That this translation is wrong is evident from the passage in Ps. xvii. 8, where we read נתי נתי נתי נתי, which would have to be translated “Keep me as the apple of the apple of
The Hebrew אֶחָז, "finger," is still combined with סָבַע "to dye" or "to dip," though this combination is contradicted by the Arabic أُصِبَع, which has a ع, not a غ. If such plain etymologies fail to be recognised, what can be expected in cases of a more intricate nature, such as the stems רֶז or חַבָּד?

The close relationship existing between the several Semitic languages naturally causes each of them to throw light upon the other. It was, therefore, clear from the very first that the Semitic idiom of the Assyrian and Babylonian literature, so recently brought to light by the excavations in Mesopotamia, would prove a valuable help towards a better understanding of the Hebrew language. It will now be our object to show that the language of the cuneiform inscriptions is a far greater aid to the advancement of Hebrew philology than the other cognate dialects. Indeed it will be seen that Assyriology is actually inaugurating a new era of Hebrew lexicography.

the eye," for יַעַשְׁתִּיך certainly means the apple of the eye (see Lament. ii. 18). And what sense does this translation of יַעַשְׁתִּיך yield in passages like Prov. vii. 9, "In the apple of the eye of the black and dark night"? The authors of the Authorized Version, rightly feeling the difficulty, have omitted to render יַעַשְׁתִּיך in their translation of this passage and of Ps. xvii. 8. The true sense of יַעַשְׁתִּיך has already been recognized by Levy in his dictionary of the Targumim. It is a synonym of לֶבֶך, meaning "strength," used like לֶבֶך in Ex. xxiv. 10, as is further confirmed by the Assyrian idUser. The above-quoted passages are therefore to be rendered: "He kept him as his own eye" (Deut. xxxii. 10); "Keep me even as the apple of the eye" (Ps. xvii. 8) "Even in the black and dark night" (Prov. vii. 9).
II.

In one respect it was to be expected that a special advantage would accrue to Hebrew lexicography from Assyrian research, inasmuch as the Babylonian and Assyrian proper names of persons and deities, and the geographical and official names, which are of such frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, could only receive a final and satisfactory explanation by the language of the cuneiform inscriptions. It must be owned that Assyriology has fully realized these expectations.\(^1\) We know now the meaning of

\(^{1}\) Of course, there are still some dark points requiring to be cleared up. Thus, the true meaning of the names of the god יְיָיִשׁ or of the river יְיָיִשׁ has not yet been settled with certainty. As to the name of the goddess יְיָיִשׁ, we must insist upon its non-Semitic origin (see the German edition of George Smith's Chaldean Genesis, p. 273. 276 f.). Yi-tar is a compound like Nam-tar and ak-tar; see W. A. I. v. 20, 17 a, b, where the sign lal is to be changed into tar. It is clearly a gloss showing that the Assyrian ašturum (the name of the fastening of a door) is borrowed from the non-Semitic aš “power” or “strength” and tar “to fix”. The only obscure point in the name of Yi-tar is the first syllable. The meaning “light” (ardu), which George Smith assigned to it, rests on an erroneous reading. The word Yi-tar had probably a rather general meaning such as “fate-deciding.” This is, at least, suggested by the ideograms of two inferior deities, one element of which is si-tar (see Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke, 2nd edition, p. 46, l. 51; p. 47, l. 53). The non-Semitic name Yi-tar passed
the names of kings like אֲשֻׂר-אֹה-יַדִּין (Assyr. Asūr-āh-iddin, “Asur has given a brother”) and אֱלֹהַיֵּל (Babyl. Avel-Marduk, “Man or servant of Merodach”). We have learnt that the god Nergal (נֶרְגַּל, Nērgal), whom the men of Cuth made (see 2 Kings xvii. 30), is the deity represented by the colossal lions at the entrance of the royal palaces, and that his non-Semitic name, נְעַרְעַל, characterizes him as the governor of the “great city,” or the empire of death.1 We have further been taught that the true meaning of בּּוּבֵל, Bēbīlu, is not “confusion,” as explained in Gen. xi. 9, but “gate of God”; and we can now prove that נֶבֶל (Gen. x. 11), the sister city of Nineveh and the Assyrian Kālhu, is “the strong, firm city,” derived from the same root as Heb. נֶבֶל (see Job v. 26 and xxx. 2).2 Finally, the proper meaning of official names, as אֱלֹהַיֵּל, is now plainly seen. The commander-in-chief of the Assyrian army, whom the books of Kings call tartān, is the Assyrian тартану—a genuine Semitic word, derived from тurtu, a by-form of тērtu, which is the common Assyrian word for law or commandment (comp. Heb. הַרְמָה?). Turtānu thus answers exactly to the Hebrew term הַרְמָה. Heb. הַרְמָה, the official name of the Chaldean

into the Assyrian language as Ištārtu, which, at the same time, became a general name of any female deity, and was finally applied to any female being, especially to the kadištu, נַדִּישַׇת. The Hebrew נַדִּישַׇת in אֲשֻׂר אֱלֹהַיֵּל (Deut. vii. 13; xxviii. 18. 51) was even used of the females of the flock of sheep and goats; compare Deut. vii. 13, where אֱלֹהַיֵּל is clearly a synonym of נַדִּישַׇת, which, again, is a synonym of הַרְמָה, “womb”, Ex. xiii. 12.

1 See the German edition of George Smith’s Chaldean Genesis, p. 275 f.

prefects, who were at the same time military governors, is the Babylonian pahlātu or pihātu, originally a portioned-off district or province (derived from Assyrian pahū, "to shut, to enclose"), afterwards the governor (bēl pahlāti) himself. The ḫālās (Is. xxxvi. 2; 2 Kings xviii. 17), who commanded the Assyrian army dispatched by Sennacherib against Hezekiah of Judah, is not the chief butler, an official little fitted to command a military expedition; he is the Assyrian rab-sākē or rabšāk, the "chief of the officers," the colonel. The Hebrew ṣābān has long been compared with the Assyrian šaṅnūti, lit. "the appointed" and especially "the vicegerents." The Assyrian šaknu is a synonym of šalāt (šalē), "governor." The softening of the ḳ to ẓ is probably due to the influence of the lingual. Further, the Hebrew ṣābūn is the "scribe," Assyr. tupsarru (for t, not d, see our Assyrische Lesestücke, p. 60, l. 38). This meaning suits admirably in the passage Nah. iii. 17 and gives at least a satisfactory sense in Jer. li. 27. The ṣābūn, who shall be appointed against Babylon, is the scribe who registers the different objects of the booty after the capture of the city.

I conclude this list¹ by a few remarks on the etymology of ṣā. Several attempts have been made to explain this name of the ṣā or "Magi," its true etymology being expected to throw light on the origin of the magic arts and the nationality of the old Medians, one of whose tribes is called Māγατ by Herodotus. Some scholars have tried to explain the name by an Aryan etymology, while others

¹ The meaning and etymology of the difficult word ṣābūn (Dan. i. 11. 16) have been for the first time satisfactorily explained in Libri Daniellis, Ezrae et Nehemiae ed. S. Baer (Lipsiae 1882), p. xi.
maintain its Semitic origin. It is difficult to conceive how the true origin of that name could have remained so long undiscovered. The passage (Jer. xxxix. 3) which describes the הָבְרָי entering Jerusalem together with the other dignitaries of Nebuchadnezzar, and the well-known fact that Babylonia is the home of magic arts, point alike to the Babylonian origin of the name. Nor are the cuneiform inscriptions deficient in evidence of such origin. The Assyrian מַהֲוּ is a synonym of אָשָׁפְע, "sorcerer," and a text of Asurbanipal's published by George Smith mentions the interpretation of dream-visions as the particular business of the מַהֲוּ. The Sumerian form of the word is מַגְּהָ, which has passed into Babylonian in the form מַהֲוּ, "the right reverend," a name respectfully applied to the Magi by the credulity of the people. This etymology, if accepted, furnishes a remarkable proof that the Hebrew ב in וב had the aspirated pronunciation.

Passing over a host of successful interpretations of similar names, we may here be permitted to make a few remarks on the Hebrew names of the months, which the Jews borrowed from the Babylonians during the time of their exile. It is indeed fortunate that the Semitic origin of the names יָבֵן, יָבֵן, &c., which the Jews have kept to

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1 Compare Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 2nd edition (1883), p. 417—421. Schrader's explanation of the word ב by the Babylonian ēmku, ēmgu "wise" (אָמְגֻּ) has linguistic grounds against it.

2 Comp. W. A. I. ii. 32, 19 with 51, 49, and v. 23, 46. According to these passages מַכְּ-הָי-ו is a synonym of ēš-ē-pu-u (אֶשֶׁ-פָּע) and אָשָׁפְע (אָשָׁפְע). Observe further the passage W. A. I. ii. 31 No. 5 col. ii, where the name of מַהֲוּ is placed next to the ideograms of the sorcerers and the priests.

3 History of Asurbanipal, p. 128, 95.
the present time, is now established, and that the far-fetched etymologies from the Sanskrit and the Persian may at last be dispensed with. It is, however, equally wrong to explain these Semitic names by the Hebrew or even by the Arabic language, and to do so partly in a manner which defies all principles of sound etymology. Thus, ḫū is explained as the “budding month,” and compared with Heb. yēš, “bud, flower.” It appears that Hebrew lexicography in its present state has not yet recognized the absolute necessity of explaining Babylonian words according to the spirit, and by the laws of formation and the vocabulary, of the Babylonian language. Thus 𒆠 (in Babylonian Nisânu), the name of the first month, means undoubtedly “start, beginning” (from nisû=Heb.  יָשִׁע), which is also the meaning of 𒇦 (in Babylonian Tišritu), the first month of the second half of the year. 𒆠 (Bab. 𒀭, 𒀭) signifies the bright month, while ṣâ (Bab. Addâru=February—March) is the dull, gloomy month, the time from February till March being particularly rainy in Babylonia. The rainy season commences in 𒆠 (December—January), the month of rain-showers according to Sennacherib’s graphic description, for Babylonian

1 The small fragment of a vocabulary which is one of the few Assyrian relics preserved at Zurich is of great importance to the meaning of the word ḫâru. According to this tablet the word is used of the darkening of the moon by clouds as well as of a solar eclipse. The corresponding non-Semitic word is kan (see Assyrische Lesestücke, 2nd edition, p. 58, l. 21. 22), meaning also “cloud” (urpitu); the Sumerian people called the month of Kislev iti kankana as the “cloudy” month.

2 See Sennach. iv. 75 ff. Sennach. Const. 42 f. Sennacherib is deterred from the pursuit of the Elamite king Kudur-Nachundu by the “fury” (raggu) of the torrents coming down from the Elamite mountains, in the month of Tebet.
Ti'lfu means "the "sinking in water" (from תְלִף = Heb. טלifiant). The devastation of nature occasioned by the incessant rains (ზուե ザー ザー) and inundations of the month of Tebet culminates in the month, of ስɓաַルー, Šabāṭu, where the fury of the weather reaches its highest pitch. This circumstance justifies the name Šabāṭu, by which the month is characterized as the "destroying" one. 1 In like manner are almost all the other names most satisfactorily explained by the language of the people who first framed them. 2

The three Babylonian local names compounded with ܒܐ, “hill” — namely, ܒܝܢܒܐ ܒܐ (Ezek. iii. 15), ܛܝܢܪܝ ܒܐ, and ܛܝܒܐ ܒܐ (Ezra ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61) — are remarkable instances of the danger attending the rash explanation of such Babylonian names by Hebrew. It would be easy to prove that those words cannot mean in Babylonian corn-hill, forest-hill, and salt-hill. The Babyl. ܫܪܐ never means "forest";

1 For the Assyrian stem ܫܒܐ see p. 46. According to his annals (W. A. I. iii. 15, col. i. 14), Esarhaddon received the intelligence of the murder of his father Sennacherib in the month of Shebat, while he was stationed in the vicinity of Melitene. It is expressly mentioned that his hasty return to Nineveh was not stopped by the "fury of the storm."

2 The months of ܒܐܪܐ ܣܠܡܢ (Bab. ܐܪܚܐ ܣܠܡܢ, "the eighth month") and of ܘܿܒܐ (Bab. ܕܘܙܘ, "the month of the god Tammuz") need no further commentary. The third month, ܣܐܘܢܘ (ܒܐܐ), is explained W. A. I. ii. 32 as the appointed time (from ܣܡܘ, ܒܐܐ). According to the cylinder-inscription of king Sargon (see Lyon, Keilschriftenexte Sargons, Leipzig 1883, p. 9, l. 58) it is the season appointed by divine authority for the making of bricks and the laying of the foundation of houses and cities, its heat being particularly favourable to this kind of work. The meaning of ܒܓ is less evident. It may, however, be conjectured, that it is the Assy. ܕܒܐ, "hostile," an appellation fully justified by the excessive heat of this month.
in the numberless passages where it occurs it has invariably the meaning of "mountain-ridge." The translation "forest-hill," current in most Assyriological publications, is founded on a wrong etymology.¹

These illustrations, which could be easily multiplied, must suffice for the present. Important as they are, they are nevertheless of a more subordinate character. For in all these respects Assyriology does only the same service to the Old Testament as Egyptology has done for Egyptian proper names, though the latter are far inferior in number. The importance of Assyriology to Hebrew lexicography is of a far more solid and comprehensive character.

¹ It cannot be denied that the Heb. נֵר means "forest". Both meanings, "forest" and "mountain-ridge," may, however, easily be derived from the stem נֵר as explained in W. A. I. v. 18. Even in some passages of the Old Testament the meaning "mountain-ridge" is far preferable to that of "forest." Comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 14 with verse 15, where נֵר and נֵרָה exchange places, and especially v. 19, where נֵרָה are mentioned as being נֵרָה. The most instructive passage, however, is 2 Chron. xxvii. 4. The Authorized Version translates: "Moreover he built cities in the mountains of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers," but the proper site of castles and towers, which are built for the defence of the country, is not the forest, but the top of the mountain, whence the approach of the enemy can be espied.
III.

There may be a diversity of opinion about the exact position which the old language of Babylonia and Assyria occupies among the Semitic sister tongues, but this much is certain, that it is more closely allied to the so-called North Semitic or the Canaanitic and Aramaic dialects than to the South Semitic or the Arabic and Ethiopian languages. It is true that Assyrian exhibits in some respects—as in the sibilants, the careless treatment of the gutturals $\delta$, $\zeta$, $\omicron$, and $\upsilon$, and some other striking points of agreement in grammar as well as vocabulary—1—a great family likeness to its Ethiopian sister, but these points of similarity are either remnants of that time when the great Semitic idiom had not yet split into dialects or linguistic phenomena due to similar causes. It would certainly be rash to build upon them the hypothesis of a closer affinity between the two languages, which is amply disproved by the want in Assyrian of the inner plural formation and the peculiar vocabulary of Ethiopic. It is an undisputed fact, on the other hand, that the Assyrian language bears a strong resemblance to Hebrew. The sibilants are the same in both languages.

1 Comp. for instance Θιβίς, Assyr. kišādu, "neck"; Φιλή, Assyr. ḫalāku, "to perish"; Πάλι, Assyr. mé̂nu, "praepollere."
Compare Assyrian šāru, "ox," and šabît, "gazelle," with Hebrew šôr and šēḇā, and contrast these words with Arabic šâr, šâbî, and Aramaic šâ'ūrâ, ša'bâ. Turning to grammar, we find in Assyrian, as in Hebrew, anâku, "I" (אֵנָא), the conjunctions אֵנָא and אֵנָא, and the adverbial formations in א, as annama, "in vain," Heb. בַּע; pielâma, "suddenly," Heb. בַּע; mîšâma, "by night," compare Heb. בַּע, "by day."¹ The use of the tenses is likewise analogous. Heb. מֵשֶׁל, with preceding ה, י, and יִבְשָׁל, is used in the same aoristic sense as in Assyrian, and the Nifal is the passive voice in Hebrew as its corresponding form is in Assyrian. The resemblance is, however, actually overwhelming when we come to compare the vocabulary of the two languages. Leaving aside such words as מֵשֶׁל, "one," Assyrian ʾîšîn, in the known numeral for "eleven,"² which were partly borrowed by the Jews during the Babylonian exile, I propose to include in the following list only words which form part, as it were, of the original stock-in-trade of the language: such are ilu, "God"; ʾābu or ʾâbû, "enemy"; alpû, "ox"; amšatu, "eve, yesterday"; asâpu, "to gather"; ēribû, "locust"; arâru, "to curse"; ērēšu, "to betroth" (ērēšu, "bridegroom"; erēštu, "bride"); ʾišpatu, "quiver"; ʾuššuru, "to cause to prosper"; ʾitimâli, ʾitimâli, "yesterday"; bâmâte, "high places"; ʾādu, "the beloved"; ʾādu, "basket"; dalîn, ¹ These Assyrian adverbs ending in ma decide for ever the question as to the origin of the Heb. מ in בַּע, בַּע, &c. For the former explanations comp. Stade, Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik, p. 175.
² מֵשֶׁל occurs eighteen times in the Old Testament, viz., eleven times in the exilic or post-exilic books, and six times in Exodus and Numbers in passages forming part of the so-called "Codex of the Priests"; the sole remaining instance being in Deut. i. 3.
“door”; ērū, “to be pregnant”; ḫərādu, “to tremble”; ḫu-
rasu, “gold”; taṭippu, “to encircle” (comp. ḫuṭənu); yaʿāru, yāru, “river”; yaṣāru, “to form”; kalūtu, syn. unūtu, “ves-
sel”; bit ki-li, 1 “prison” (Heb. הָגֵד חֶבֶר); kirū, “cistern”;
kirētu, “banquet”; kalapu, Piel, “to bewitch”; litu (i. e. הָגֵד), “to keep”, e. g. clothes (comp. Heb. הָגֵד, “wardrobe”);
mēkaltu (W. A. I. ii. 38, 19), “brook” (comp. הָגֵד, 2 Sam. xvii.
20); marū, “to be fat”; nīdbu, nīndabu, “freewill offering”;
ninu, “progeny”; nasīku, “prince”; nākūdu, “shepherd”;
sugūlatu, “property”; sapādu, “to mourn”; sarāru, “to be
refractory”; ādu, “time” (Heb. דָּעַ); ēru, “city”; ērπitu,
“cloud” (comp. הָגֵד); pānū, “face”; snūbu, “waggon”;
akḥadu, “crown of the head”; kirbu, “middle”; rapū, “to
heal”; suʿālu, “Hades” (Heb. דָּעַ); sarru, “prince”; sərāpu,
“to burn”; saḥābu, “to roar”; širu, “flesh”; šolābu, “to lead
captive”; šalāpu, “to draw,” e. g., the sword; šapātu, “to
draw”, e. g., the sword; šapātu, “to judge”; šursu, “root, offshoot”; tāru, “to turn.” Were I to
aim at anything like completeness, this list would be found
to comprise almost every single root in Hebrew, and to
include even peculiar Hebrew phrases, such as הָגֵד לְפִנָּה, in
Assyrian ṭapālu taškirti, “to invent a lie”; הָגֵד, in Assy-
rian mullu kātā, “to fill the hand of one,” i. e., to invest one
with an office. As has been recently shown by Franz De-
litzsch, the words of the sacerdotal benediction (Num. vi. 26)
“The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee
peace,” receive a new significance from the common Assyrian
phrase “to lift up one’s face, one’s eyes to any one,” i. e.,
to bestow one’s love upon any one.2

   Of course, though intimately connected, Assyrian and

1 W. A. I. i. 27 No. 2, 36.
Hebrew are by no means identical. Assyrian, has, like Hebrew, peculiarities of its own, due chiefly to the fact that it became a literary language at an earlier period than any of its Semitic sister tongues (about 3000 B.C.). We refer here especially to the want of the article and to the rare use of the prepositions א and ב, ba and la, which in Assyrian is restricted to the combinations bašū and lapâni. On the other hand, Hebrew must have undergone some changes before it was fixed in literature. All these peculiarities, however, do not loosen the ties of intimate relationship by which it is bound to its Hebrew sister.

Nor is it difficult to see the reason of such intimate relationship. The striking similarity, both in grammar and vocabulary, which the Assyrian and Babylonian language bears to Hebrew is a natural consequence of the fact that the Babylonian and Hebrew peoples at one time dwelt together in long continued and close intercourse. The subsequent emigration of the latter to Palestine was not calculated to exert an alienating influence on their language, as the original inhabitants of that country spoke a tongue not entirely foreign, and the external conditions of life were very nearly the same in Palestine as in their original home. All these circumstances prove that Assyriology is destined to play a most important part in the history of Hebrew lexicography.
Before considering the various advantages resulting to the understanding of the Old Testament from this intimate relationship between Assyrian and Hebrew it may be appropriate to mention here an accidental merit of Assyriology which, though secondary, is of very high value. The possession of literary documents dating from periods of the Babylonian and Assyrian empire the most varying in time is certainly no small privilege of Assyriology. By the help of these authentic documents the origin of many hitherto doubtful Hebrew words has been explained, and a wholesome check has been put on the pernicious practice of forcing foreign etymologies upon genuine Semitic words. I am referring here to those Hebrew words concerning which great uncertainty exists whether they are Semitic or borrowed from the Persian or Greek. Thus מַסֶּסֶת, "fortress or castle," applied to the castle of Susa in the book of Esther, is explained in the ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary by the Persian bâru, "wall or fortress," and the Greek βάρτς. Now birtu, "castle," is often to be met with in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II (860—824 B.C.), as in the black obelisk, l. 34, and occurs about twenty times in the annals of Tigrad-pilesar II, Sargon, and Sennacherib. It is, moreover,
mentioned in the dictionaries of the royal library of Nineveh as a synonym of ḫalṣu, "fortification," or "fortified place, fortress." Compare rab birti and rab ḫalṣu, both meaning "governor of a fortress." The Semitic origin of the word is, therefore, no longer doubtful. Again, יבֵית, "letter," in the post-exilic books, the usual term applied to official correspondence or decrees issued by the king, is not derived from the Persian engarīden, "to write." It is a Semitic word, as is proved by the Assyrian ṣēgirtu, the name given to an official letter addressed by an Assyrian officer stationed in the city of Erech to "the king, his lord," probably king Esarhaddon. We meet with the word also elsewhere, as in the lists of synonyms, where šipirtu, "missive," is mentioned as a synonym of ṣēgirtu (see W. A. I. v. 32, 5—7). There is little doubt that these and similar words are of a late date in Hebrew, but

1 As a Babylonian word, birtu demands of course a Babylonian etymology. It would, therefore, be wrong to connect the word with a root ביר. The Babylonian and Assyrian birtu, which passed into Hebrew under the form יבֵית, must be referred to the common Assyrian root barū "to bind" (a synonym of rakāšu), from which birtu "bond" or "fetters" is derived. Birtu denotes a strong fortification and is especially applied to a castle. Compare the passage Khors. 139: Ūbarkis birtam "I caused a fortress to be built," where ūbarkis literally means "I caused to be joined together." The Hebrew מוּסָר, "mounds of earth" or "hills," from מָסָר "to bind," has an exact equivalent in the Assyrian birātu "hills," from barū "to bind." Šaddā u birāti "mountain and hills" is a phrase of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions, see Sennach. Rass. 87. The Assyrian ḫalṣu, "stronghold," a synonym of birtu, and the Hebrew יבֵית, "armed" and יבֵית, "loins" are derived from the root יָתָם "to be strong", which in both dialects is distinct from the root יָתָם, Assyr. ḫalṣu, "to pluck out."

2 See W. A. I. iv. 54 No. 2.
we need not therefore have recourse to Persian or Greek etymologies. Words that occur on the tablets of Asurbani-pal’s royal library are exempt from the charge of such origin.¹

As to some other Hebrew words, their foreign origin is disproved by their mere occurrence in Assyrian. It is scarcely credible that the ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary still doubts the Semitic origin of יָשָׁן, “ship,” and ad-

¹ The light we gain in this respect from the cuneiform inscriptions is not confined to Hebrew; it extends to Semitic lexicography in general. A considerable number of Targumic and Talmudic words, which Levy derives from the Greek in his dictionaries, occur in the Assyrian and Babylonian language, some in the very oldest documents. מַטָּב, “city gate”; מַטָּב, “north door”; מַטָּב, “board, plank”; מַטָּב, “sign,” כָּרָה, “overseer” or “watchman,” which have been too rashly explained by the Greek έκρολη, θένος, δάπεδον, σῆμα and στήριχον, οὐρος, have their ancient Assyrian equivalents in אֹבָלו, יָסָפו, יָסָפו, יָסָפו and וְרָסָפו (for the latter word see Assur. ii. 90. 100). The Aramaic laftà, “carrot,” which, in spite of its genuine Semitic type (from בֶּל, “to wind”), has been derived from the Greek παύσις, occurs in the form lapiti in a small Babylonian tablet containing about seventy names of plants, which the Babylonian king Marduk-bal-iddina ordered to be set in certain sections of his garden (gaynâtah). Among the plants there enumerated we find also such names as בֶּוקל, יָרָקִם, “vegetables,” קוּ-עֵק-קַ-נָ-לָ-ע, i. e., קֶקְוָנִית (from an Assyrian stem נְסַס, synonymous with נְסָרַה and נְסָרוּ, “to wind” comp. the well-known נְסָרוּ in the book of Jonah), לִישָׁן קַלֵּב, (comp. Arabic لِيْسَانُ الْكَلْب), and פִּיקְקֻטִי (נְקַקֵּטְה). Even words the foreign etymology of which seemed to be tolerably certain have vindicated their Semitic character. Thus the Aramaic יֵשָׁבָא, יֵשָׁבָא, “chamber,” which is generally compared to the Persian enderûn, is proved to be Semitic by the Assyrian idrâmû, “dark chamber” or “room,” derived from יָשָׁב, “to be dark”; comp. Addaru, “the dark month,” in chapter ii.
mits the possibility of an Egyptian etymology. All doubt is removed by the Assyrian unûtu, pl. unûtî; "utensil, vessel," a synonym of kalû, kalûtu, Hebrew יָבָא, "vessel," also "boat," as in Is. xviii. 2. If we except the geographical names and the proper names, including the title Pharaoh, there is hardly a single word of certain Egyptian origin to be found in the vocabulary of the old Hebrew language.¹ The word of which the Egyptian origin seemed to be most certain is the well-known ייִפְסָס in Gen. xli. 43, of which there are about ten different explanations from the old Egyptian and Coptic languages, the most plausible of them being Ben- fey’s a-bor-k, "fall down." It ought not to be forgotten, however, that this word, called out before Joseph riding in the royal chariot and adorned with all the insignia of a grand vizier, might just as well be his title, as is, indeed, the opinion of many ancient and modern translators, who render it, like Luther in the last edition of his version (issued 1545), "Landesvater" (pater tenerrimus, ייִיבָא, patriae, in

¹ Even ייִבָא, "river" or "channel," which is commonly regarded as an Egyptian word and explained by the Egyptian awr " Nile," is undoubtedly a genuine Hebrew word. This opinion is supported by the passage Job xxviii. 10, where ייִבָא means "fountains in the rocks" or, according to some commentators, "subterraneous passages hewn out in the rocks." See also my remarks in Paradies, p. 312. The Assyrian form of the word, ya’drê "streams," occurs in an inscription of Ramaunirari I (c. 1320 B. C.). Another derivative of the same root ייִבָא or ייִבָא, which I believe means "to send," may be seen in the large inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (col. vi. 46), where the vast ocean ייִבָא gallatu, is called ya-ar-ri, i. e., ייִיבָא marti "the bitter stream" on account of its salt-water. The Hebrew name of the Nile, ייִבָא (As- syr. Yarw’u-u), is probably an adaptation of the Egyptian word to the good Semitic name for "stream," ya’ûru, yâru, ייִבָא.
the *Enarrationes*). Luther comments on the word as follows: "As for the meaning of *abrech*, we will let the grumblers search till doomsday. Let us meanwhile understand it as we have rendered it in German."¹ We will not grumble about this word nor try to increase the number of hypotheses, but no one can expect us to break our Assyrian tablets and shut our eyes intentionally against the light. It is a fact which, in spite of Schrader (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 152), cannot be disputed, that *abarakkû* is the Assyrian name of the grand vizier, that high official who holds also the office of eponym, and, together with the *turțân*, is the highest dignitary of the empire—higher in rank than the *šalat*, or head of all provincial governors. His ideographic form characterizes him as "the friend of the king." The reading of his well known ideogram, which is composed of the two signs šî and un, as *abarakkû* is confirmed by the tablet Sm. 61, where, among a number of charming Sumerian and Assyrian proverbs, we read: *Nadânu ša šarri tubbû ša šâke, "The liberality of the king ensures the liberality of the magnate"; and Nadânu ša šarri dummuku ša abarakki* (in Sumerian *Simâlugalâkit šaga šêkit*), "The liberality of the king ensures the benevolence of the *abarakkû*," an exact equivalent of the English proverb "Like master like man." Also the feminine *abarakkatu* is applied to goddesses as the highest administrators of the sanctuary.² As has already been seen by others, the original meaning of the Babylonian *abarakkû* is "father of the king," analogous with the Turkish title ata-

¹ "*Was Abrech heisse, lassen wir die Zänker suchen bis an den jüngsten Tag; wollens dieweil verstehen, wie es gedeutscht ist.*"

² Compare, for instance, *W. A. I.* iv. 63, 15.
bek, "father-prince," and ἐπώτέρος πατήρ, according to the Septuagint a name given to Haman as grand vizier of Artaxerxes.¹

¹ Those who object to this explanation of ἐπώτερος on the ground that a Babylonian word is not likely to occur in the history of Joseph may be reminded of ἐφωτιός, a word common both to the Egyptian episodes in Genesis and Exodus and to the book of Daniel (i. 20 and ii. 2).
V.

We now proceed to consider the immediate advantages resulting to the understanding of the Old Testament from the close affinity between Assyrian and Hebrew.

Most of the so-called ἀπαζεγόμενα and such words as chance to occur rarely in the Old Testament have presented special difficulties to commentators. Thanks to the enormous extent and great variety of the monumental literature of Assyria these difficulties are considerably diminished. The Assyrian texts often furnish us with plentiful illustrations of these difficult words, and sometimes support textual readings which some commentators in their perplexity had tried to emendate. Thus, to quote a few instances, various explanations have been proposed for the expression בַּלַּת וּרְחֹת in Ezek. xxi. 20 (verse 15 of the Authorized Version): “I have set the point of the sword against all their gates.” The translation “point of the sword” is merely guessed from the context. Hardly more successful is the rendering, based on the Arabic ذخ، “threat of the sword” or “threatening sword.” Smend, the latest expositor of Ezekiel’s prophecies, following Abu’l-Walid, translates “fulgor of the sword.”¹ The context requires

¹ Smend, Der Prophet Ezechiel (Leipzig 1880), p. 141.
some such rendering as "slaughter," which is actually the translation to be found in the Septuagint (σφάγια ἁμαρτίας) and in the Targumim. The question whether this translation is due to a mere guess or based on the textual emendation הָבָהְלָה is here immaterial. That both versions have hit the true sense is proved by the Assyrian abâlu, a synonym of tabâlu, "to slaughter," from which nâlabu, "rack," a synonym of makâsu (from kâsu, "to flay"), is derived.\footnote{See \textit{W. A. I.} ii. 23, 9.}

One of the many Assyrian names for "trap" or "snare" is saddu. We meet with the word in the bilingual text \textit{W. A. I.} iv. 26 No. 2, where we read: saddu ina pât kiši ritû, šetu šuuppârtû (or sapâru) ša ana tâmtim taršû, itâni ša númu ul uşšû, \textit{i.e.} "a trap placed at the edge of the forest, a net spread out over the sea, a net which allows no fish to escape." The meaning "trap" is secured not only by the context, but also by the non-Semitic equivalent ėul-sar, \textit{i.e.}, "evil sling." I mention this word\footnote{Compare also Sarg. Cyl. 57, where the moongod is called \textit{mušaklim} saddê, \textit{i.e.}, he who reveals by his shining light the snares placed by the demons in the dark recesses of the earth to the destruction of men. See, for instance, \textit{W. A. I.} iv. 16 No. 2.} because it appears to me of great importance to a right understanding of the passage Jud. ii. 3: "and they (the peoples) shall be unto you בְּיוֹבֲּל, and their gods shall be a snare (שָׁבָל) unto you." It is beyond our comprehension how the ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary can approve of Bachmann's translation: "they shall be unto you as "sides," \textit{i.e.}, "neighbours pressing on all sides." The Authorized Version, evidently guided by passages like Num. xxxiii. 55, translates:
“they shall be as thorns in your sides.” The words “as thorns,” which are printed in italics, prove that the translators felt the difficulty of the expression and tried to remove it. There can be no doubt, that דירב is the Hebrew equivalent of the Assyrian saddu: דירב means, therefore, “traps,” as is already indicated by the _parallelismus membbrorum_, and the passage is to be translated: “they shall be unto you as traps, and their gods shall be a snare unto you.”

Passing over other instances like the verb בָּר Job vi. 17, whose meaning “to burn” or “to sear” is based on the wrongly assumed connexion with בָּר and בָּר, or כָּר Deut. xxxiii. 3, which Assyrian proves to be a synonym of אָסָי, I conclude this series of illustrations by a few remarks on the Hebrew nouns זָלָן and זָלָן. These words are generally combined with the Syriac גָּל, “to pour out” or “to shed.” In accordance with this etymology, זָלָן Num. xxi. 15 is translated “the stream of the brooks.” This meaning, though appropriate in the passage just quoted, cannot be applied to passages like Deut. iii. 17. iv. 49 (זָלָן וְזָלָן). The ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary translates in Num. xxi. 15 “the pouring forth of the brooks” (_Ergiessung der Bäche_), but adopts the reasonable rendering “under the slope of the Pisga” in the passages of Deuteronomy. The Assyrian יָסו, Plur. יָסוּת,  

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1 Like the Heb. דיר, the Assyr. saddu means also “side,” for instance, the back of a chair is called saddu. The stem is דיר, “to encircle” or “to surround,” from which both meanings, “side” as well as “snare,” may easily be derived.

2 Observe how closely the two words follow each other in the passage Deut. xxxiii. 3.
“base” of anything, shows that “slope” or “foot of the mountain” is the proper meaning of इधु. इधु is used of the foundation of a house, of the base of a throne and the lower part of the sky; compare, for instance, the hymn \[ W. A. I. iv. 20 No. 2 \], where the rising sun is addressed: सामाः इधि शामें तपनः, i.e. “Oh Samas, thou hast come forth from the horizon of the heavens.”
VI.

The names of animals, plants, and precious stones, which constitute a separate class of words among the ἄρξα λεγόμενα and words of rare occurrence in the Old Testament, may be conveniently discussed in a special chapter. An invaluable aid is here afforded by the extensive lists of names of animals, plants, and precious stones, which the industry of the Assyrian scribes has bequeathed to us. We feel persuaded that these lists, when completed by future discoveries, will one day prove a rich mine of Semitic lexicography, in as much as the synonymous words which they contain and the ideograms or Sumerian symbols which they explain embody valuable suggestions as to the true meaning of these obscure words. The ideograms by which these names are designated usually express the characteristics of the respective animals or objects which they represent. Thus it is easy to see that the bird kilu (kulī), which is characterized by its ideogram as one riding on the trees, must be the woodpecker. Again, such designations as "bird of the night," "queen of the river side," "golden bird," "star-eyed bird," "bird of the thornbush," "bird of the caves," "long-leg," "smasher of bones," which we gather from their respective ideograms, greatly aid us in identifying the animals in question. Some of the unclean birds specified
in Levit. xi. are also included in these lists. Thus יֵנָן, verse 19, occurs in the form anpatu (W. A. I. v. 27, 38d), and means, according to its ideogram, "the bird of the light" (יִשָּׁר נְעי). If we may venture to identify the ideogram of this bird with that occurring W. A. I. i. 28, 24a. Asurn. iii. 49, the anpatu was hunted by the Assyrian kings on the right bank of the Euphrates near Karkemish. Asurnazirpal boasts of having captured with his own hand twenty of these birds.\(^1\)

It has been long supposed that the bird סִלֵ֜ו mentioned in Pss. cii. 7 as dwelling on ruins, is a species of owls. The Assyrian lists of birds confirm this supposition. Kasûsu is there given as a synonym of the non-Semitic surdû, "bird of the night," which is borrowed from the Accadian (W. A. I. ii. 37, 15. 64 b. c).\(^2\) It is worthy of note that Onkelos translates סִלֵ֜ו (Lev. xi. 17. Deut. xiv. 16) by נְעַרְיָ֖פ, which occurs in the form קדû (syn. דדû), in the list just quoted immediately before the explanation of kasûsu.

Another zoological name of very doubtful meaning on which light is now thrown by the Assyrian monuments is דִּמְזָ֖א, occurring in the pathetic description of the future

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\(^1\) The Targumim render יֵנָן by יְנַנֶּׁנֶּ and דִּמְזָ֖א, translations which are of little use as we are unacquainted with the meaning of these words. I may here mention that יְנַנֶּׁנֶּ occurs W. A. I. ii. 37, 34c in the form קדû as a synonym of דדû, not of anpatu. Unfortunately the ideogram is not perfectly preserved.

\(^2\) The ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary combines סִלֵ֜ו with סְמָ֖ה, "bag", and mentions the obsolete explanation of Bochart, according to which סִלֵ֜ו is the pelecan, as the bird which has a bag attached to its head. I am of opinion that סִלֵ֜ו is a form like סִלָ֖ו.

\(^3\) The meaning of דִּמְזָ֖א, which falls under the same category, has been already discussed on p. 6.
desolation of Babylon in Isaiah xiii. 21. The translation of the Authorized Version, which vaguely renders it by “doleful creatures,” is not satisfactory. This ἀπάξ λεγόμενον is generally translated by “owls” and derived from a supposed stem ἔρνος, “to howl.” There is no equivalent in the kindred dialects, except in Assyrian. The Assyrian āḥū (syn. barbaru) is, however, not a bird, but a wild quadruped described as sacred to the god of fire, and feared on account of its haunting the farmer’s courtyard to carry off kids. Its name āḥū characterizes the animal as the evil one. It is most likely the jackal.

Among the names of plants, of which some of these lists consist, one is of especial interest to us, being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew נְבָרִים. The name ḫabašillatu occurs in the list W. A. I. v. 32 No. 4, containing all the different kinds of kānū, “reed,” and of objects made of it. The corresponding ideogram characterizes it as šašūnu, zikpu or pîlbu ša kānē, i. e. “the stalk of the reed.”

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1 Houghtons interpretation of ḫūd by “hyena” (see Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. v. p. 328), which is adopted by Cheyne, is based on the erroneous supposition, that the ideogram ur-barā means “the beast (dog) stripped.” We know now, that barā is the non-Semitic equivalent of ḫūd, “evil” or “hostile” (see W. A. I. iv. 10, 27—28b, where barā (sic!) šabūsu is translated by libnu ša-ḥu-um; the following words are to be read: ana ašširu litūr). The jackal is written ur-barā, i. e., the evil dog, just as the lion is written ur-maṣa, i. e., the big dog.

2 The ideogram šē-du (or ru) occurs both with the determinatives of wood and of reed, sometimes without either (see W. A. I. iv. 7, 56a. Paul Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte, p. 124, l. 16). Its invariable meaning is “that which shoots up from the root of a plant”; it is contrasted by šušūn, “root,” and by šuballītu, “ear” (of corn). Mr. Theo. G. Pinches (see Athenaeum, 2. June, 1883)
usual translations, which waver between lily, narcissus, rose, and crocus (comp. נֶרֶךְ, “meadow-saffran, colchicum autumnale), are mainly based on the supposed connexion of נֶרֶךְ with בְּבִּבּ, “onion,” and can, therefore, no longer be entertained. The two passages (Isaiah xxxv. 1 and Cant. ii. 1), where נֶרֶךְ occurs, are to be translated, “The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and sprout like the reed”; “I am the reed of Sharon and the lily of the valley.” Observe especially the passage in Isaiah, where particular stress is laid on the germinating (לָא) of the reed. According to its ideogram and in full agreement with this passage in Isaiah, the Assyr. ḫabaṣillatu means pirḥu ša kānē. Though it is not impossible that ḫabaṣillatu, נֶרֶךְ, may be a particular species of reed, it is extremely improbable, the explanation by lubšu ša kānē, i. e., “husk (lit. garment) of the reed,” conveying too general a sense to admit of a more definite erroneously supposes that I misread šāšu for lubšu, which is mentioned, together with ḥabbūru and udītu, as a synonym of ḫabaṣillatu in the text above quoted. It is not probable that any Assyriologist would ever mistake the sign šu for lub, least of all on a tablet so clearly written as W. A. I. v. 32 No. 4. The synonyms šāšu and zikpu are taken from W. A. I. v. 26, 29 e. f., 27 g. h. The lines 26. 27 g. h. prove that the non-Semitic šē-du (or ru) is as general a term as the Assyrian pirḥu, which is explained by twenty-one synonyms on the tablet K. 4375, published in part W. A. I. ii. 23. — I may here suggest that šāšu is probably connected with הַרְבַּעַ, “lily.” If this suggestion be correct, the lily would derive its Hebrew name, not from the whiteness of its flower (comp. נַכְרֶךְ, “white marble”), but from the stiff, reed-like appearance of its stalk. As to ḥabbūru, I doubt the correctness of the opinion advanced by Mr. Pinches, that the word is borrowed from the Accadian, ḥabbūr, being a synonym of labšu according to W. A. I. v. 28. Udītu is the feminine form of ud, the name of a special kind of aromatic reed.
application. Besides, the general meaning "reed" fits admirably in the passages quoted.

Another botanical name of high interest occurring in the list of plants ordered to be set by king Merodachbaladan (see p. 24, footnote) is ḫambakûku, the Assyrian equivalent of the name of the prophet ʼāḇâxwû-n, the more correct form of which would be ʼāḇâxwû (LXX ' āḇâxwû, ' āḇâxwû). Other instances of names of plants used as proper names will readily occur to every student of the Old Testament.

Less substantial is the help to be obtained from the Assyrian monuments for the names of precious stones mentioned in the Old Testament. Still, it is interesting to know that names like ṣinbû (Ex. xxviii. 20; xxxix. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 13) and ṣinbû (Esth. i. 6) occur in the Assyrian vocabularies and other texts in the forms ʾāšpû (W. A. I. v. 30, 60 h) and ʾiḥrû (ṣiḥīrtu? ii. 21, 9 d). Many of the ideograms, by which, in Assyrian, the precious stones are designated, convey too vague a sense to assist in the identification of the objects intended. Thus, the ideogram of šubû, the Assyrian equivalent of ʼāḇû (Ex. xxviii. 19. xxxix. 12), denotes the shining or the precious stone (ʼāḇû naskû or ʼāḇû ʾakû) ʾeqṣīqî. If we compare, however, the hymn published in our Assyrische Lesestücke, 2nd edition, p. 73 ss.,

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1 As to the ʼāḇū, mentioned along with the ʼāḇû in the passage Exodus xxviii. 19, we submit the following explanation. Starting from the well known fact, that many precious stones received their names from the countries where they are found, it is not improbable that ʼāḇū is the stone found in the country of ʼāḇûmû, which is often mentioned in the Babylonian and Assyrian texts as an Armenian people and district. This conjecture is countenanced by the circumstance that Sennacherib repeatedly praises Armenia and the adjacent countries of Našri as a rich mine of certain precious stones; see W. A. I. i. 7, No. E. 44, 72 ss.
where Istar, the goddess of the morning star, is described as “arising over the earth like a fire” and “adorned with šubû-stones,” or if we remember that the channel of Tammuz is written by the same ideogram with the determinative “river,” we perceive at once that šubû, šubû, must be a stone of light colour like the topas. Thus, the usual rendering “achat” becomes rather improbable. It is a point of extreme interest, that the hymn W. A. I. iv. 18 No. 3 mentions by name, as it seems, twelve precious stones of transcendent splendour, “enchased in gold and destined to adorn the shining breast of the king,” the “precious stone” xaθι ζοχὴν, the šubû or nisiktu, being, of course, amongst them.
VII.

It has been already pointed out by Cheyne, in his excellent commentary upon the prophecies of Isaiah (vol. ii, 1882, p. 160 f.), that the common rendering of the Hebrew root בָּדָ֑י by "to dwell" can no longer be maintained. Owing to the unsatisfactory translation of יְבַדְעַֽת, Leah's words after being delivered of her sixth son Zebulon, in Gen. xxx. 20, "God hath endued me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have born him six sons," do not give a good sense. Cheyne rightly remarks that "the word is commonly so rendered, not to suit the context, but in obedience to a prejudice as to the meaning of יְבַדְעַֽת." The latter word is usually translated by "dwell- ing," and בָּדָ֑י is thought to be a denominative verb of it. The ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary states that "it occurs in all dialects only as a denominative verb." The incorrectness of this statement is proved by Arabic, and especially by the Assyrian language. In Assyrian zabālu is a very common synonym of נָשַׁ֣ת (Heb. nasā), "to lift, to raise, to bear,"—the very meaning, as St. Guyard has shown¹, wanted in the passage above quoted. The translation "Now will my husband exalt or honour me" not

¹ See Journal Asiatique. août-sept. 1878, pp. 220 ff.
only suits the context, but agrees in substance with the rendering of the Septuagint, αἰτιάζω με, "he will prefer me." Light is also thrown by Assyrian on the meaning of הֵּדֵד itself. The original meaning of that word is not "dwellings" in general, but "elevated or high dwelling." It is, therefore, especially applied to the heavenly dwellings of the sun and the moon (see Hab. iii. 11) and to the high temple of God. "How suitably does Solomon, after alluding to Jehovah's dwelling in thick clouds, refer to the newly built temple as a חָנוּן חֹשֵׁב, 'a house of height' (1 Kings viii. 13), a house which by its elevation pointed men upwards to the heavenly temple!" (Cheyne.)

Again, Hebrew חַדָּו means "bannor"; but what is the meaning of the verb חַדָּו (Psalm xx. 6; Cant. v. 10)? The modern lexicographers and interpreters say that חַדָּו is derived from the Arabic ڭَجِمَأ, "to cover," the banner being "the cover of the stick," and that the Hebrew חַדָּו is again a denominative verb, meaning "to erect a banner" or "to provide with a banner." Now, in the first place, it does not seem very probable that the banner should have been called in any language "cover of the flagstick." In the second place, the rendering of חַדָּו by "one provided with a banner" in Cant. v. 10, "My beloved is white and ruddy, conspicuous among ten thousand like a man provided with a banner," is most unnatural. The general import of חַדָּו, which the Authorized Version translates well "the chiepest,"

1 The non-Semitic name of the famous temple of Bel in Babylon, E-sagila, has just the same meaning as Hebr. חַדָּו חֹשֵׁב; comp. W. A. I. ii. 15, 45 c. d.
2 Furst's explanation, who ascribes the meaning "to shine, to exalt" to the Hebrew stem חָדָּו, would be far preferable.
is clear, but what is the original meaning? Assyriology solves the riddle. In Assyrian the banner is likewise called *diglu*. We read in a hymn addressed to the sungod, "Thou art the light of the furthermost ends of heaven, thou art the banner (*diglu*) of the vast earth; the vast nations look upon thee and rejoice."¹ The verb from which *diglu* is derived occurs hundreds of times in the Assyrian texts, its simple meaning being "to see." The banner is, therefore, the object to which the eyes of the soldiers are directed—undoubtedly a far better explanation than "cover of the flagstick." הַרְבּ in Cant. v. 10 is, therefore, to be translated, "My beloved is looked up to among ten thousand"—among ten thousand the eyes of every one are directed only to him. In the same manner the translation of the parenthetic words in Psalm xx. 6, expressing the cheerful confidence of the believer in Jehovah’s name and help, "We will rejoice in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners," had better be replaced by "We will rejoice in thy salvation, and keep our eyes directed upon the name of our God." The passage forcibly reminds one of an oracle sent to the king Esarhaddon from the goddess of Arbela: "Do not trust in men, direct thy eyes upon me, *dugulâni*, i. e., look upon me, keep thy eyes directed upon my name."²

Another verb that has been explained in the most divergent manner is רַעְמ (see Gen. xliii. 30; Lam. v. 10), from which the names of the heathen priest (דֵּגוּל) and of

¹ *W. A. I.* iv. 19 No. 2. The Assyrian words are: ʻatṭān̄a nûr-šunu ša kippat šamē rûkūtum, ša ʻi̲r̲ši̲t̲im rapâštim ʻi̲g̲i̲l̲š̲ina atṭâma; ina-ṭalâkâma i̲j̲ādâ ni̲k̲ē rapâštē.

² *W. A. I.* iv. 68, col. ii: ina ʻēli amēlūtī lâ tatâkîl, mutûl̲î ināka ana dīsî, dugulânî.
the net ( TokenType="HTML" wrap="true">). The last edition of Gesenius's dictionary, partly following the Septuagint, gives three different meanings to this one root: firstly, "to hide," by which , "net," is explained as the object hidden in the water or on the earth; secondly, "to be dark or black," by which , "priest," is interpreted to mean originally "blackness," then the "dark-dressed man" (Gesenius, "qui atra veste incedit, lugens, hinc asceta, sacerdos"); thirdly, "to contract," therefore, Gen. xliii. 30, "His bowels were drawn together towards his brother." The two different meanings thus ascribed to one and the same form, , and the etymological explanation of its derivatives, will hardly satisfy any critical reader. How plain and simple becomes the difficulty by the comparison of the Assyrian dictionary! The verb kamåru occurs very often on the Assyrian monuments, meaning everywhere "to strike down, to throw down, to overpower." An Assyrian vocabulary which we have lately examined shows that kamåru is a synonym of dakü ( and labånu (comp. the phrase labån appi, "to throw down the face, to adore"). By applying this meaning to the Hebrew passages in question every difficulty is removed. Who can deny that the following translations are at once the most simple and the most satisfactory? Gen. xliii. 30: "And Joseph made haste; for his love was overpowered towards his brother, and he sought where to weep." 1 1 Kings iii. 26: "Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her love was overpowered towards her child," &c. Hos. xi. 8: "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?.......mine heart is turned within

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1 means love as well as bowels; the following passage Hos. xi. 8 teaches that it had better be taken in the former sense.
me, my sympathy (not "repenting") is totally overpowered." Turning to the explanation of the passage Lam. v. 10, it will be remembered that images taken from the oven are not unfrequently used in Assyrian proverbs. Thus we read¹ Kīma tināri labiri ana nukkurika mariš, "Like an old oven he is too weak to do thee much harm," i. e., like an oven he has no strength, or, in accordance with the Eastern custom, like a pot the sides of which are burst by too long use and by exposure to violent heat, he is powerless. The passage in Lam. v. 10 is therefore to be translated "Our skin has been overpowered like an oven," i. e., has become powerless, or lost its vigour and power of resistance, "by the burning of the famine." Finally, as to the name of the net and the heathen priest, the former is called ܢܨܡܪܐ as the instrument by which the prey is overpowered or thrown down (compare the frequent Assyrian phrase "Like a net ܐܬܨܒܥWLWL, "I threw him down," from ܢܡ@api); while the priests, or ܡܘܨܡܪܐ, are the persons who throw themselves down on their faces and adore (comp. ܢܡ@api and labân appi). The Syriac ܐܘܗܒܪܝܐ, "sad, dejected," confirms the correctness of my view.

In the same manner other Hebrew verbs of frequent occurrence, for instance מַצְרִי,² could be explained, not by any hypothesis, but merely by following the invaluable vocabularies of the old Babylonian and Assyrian scholars as well as the context.

¹ W. A. I. ii. 16, 10–13 d.
² The verb מַצְרִי has been already discussed on p. 5.
HEBREW lexicography is bound to look for help to the Assyrian dictionary chiefly in those cases where a verbal root is only preserved in derivatives. In the majority of these cases Hebrew lexicography is quite unable to give the original meaning of a word. Thus we know that נְהוֹן is the father-in-law, but we cannot tell why he is so called, the verb נְהַה occurring only as a denominative verb. Again, we know that הָנִּבֶּה means “staff,” but we are quite in the dark about the original meaning of the root נְבֶה. Of course, no blame of any kind attaches to Hebrew lexicography for having recourse in such cases to the kindred dialects. What I do censure is the indiscreet use made of Arabic, the pernicious practice of forcing Arabic meanings on Hebrew words with an obviously different sense, an error which is greatly aggravated by the bold confidence with which these etymological speculations are put forward. Could any linguist, however little acquainted with the laws of comparative philology, think it possible that the eighth edition of Gesenius's dictionary proposes in right earnest the following development of meanings for נְהוֹן, “father-in-law”? נְהוֹן, like the Arabic خَتَنْ, means “to circumcise,” and, further, “to incise, to penetrate, to go into” another
family. Both, father-in-law and mother-in-law, are called עַלְמַיִם and עִקְרֵי, because through the marriage of their daughters they press, or gain entrance, into another family. Is it possible to conceive such a strange idea? And is it not to be regretted that young beginners in Hebrew, who look upon Gesenius’s dictionary as their safest guide, are thus misled, and that ideas of so preposterous a character are instilled into their minds concerning “Semitic modes of thought”? 1 Arabic scholars are perfectly justified in rejecting all those hazardous explanations of Assyrian words by the Arabic dictionary 2; but why do they not stop, for the sake of Semitic science in general, such an abuse of Arabic in the treatment of Hebrew? The Assyrian language, which, as we have seen, is not only intimately related to Hebrew, but possesses a literature three times larger than the Old Testament, supplies all these verbal stems which are wanted, showing them in living use in numerous instances. The truth of this statement will be fully proved by our Assyrian dictionary, which, we hope, will demonstrate conclusively that the sacred tongue of David and

1 Compare what is said in the preface of the eighth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary about the “Semitischen Vorstellungskreise.” We remark with satisfaction that the ninth edition has given up the above mentioned explanation of the name of the parents-in-law. According to the ninth edition they are thus called as those who decide, the decision as to which husband their daughter is to be given being left to them.

Isaiah has no longer need to languish in the fetters of Arabic lexicography.\(^1\)

The Assyrian verb ḫatānu, from which the words for affinity are derived, meant originally "to surround, to protect." The Assyrian magician sees in a dream the king Asurbanipal fighting in the midst of his enemies, but he sees at the same time the goddess Istar protecting him and surrounding him (ḥātinat) on every side.\(^2\) The verb ḫatānu is very common in the sense of "to protect, to help, to support."\(^3\); the parents-in-law are called ṯn̄ and ṯnh as

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\(^1\) The excessive comparison of Arabic has frequently induced the continuators of Gesenius's work to set aside the correct views of the original compiler, which are often confirmed by the evidence of Assyrian research. Thus, the Hebrew name of the mule, ṯṭ, is explained in the two last editions of the dictionary by the Arabic ṣ̆̃d, "to be single" or "to live apart," the mule being called ṯṭ as the isolated animal, incapable of propagating itself. Gesenius rejects this explanation as well as the improbable opinion of Bochart ("quia natus sit ex parentibus qui a consorte naturali separati cum alienis copulentur") with the judicious remark: "Utrumque longius petitum est." According to his own view, the mule derived its Hebrew name from its extreme celerity. This etymology, which is based on the comparison of the Syriac ṣ̆̃, "to fly, to flee," is further strengthened by Assyr. purdū, "to be impetuous," from which the well-known noun and adjective puridu, "impetuous, vehemence, power" and "impetuous, quick" is derived; comp. W. A. I. iv. 5, 47 b: "the messenger ana Ea puridu īlik went speedily to the god Ea." For analogous change of the two meanings "powerful" and "quick" comp. Heb. ṯṭ 1 Sam. xx. 19.

\(^2\) Smith, Asurbanipal p. 125 f.: ṯn̄ kirimmiša ṭābi taḥsinkāma taḥtēna gimir lānēka, pānūša išātu innapiš ezziš ana kašād nākirēka, ṯc., \(i. e.,\) "by her fair body she shielded thee and encompassed thee on all sides; out of her face fire was kindled to vanquish thy enemies," \&c.

\(^3\) See W. A. I. ii. 39, 2 f. Sarg. Cyl. 4 and other passages.
those who protect and support the young family. That this explanation is in harmony with "Semitic thought" is confirmed by the synonyms יָד, "father-in-law," וּדְמוֹת, "mother-in-law," which are derived from the same verb רַמֶּה, "to surround," as רַמֶּה, "the surrounding and protecting wall."

Why is the stick called יִבְּךְ in Hebrew? Gesenius's dictionary combines the word, without putting any query, with the Arabic סִבָּכָה, "to be lank" (of the hair). It cannot be questioned that a stick or a rod, especially one used for punishment, may be "lank"; still, this etymology must now be given up, because Assyrian shows clearly that סִיבֵתִי, "the stick," is derived from סָבָּכָה, "to strike, to beat, to slay," the stick being the instrument of beating. 1

We may add that Fürst, aided by the Targumic and Talmudic idiom, has already proposed this etymology.

Like all Semites, the Hebrew people called the flock, both of sheep and goats, כָּבָּד. We did not know why, because no Semitic language has the verb כָּבָּד in living use. The latest editions of Gesenius's dictionary think it probable that the name of the flock is to be compared with the Arabic صִטּוּ, "to be small, sick, emaciate." Poor Semitic people! Indeed, if anything could point to the desert as their original home, small and emaciated sheep and goats would do so. The Babylonians and Assyrians, like the other Semitic nations, called the flock שֶׁבֶע, but they have

1 For the verb סָבָּכָה, "to beat, to slay, to kill" compare W. A. I. iv. 16, 9 b; 27, 21 b. Assyr. סִיבֵתִי means both, "scepter" and "slaughter."
preserved at the same time the verb "preserved in numerous passages. It is one of the most common synonyms of "to be good, benevolent," the flock being called because of the tameness and gentleness of the animals composing it; this is real "Semitic thought," as is shown by the Arabic 

The verbal root "bed," is derived, is not preserved in Hebrew. The word is generally compared to the Arabic "booth" or "shed" or "throne"; "wooden structure made for a grape vine"; and "to erect a 'ars or 'arîs." is therefore explained as a bed having a canopy, or a booth made of branches, in which people used to sleep during the hot summer months, and J. Löw thinks that he can trace this meaning in Cant. i. 16. means, however, only "couch" or "bed," and the Syriac has the additional sense of "bier." It is certainly very improbable that the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Aramaeans had such luxuries as four-post beds at that remote period when they still dwelt together. Also in Assyrian or is "bed," and the verbal root means, like "sternere," or "to spread out." is, therefore, simply "stratum."

To quote some other instances, Hebrew lacks the verbal root from which "beloved" (Eccles. ii. 8), is derived. We have already shown in another place that

1 Compare our remarks in Wilhelm Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser I, p. 86 f.

2 Aramäische Pflanzennamen, p. 89.
Assyrian possesses a root תִּכְּשׁ, “to love,” from which שְׁעָדָע, “lover,” is derived. The ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary, though taking notice of this etymology of תִּכְּשׁ, keeps to the old explanation, according to which the word meant originally “lady,” and is to be compared to the Arabic سيد. The same edition alleges also the Talmudic רֵיחֶנָה, “chest” or “chestlike seat for the women on the back of the camel.” All these explanations are at variance with the principles of grammatical formation, common sense, and the plain fact that תִּכְּשׁ means “the beloved,” not “lady.”

A word common both to Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects is בֵּית, “valley” or “brook.” This word is usually derived from a supposed verbal root בֵּית, which is said to be related to בַּל, “to hollow out.” This is, however, a mere conjecture. The Assyrian nahlū or nahlallu means likewise “valley” or “ravine” or “brook.” The verb nahlū, “to compress” or “to confine,” is, however, preserved at

1 We may here be permitted to propose a new explanation of the well known divine attribute עז, which is usually combined with the Arabic שָׁדִיָּה, “strong,” the form itself being defined as an abstract noun terminating in ע (see Stade, Hebräische Grammatik, § 301 a). In the Assyrian list of synonyms W. A. I. v. 28, 82h šaddū is explained as a synonym of šakū, “to be high,” and the succeeding line is devoted to the definition of šaddū, “mountain,” syn. gablum. We doubt whether any linguistic grounds can be urged against the analysis of the word עז as the form עֵל from הָעִבָּה, “to be high or to be elevated.” Assyrian phrases like בֶּל šaddū rabū, “Bel, the great rock or mountain” and proper names like Ilu-kadd̄wa, “God is my rock,” are in favour of this etymology.
the same time. The Assyrian *mahlu* and the Hebrew יָמִּים, "valley," is, therefore, the space confined between two hills or mountains. The word was afterwards applied to the brook flowing in the valley.

Hebrew יְרוֹם, "price," has an exact Assyrian equivalent in *mahiru*. In Hebrew ישן as a verb is not in use; in an Assyrian dictionary at least ten pages could be filled with verbal forms of *maharu*, "to receive"—the price, the wages is simply that which is received.

In like manner אָהִיב, "prophet," יְרוֹם, "vow," and many other words, are for the first time supplied with a satisfactory etymology by the Assyrian dictionary. Reserving the explanation of these curious words for future discussion, we cannot forbear expressing our entire agreement with the interpretation of the important word יְהֹורֶם, put forth in the two latest editions of Gesenius's dictionary. It is no small merit of the editors to have discovered that the primary meaning of יְהֹורֶם is "decision or ordinance or decree," and that "covenant" is the secondary signification. There is, indeed, in Assyrian a verbal stem ברע, "to decide," which occurs, for instance, in an invocation to Izdu-bar (Sm. 1371). The whole passage deserves to be transcribed:

*dāna-ta-ma ki-ma ili ta-bar-[ri], ta-az-za-az ina iṛṣi-tim ta-yam-ma mar dī-[na], di-in-ka ul in-nēn-ni ul im-mēš a/-mat-ka], ta-ṣal ta-ḥa-ṭi ta-da-ni ta-bar-ri n tuš-tē-šir, Šamaš šib-ṭa u purūsā kau-tuk-ka ḫp-kād, šarrānī šuukkanākē u rubūṭe pānūka kam-su, ta-bar-ri ṭe-re-ṭi-šu-nu purūsā-šu-nu ta-par-ra-as, i. e. "Thou art a judge and decidest like a god; thou standst upon the earth, holding judgment; thy judgment is not reversed nor [thy sentence] ignored; thou rulest, thou examinest, thou judgest, thou decidest and governest, Samas has put the scepter and decision into thy hand.

Delitzsch, Hebrew and Assyrian.
Kings, potentates and magnates bow before thee; thou fixest their laws, thou directest their decrees.”

Assyrian is of equal value in those instances, where a Hebrew verb is only preserved in derived conjugations, while the meaning of the Qal is obscure. One instance may suffice. The well-known Hebrew verb בָּלָחָה, “to treat any one ignominiously, to insult him,” not occurring in the Qal, we cannot tell the original meaning of the Hifil. The ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary says, “The verb means ‘to hit, ferire,’” and compares Arabic مَلَك “to wound,” in the second form “to speak, to address anybody” (originally to lash, see בָּשָׁם in the eighth edition). Now the Assyrian has the two verbs kalāmu and kalānu, “to

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1 As we have had occasion to remark in chapter iv, the advantages to etymological research resulting from the study of Assyrian extend also to the Semitic sister tongues, more especially to the Aramaic dialects. Thus the well-known Syriac word ḫonāh, “interpreter,” of which the Assyrian form targumānu has been recently discovered by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches (see Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Feb. 6, 1883, p. 73), receives for the first time a satisfactory etymology by the Assyrian verbal root ragāmu, “to speak,” from which rīmu, “word,” is derived. Targumānu is “the speaker,” who speaks for others by interpreting their words. Even the ninth edition of Gesenius’s dictionary keeps to the traditional etymology, according to which targumānu is to be derived from בָּשָׁם, “to throw with stones” or “to stone,” the transition of meaning being explained by the comparison of the Latin jacere, “to throw,” with its compound trajicere, “to translate.” Again, the Qal of the Aramaic בְּרַע, “to persuade,” is proved by the Assyrian ṣadālu to be a synonym of patū, “to be open.” Irštītu ṣādīltu is “the wide earth”; ṣādū ṣādīltu is a “wide door.” הָכַל thus answers exactly to the Hebrew חַל.
be small"; kalāmu is a child (W. A. I. ii. 30, 43 c); kalmatu and kalmatu are, as in Aramaic, the names for the smallest beasts, like the worms; the vocabularies call expressly kalnu (kalmu) a synonym of kalnu, Heb. יָלָע (W. A. I. ii. 36. 40. 41 a). Thus Assyrian kalāmu, "to treat any one ignominiously," meant originally "to estimate lightly," parvi aestimare, leve habere. Hebrew יָלָע יָלָע is therefore the exact synonym of יָלָע, יָלָע.
IX.

The Assyrian verb is frequently used in a sense differing from that of its Hebrew equivalent, thus showing the original meaning of the latter. The Assyrian nabātu means "to be bright" or "to shine," and in the causative form, "to cause to shine" or "to make bright." The ideas of brightness and sight being so intimately related, we can see at once the true etymology of the Hebrew זָכָּה, Hifil זָכָּה, "to look." The ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary compares the Arabic نَبَتَ, "to spring forth," and the Talmudic נֵבָּת, "to sprout forth," thus, it appears, thinking it possible that זָכָּה, "to look," is literally "to cause to spring forth," sc. "the looks from the eyes." But by such arbitrary additions many other actions could be called זָכָּה. The same edition states that the original meaning of דִּבְשׁ, "to forgive" or "to remit sins," is "to loose." This explanation is given without a query, and the Arabic equivalent is not even referred to. Now the Assyrian salāhu means "to sprinkle," and is used with reference to sacrificial purification. This etymology is at once simple and in full accordance with Hebrew modes of thought.

The etymology of כָּנָה, "to cultivate a field," and כָּנָן, "cultivated field," is still explained in the latest edition of Gesenius's dictionary by the curious assumption that כָּנָן is
much the same as נָהַנָּה, the Hiphil of נָהַנ, and that נָהַנ literally means den Acker lichten, or "to till the field." There is, however, no analogy for such a mutilation of a Hiphil form. A single glance at the glossary of any Assyriological publication would have shown the editors of the dictionary whence a much more likely etymology of נָהַנ is to be obtained. In Assyrian נָהַנ means "to subjugate," and is used of the cultivation of the ground. Nīru is "yoke." The expression has an exact equivalent in the Latin "domare" and "subigere."

The question as to the primary signification of the Heb. נָהַנ, "to curse," has often been raised, but all attempts at a satisfactory explanation have proved unsuccessful. Now, the Assyrian verbal stem arāru, though commonly meaning "to curse, to lay under the ban" (compare arratu, "curse"), is frequently used in the sense of "to bind" or "to catch." Compare also arru, "fowler," īrītu, "sling or fetter." We are inclined to believe that this is the original meaning of the Heb. נָהַנ, an opinion which derives considerable support from the analogy of the Heb. רְבִי, "to bind" and "to bind by means of charms" or "to charm."

By an attentive study of the Assyrian dictionary doubts are often created as to the correctness of etymologies apparently genuine and long since accepted. Thus, the current etymology of Heb. רְבִי, "to reap" and "to be short," which is based on the comparison of the Arabic قَصَر, "to cut," is both simple and satisfactory. By means of the cutting scythe the harvest is accomplished. The instrumentality of cutting is required to shorten that which is long. Turning to Assyrian, however, we find a verbal stem kasāru, "to bind" or "to collect." נָהַנ, "harvest"
might, therefore, with equal right be defined as the time of gathering (compare יַסְכֵּל), and יָכָּל, "to be short" would literally be "to be strictum" or "constrictum." So far both etymologies are equally natural and convincing. In addition to "harvest," however, יָכָּל means also "bough," which is explained, in accordance with the former etymology, as the "cut off" object. But are we to imagine "cut off" boughs in passages like Isaiah xxvii. 11, Job xiv. 9 or Ps. lxxx. 12: "She (the vine) sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river"? Gesenius, perplexed by the difficulty of explaining יָכָּל, "bough," by יָכָּל, "to cut," is inclined to separate יָכָּל entirely from יָכָּל. By adopting the Assyrian etymology of יָכָּל ("to bind") every difficulty is removed. Analogous with יָכָּל, יָכָּל and יָכָּל the bough was called יָכָּל on account of its twisted condition.

Few etymologies have so much exercised and vexed the ingenuity of Semitic scholars as that of יָכָּל, with its two discrepant meanings "to be similar" and "to govern." The ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary, adopting the conjecture of Fleischer, explains יָכָּל by the Arabic مثل, "to stand" or "to stand erect" like the servant who stands erect (לֶאָמְתֵּל) before his master. The following development of meanings is proposed for مثل: "to place, to place oneself or a thing in a certain position, to represent, to place a thing by the side of another, to compare." יָכָּל is, therefore, said to mean "representation" and יָכָּל, "governor," is represented as "he who stands in the government" (לֶאָמְתֵּל is boldly supplied, with the comparison of the Arabic phrase قام بالسماحة). We think that many an objection could be brought forward against this etymology. The same verbal stem, masálu, exists in Assyrian. We frequently
read in the annals of the Assyrian kings: "I planted a park tumšil šáldû Ḥamānī "in the likeness of the mountain of Chaman" or "I built a palace tumšil ēhal Ḥattê "in the likeness of a Hittite palace." Mišlānī are "two equal halves," and šunšulu means "to divide into two equal halves." Musālu means, however, also "to shine." Musālu, "splendour," is a general term for anything of a shining character. ḫs is the governor as the person who is distinguished by the splendour of his appearance.

The Hebrew and Assyrian ṣarru, "prince, king," exhibits the same primary signification. The Hebrew word is usually derived from a supposed stem ṣ̄r̄, "to govern," this meaning being obtained by the assumption that "to govern" is literally "to divide" or rather "to dispose," the root being ṣ̄r̄, "to cut." Šarru being the name of the king in Babylonia and Assyria, we naturally look for an Assyrian etymology of the word. Now in Assyrian šarāru is "to shine," šarûru is the magnificent splendour of the stars, of the rising sun (šarûr Šamšî). It is a synonym of the common Assyrian word mêlammu (see W. A. I. ii. 35, 7 e.f.), especially applied to the splendour of royal majesty. Compare phrases like: pulhē mêlammē bēlūṭa ishupûšu "the fear of the splendour of my majesty threw him down." Tiglathpileser I styles himself "the bright day, whose splendour overthrows the four quarters of the Universe." Observe also the proud appellation Šamaš māṭi, "the Sun of the country," often used by the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs. It can, therefore, hardly be doubted, that our explanation both of ḫs and ṣarru is in full accordance with Oriental modes of thought.¹

¹ The objection raised by Paul Haupt (see Nachrichten von der Göttinger Ges. d. W., 25. April 1883, p. 105 f.) that the meaning "to shine"
The Heb. נָשָׁה, "to govern," is evidently formed from נָשָׁה, just as פַּרְשָׁה, "to be king," is derived from פַּרְשָׁה, "king." The king is called פַּרְשָׁה, malîk, as he who decides. The Arabic meaning of مَلِّتُ, "to take possession of a thing," seems to be the latest development of the meanings of the stem נָשָׁה.

is assumed for too many Assyrian words, is not valid. All languages are rich in such terms. The only difficulty consists in discovering the shades of difference between the various synonyms. The verb נָשָׁה, by which this objection was occasioned, cannot mean "to string together"; "aban nisîkî or simply nisîktu is not the pearl, but the precious stone. נָשָׁה is a synonym of אַכְרֹנ, (אַכְר), "to be precious"; "aban nisîktu and aban aḵartu mean both "precious stone." What sense does that supposed meaning "to string together" yield in passages like W. A. I. i. 7 E. 44, 72. v. 33b, or on the newly discovered monument of Nebuchadnezzar I., where the king styles himself rubû nādu nashû, "the great, the sublime, the magnificent"?

X.

In some instances even the rich stores of the Assyrian vocabulary fail to provide us with the verbal roots of certain derived nouns common to Assyrian and Hebrew. The Assyrian language, however, amply compensates for this defect by a number of derivative forms, from which valuable suggestions as to the original meaning of the root in question may be gathered. Thus the word for "stone" is formed from the root 𒃤 in all the Semitic languages, except in Arabic, where a special word, ƙƙƙƙƙƙ, is in use. Nevertheless the Arabic verbal root 'abana, "to clot" (of the blood), is stated to represent the original meaning of the root 𒃤, the stone being called ƙƙƙƙƙƙ as the hardened object. I doubt the correctness of this etymology. In addition to ƙƙƙƙƙƙ, "stone," Assyrian possesses other derivatives of the same root, e. g., ƙƙƙƙƙƙ, "point of a rock" or "tip of the finger." It is, therefore, very probable that the original meaning of the root 𒃤 is "to be pointed," and that ƙƙƙƙƙƙ is the stone as the pointed object.¹

¹ The etymology of ƙƙƙƙƙƙ, "bog," proposed in the latest editions of Gesenius's dictionary is another instructive instance of the danger attending the injudicious comparison of Arabic verbs, with obviously late meanings. Hebrew phrases like ƙƙƙƙƙƙ, "troubled in spirit,"
The question concerning the original meaning of הָנְבֶּן, "cake made of pressed figs," is likewise satisfactorily answered by the Assyr. dublu, which is given W. A. I. ii. 35, 43e as a synonym of isdu and nirmû, the synonyms of usšê, "foundation." חָנְבֶּן is, thus, an expression analogous with נֹשֶׁבַח, "cake made of pressed raisins."

The etymology of few words has been the subject of so much discussion as that of דֶּנֶס, "man." It has been supposed that דֶּנֶס is connected with נָס, "ground," which is prima facie not improbable. The translation "earth-born," however, is not admissible, as Ewald has conclusively shown on grammatical grounds. It is impossible to mention here the numerous explanations of the word which have been put forward. An account of them will be found in any linguistic commentary on Genesis. Dillmann rightly remarks: "A certain etymology for דֶּנֶס has just as little been found as for homo." דֶּנֶס is in Hebrew and Phoenician the generic name of man. It is also preserved in Himyaritic, but lost in Arabic. In Assyrian a verbal root דֶּנֶס is preserved in a number of derived nouns, which show that the original meaning of the root is synonymous with that of נָס, "to build" or "to beget." Thus we have admânu,

and the analogy of the Aramaic and Assyrian dialects (compare the Assyrian agamnu, "to be sad") plainly indicate that the original meaning of the root דֶּנֶס is "to be troubled." The "bog" is, therefore, called דֶּנֶס, Assyr. agammu, from the "troubled" or "turbid" state of its water. It is surprising that so simple an etymology should have failed to recommend itself to the attention of the editors of the dictionary, who assert that the Arabic ٍمَأَمُ, "to stink," which is undoubtedly a denominative verb derived from ٍمَأَمُ, "bog," represents the original meaning of the root דֶּנֶס.
“building” or “dwelling-place,” and admu, “child,” which is expressly stated to be a synonym of liilānu (לֵילָנוּ), and is especially used of the young of a bird.1 Compare also the analogous expression abal issūri, “young bird,” with Hebrew יִשְׂרֵי, “young pigeon.” יָדָשֶׁה is therefore synonymous with יִשְׂרֵי, meaning “the begotten one” or “the created one.” The verbal root בּחי was then used of the cultivation of the ground; מְשַׁדֵּה is therefore “the cultivated ground,” as in Gen. iv. 2, and מְשַׁדֵּה חוֹל (2 Chron. xxvi. 10) is “the lover of agriculture” or “the agriculturist.” The Assyrian reduplicated root dadam (comp. babālu, “to bring,” aside of abālu, בָּבֲלוּ) means likewise “to cultivate,” and dadmu is “dwelling-place” or “cultivated land,” or “country” in general.

Another word whose true etymology has hitherto been vainly sought for is נָא, “brother.” Now the Assyrian equivalent, אָהוּ, has the additional sense of “side.” אָהוּ, “brother,” may therefore be defined as the person who stands by the side of the firstborn or as the next kinsman, or, again, both words may be derived from the same verbal stem נָא, “to surround” or “to protect.” The Hebrew name of the brother would thus be analogous with the Sanskrit bhrātar.

The etymology of מָא, “mother,” set forth in the latest edition of Gesenius’s dictionary is a characteristic specimen of modern Hebrew lexicography. מָא is there mysteriously explained as the person who precedes the child, the

1 See W. A. I. ii. 37, 21 e. f.

2 It may be interesting to note that in the Talmud the participle of the Pual of מָא is used in the same sense, see Sota 34b: מָאִי, “cultivated” (Rashi: מָאִי וְמָאִי, “covered with fruits”).
Arabic verbal root ُمْلْي meaning “to precede” or “to go before.” The mother certainly precedes the child in point of time, but the same may be said of the father. Another derivative of the root بُنْطْسِ، namely بُنسِ، “cubit,” is explained as meaning originally “forearm,” the forearm being the mother of the arm. If the forearm be the mother of the arm, the upper arm is probably the father. Where is, then, the child? Finally, جَثْرْة، “nation,” is defined, in strict accordance with the explanation given by the native lexicologists of the Arabic equivalent مَلْلَ، as the collective body of men following a common leader, or مَلْلَ. It must be owned that these explanations possess a certain degree of ingenuity, but they are hardly satisfactory. The Assyrian verbal root دُنْطِس means “to be wide” or “spacious.” Ummu is therefore “the womb” (in which sense it often occurs in Assyrian), as the roomy receptacle of the child, then “the mother.” Compare the analogous use of Hebrew دَنَّى, “womb,” in the sense of “woman,” in Judges v. 30 (دينة). Ammatu, “cubit,” signified originally “width” or “length,” like the Hebrew دَنَّى and similar terms, and was afterwards applied to a definite measure. جَثْرْة, in Assyrian ummu, is “the nation,” as a vast or numerous body of men. نِيَشُ الرَّضِيَّةِ, “the vast nations,” is one of the commonest expressions occurring in the annals of the Assyrian kings.
XI.

Having thus shown that the Assyrian language reveals for the first time for a large class of isolated Hebrew nouns the signification of the stems from which these nouns are derived, we now proceed to prove that the very rich cuneiform literature unlocks for us not only the meaning of many word-stems, but also in a large number of cases reveals the stems themselves. It is impossible here systematically to present all the various classes of words whose true etymology is for the first time obtained, and to illustrate them by examples. We must confine ourselves to a few cases, but these will suffice not only to show how necessary is a revision of the Hebrew lexicon by the aid of the lexicon of the nearest related Semitic language, the Assyrian, but also to show how revolutionary such a revision must prove.

It is well known that the Hebrew, like the South Semitic languages, had two נ’s, which were, indeed, represented by the same character in writing, but which in pronunciation differed considerably from each other, and were certainly kept distinctly apart. Wherever the Arabic lacks an equivalent (I omit the Ethiopic intentionally), it has been until now simply impossible to pronounce the Hebrew stem correctly. The Assyrian, which has reduced its weak נ to a spiritus lenis, but has firmly preserved its strong נ,
puts an end to all doubt. It proves the incorrectness of a whole list of assumptions which were only too hastily based on Arabic stems with similar, or even in part with quite different meanings. All Arabic comparisons which the ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary makes for such words as רֶמֶם, רֶמֶם, רֶמֶם, רֶמֶם, רֶמֶם, and רֶמֶם are unquestionably proved to be wrong by the Assyrian equivalents הרדֲו, "to rejoice"; חָרָשׁ, "moat"; חָשׁ, "to hasten"; חוֹרְשׁ, "forest"; חָשְׁלָו, "to crush"; זָרוּ, "to rise" (of the sun, for instance); מָהָצָו, "town"; מָהָשׁ, "to strike" (used as in Hebrew of smiting the thighs as a gesture of grief); סָחְפּ, "to overthrow"; שָׂלְהו, "to sprout" (סָלְהו, "a sprout"). In most cases no blame is to be laid on Hebrew lexicography; still, the mistake might easily have been avoided of giving a ה to the Hebrew word for "to rejoice" (יחוד) on account of the Arabic כָּכָה, "to urge camels by singing to them," or to the word for "to rise" (יחוד) on account of a rare Arabic equivalent meaning "to strew" (זַרְזָגו). Further, the Assyrian elucidates with surprising clearness stems whose numerous meanings have often been brought into connexion in the strangest manner, by showing that the supposed single stem represents really two, one with ה, the other with ל. Thus the Assyrian shows that Heb. נֶפֶס, "arrow" (Assyr. usšu), and נֶפֶס, "to cut off, to pierce" (Assyr. חָשָׁס), go back to quite different stems; that נֶפֶס, "to open" (Assyr. פִיתו), and נֶפֶס, "to carve, to engrave," for instance on wood or stone (Assyr. פַלוּ), have nothing at all to do with each other. Assyrian is helpful in still other ways. The Hebrew verb נֶפֶס has the two meanings "to anoint" and "to measure." It has been supposed that we have here a single verb, because in Arabic
the surveyor is called מַסָלָח, with ח, and the two meanings have been united in a characteristic manner by saying that מַסָלָח means properly to stroke, to spread, either with dye or oil = to anoint, or by passing the hand over anything = to measure. But in Assyrian "to measure" is מַשָּהֲו, the "measure" is מֶשִּׁה, the "surveyor" is מֶשִּׁה. It appears at once that the Arabic ח proves nothing at all; that, on the contrary, מַסָלָח, precisely like מַלָל (Assyr. malāhu), "boatman," is simply borrowed in Arabic.1

1 We must persist in the non-Semitic origin of the Semitic word malāhu (mallāhu), which is expressly attested by the Assyrians themselves, see W. A. I. v. 21, 5 c.d. Assyr. malāhu cannot be connected with the Semitic word for "salt," מַלְכָה, with ח. The fact that Hebrew מַלְכָה occurs only in passages of the books of Ezekiel and Jonah is in favour of the late introduction of the word into Hebrew.
XII.

Passing on to other illustrations of the same fact, we find that the Assyrian often leads to an entirely different stem from that which has been until now accepted.

The well-known measure רכ, רכ, נוּר, having the same meaning as נוּר, can \textit{per se} be derived from נו or from רכ; the Assyrian נוּר, from which the name of the inspector of measures and weights, \textit{rab נוּר} 1, comes, decides for רכ, not נו, which the ninth edition of Gesenius's dictionary prefers. Be it incidentally remarked that נו, "feast," is not to be derived, with the ninth edition, from רכ, but from נו, as the Assyrian נו, having the same meaning, teaches. On the other side, the ninth edition derives the word for hole, cave, נו, נו, whose stem might be either נו or נו, from נו, although already the Arabic נ might have led to the correct etymology. The Assyrian נו, with the same meaning, settles the question, and it is but fair to say that Levy has already recognized the correct stem both for רכ and for נו.

For the derivation of נו, "stomach of the ruminating animals" (Deut. xviii. 3), where Gesenius’s dictionary is

\footnote{1 See \textit{W. A. J.} ii. 31, 48c and compare the Talm. נו יב יב Kiddushin, 76 b.}
uncertain whether to adopt the stem בֵּית or בִּית, and of
בֵּית, "belly" (Num. xxv. 8), for which בֵּית is proposed as
the stem, we need not refer to Assyrian, the Aramaic בֵּית
with its derivatives showing clearly that the stem of both
words is בֵּית.

The Hebrew name of the bullock, בּ, בּ, fem. בּ, may come from בּ or בּ. The Assyrian парע (pārū)
teaches that the stem is בּ, the same stem as that from
which בּ, "fruit," is derived. The original meaning of the
stem in question is "to spring, to spring up," as the ninth
edition rightly supposes, although it takes ב for this stem.
It may be interesting to note here another stem, namely
בּ, "to spring," from which both the names for "fruit"
and for "hare" are derived; בּ, בּ denoting the fruit,
as that which springs forth or bursts out, while בּ signifies
the hare as Springinsfeld.

The Hebrew בּ, which is used in Job viii. 12 and
Solomon's Song vi. 11 of the germinating or shooting of
plants, may, as is accepted by every one, come from the
same root as the Aramaic בּ, "fruit," found in the book
of Daniel. But if this be so, it is impossible any longer to
consider בּ as the stem; for Assyrian inbu, "fruit," st.
constr. inib, as well as the verb in Piel, nunabu, "to bear
fruit," and other derivatives like nunabu=pirbu, "a sprout,"
lead undoubtedly to a stem בּ, from which, as our original
dictionaries expressly inform us, the hare annabu (Arab.
אַנַבּ), as the springer, received its name.

The etymology even of the most common Hebrew words
is changed by the Assyrian. It is still to-day usual to say
that the Hebrew preposition בּ, "with" (בּ, "with me"),
Dellitzsch, Hebrew and Assyrian.
corresponds to an original אֵילָה, so that אֵילָה, "with me," meant originally "a meeting with me." The Assyrian itti, "with," destroys this hypothesis, for the Assyrian itti, ittu, is clearly the feminine form of itu, "side," pl. itātī. Itti, "with me," means simply "at my side." Itu and ittu, "side," are among the commonest Assyrian words. Certainly no one would dare to adduce the Ethiopic enta against this explanation. On the other hand, the Assyrian confirms the derivation of תָּמ, "time," as equivalent to תָּמ (a derivation first correctly recognized by Fleischer); for in Assyrian by the side of ittu, ēttu, "time," we meet the still commoner masculine form ēnu, īnu, which corresponds to the Aramaic ਤੋਂ (ਤੋਂ), but has nothing at all to do with the Arabic حَمِيس.

In cases like המ or המ we admit that without the aid of Assyrian it was difficult to say whether the ב and ב were radical or merely prefixes. In the face of Assyr. ēmtu, īōmtu, "sea," and ma'ādu, "to be much (mu'du, "multitude"), the radical nature of ב and ב can no longer be denied.¹

¹ With respect to the solution of such difficult questions, the constant effort to compare Hebrew with Arabic has again been a barrier to the recognition of the truth even in easy cases like the stem מְנַח, with its derivative מְנַח, "worm." The ninth edition combines this word with מְלָח (Arabic مُلَح), "to lick," a stem having no existence in Hebrew. Besides, who ever saw a worm that licks? A dog licks, not a worm. In three passages of the Old Testament (Job xxxix. 17, Joel i. 6, Ps. xxx. 14) the teeth are called מְנַח; but in spite of this the form מְנַח, which occurs only once (Ps. lvi. 7) and arises from the evident transposition of ל and ל, is declared to be the original form, and is explained from the Arabic لَحْن, "to prick." But a tooth does not prick anything. Could not the Hebrew of itself teach that
The Hebrew word for "deluge," לָבָךְ, is universally derived from לָבָנָה. But apart from the fact, that the form would be without analogy, we deny that Heb. לָבָנָה ever means "to flow" like the Arabic ﷐. Heb. לָבָנָה has, like the Assyr. abâlu (wabâhu), invariably the meaning "to lead or to bring." אָבַּלְכָּה (Is. xxx. 25. xlv. 4) are aqueducts leading the waters to the fields. The obscure word לָבָנָה in Dan. viii. 2. 3. 6 does not disprove this statement. Just as לָבָנָה, "spring" comes from לָבָנָה, לָבָנָה may be derived from לָבָנָה. The stem לָבָנָה has in Assyrian as well as in Hebrew the meaning "to spoil" or "to destroy"; compare Heb. לָבָנָה, Assyr. nabalu (syn. miitu, W. A. l. v. 31, 38 d), "corpse." The intransitive Hebrew verb לָבָנָה is used of the withering and destruction of the leaves; Assyr. nabalu, the usual verb for "to destroy," is especially applied to the destruction of nature occasioned by the ravages of storms and incessant rains. Compare nabaltu, "hurricane" and phrases like nabaltu νάζσζν ελι νακιρέ'α, "I caused destruction to rain on my enemies."

The well-known word יִתְנַח, "box, ark," is by Muehlau and Volck rightly pronounced to be of doubtful origin. The Assyrian dictionary again settles the question by the simple fact that אוֹרֶנִי, the full equivalent of the Hebrew יִתְנַח, has as synonym אוֹרֶנִי. The stem is therefore יִתְנַח, and not יִתְנַח.

the stem לָבָנָה means "to gnaw," so that the worm would be the gnawer, and the teeth the gnawers? The Assyrian confirms this fully, just as in general sound Assyrian etymology is in complete harmony with sound Hebrew etymology.

1 Compare the analogous names of Assyrian channels like Bābēlāt-hēgallī, "bringer of abundant water" (W. A. i. 27 No. 2, 6).
If we bear in mind the fact that the Assyrian language was fixed in literature many centuries before the oldest known Hebrew texts and thousands of years before Arabic, we cannot be surprised that Assyrian has preserved in not a few cases the oldest forms of stems lost or disguised by the process of decay in the kindred tongues. Thus the true meaning of the Semitic word for “bride,” Heb. יִרְאָה, is obscured in the cognate dialects. According to Hebrew as well as Aramaic the name can only be derived from יִרְאָה, “to encircle;” but none of the different explanations which have been put forward, as “the girl provided with a wreath” or “the veiled,” has yet met with general approval. The Assyrian puts an end to all doubt. In Assyrian the bride is called kallātu, with a long a in the second syllable. That shows at once that the stem cannot be יִרְאָה. We are further taught that the original meaning of the word is not “bride,” but “the bride’s chamber,” its ideogram denoting “the shut-up room.” The stem is clearly the same stem אָל, “to shut up,” from which in Hebrew as well as in Assyrian the prison is called אָל אָל, בֵית קֵלֶל. Kallātu, “bride chamber,” was afterwards applied to the bride. Compare the analogous use of the Arabic حَرْم, “harem,” and the German Frauenzimmer.

As we have had occasion to remark p. 24, footnote, a number of Targumic and Talmudic words, formerly regarded as being of Aryan origin, are now proved by the cuneiform literature to be good Semitic, namely Babylonian, borrowed chiefly in or since the time of the exile. We stated at the same time that these words cannot be derived according to Hebrew laws of formation, but must be understood as Babylonian words. Now, we are of opinion that the Old Testa-
ment contains likewise a number of words which are of Babylonian origin, because they have a satisfactory explanation only if they are understood as Babylonian words.¹ One instance may suffice. The Hebrew and Aramaic name of the Pleiads is הָלַל (Amos v. 8; Job. ix. 9, xxxviii. 31). The word is generally combined with the Arabic ْيُرِمْيَ، “to have a large lump” (said of the camel), and explained by the Arabic ُمُرْيَكَ, “heap,” so that the Pleiads would be called ِرِمْيَة as an accumulation of stars. I do not think that any of my readers will find this interpretation of that wonderful group of stars poetical or even true; those seven stars, which are compared by Persian poets with a necklace or a bouquet of jewels, could hardly be compared with a heap of earth. Babylonia is the home of astronomy, and most of those names of stars, that occur in the Old Testament, as of Saturn, ِرُقُعْ, Kainânu, are of Babylonian origin.²

¹ The Aramaic dialects exhibit a considerable number of such Babylonisms. The two verbs ُيُرِمَ (the Babylonian Shafel from ِيُدُبُ, ُيُرِمَ) and ُسُرِمَ (the Babylonian Shafel from ِسُبُ, ُسُرِمَ) rank among the most curious and instructive examples. Observe the ُل of the last-named form, which alone disproves Aramaic origin. As Paul Haupt has first shown, the words for “tribute” or “tax” that occur in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel—َتَب and َتَب (َتَب)—are simply the Babylonian words ُتَب, “tax” (literally, “what is brought,” from ُتَب) and ُدَتَب, ُدَتَب, “tribute” (lit. “what is given,” from ُتَب = ِيُمِئَ); comp. Aram. ُتَب, “sabbath.” These Babylonian or Assyrian words had been adopted by the nations on whom the tribute was imposed by the monarchs of the Babylonian and Assyrian empire.

² The same is the case with most of the names used up to the present day for the various constellations, as “the Wagon,” “the Lion,” “the Twins,” which are to be found in the long lists of stars handed down to us through Assurbanipal’s library.
So the word יִקְמֻ is evidently nothing but the Assyrian kimtu, "family," borrowed by the Hebrews as יִקְמֻ, just as בִּירָט was changed into יִבְרָט. The stem is קְמּו, "to tie," the family being called kimtu because its members are connected by one common tie. It would even seem that the Hebrew poet himself was still conscious of that original meaning; this is at least suggested by the words of the author of the book of Job (xxxviii. 31): "Dost thou bind the bands of the Pleiads?"

In concluding this treatise we venture to offer with due reserve a few suggestions as to the etymology of the Hebrew word יִקְמֻ, usually translated by "species" or "kind," the etymology of which Wellhausen rightly pronounces a riddle. We formulate our objections to the translation "species" in the following propositions: 1) In phrases like Gen. vi. 20: "of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind" or Deut. xiv. 13. 14: "the vulture after his kind and every raven after his kind," we feel the want of the plural form. 2) The explanation of the word יִקְמֻ by the Arabic مَأَنِّ السِّرْبُ, "he has divided or opened up the earth by the plough for the purpose of sowing," is far-fetched. Guided by Assyrian phrases like "The gods created the living creatures מָאָלָה בַּשָּׁעַ "as many as there are" or מָאָלָה שָׁעַמְשָׁ נֶבֶה "as many as have a name," we have long thought that יִקְמֻ simply means "number," a meaning which fits admirably whereever the word occurs. If we consider that the use of the word is confined to the so-called Code of the priests,

1 The ה in יִקְמֻ Gen. i. 21, which is not the Plural-ה, is explained by Ewald in his Grammar, §. 247.d.
to Ezek. xlvii. 10 and to four passages in Deut. xiv, which modern criticism places in the time of the exile, we may venture to identify the Hebrew יִנּ with the Babylonian minu, “number,” which is a pure Babylonian form contracted from minyu, as bùnu, “child,” biru, “midst” and many others are contracted from bunyu and biryu.
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