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FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AS AN EVIDENCE OF HISTORICITY

This article is the third in a series of essays in the literary criticism of the Old Testament based upon the foreign or presumably late words contained in the original documents of which it is composed.¹ Since the beginning of modern criticism of the Scriptures, much has been made of the diction of the various authors as an indication of age. Long lists of the words peculiar to each document have been gathered and

¹ The following dictionaries and concordances, except as otherwise noted, will be cited in this article simply by the names of the respective authors: Bedrossian, *New Dictionary Armenian-English*; Brederek, *Konkordanz zum Targ. Onkelos*; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syriacum*; Brown, *A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the O.T.* (Gesenius-Brown); Brünnow, *A Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*; Burnouf, *Dictionnaire classique Sanscrit-Francois*; Dalman, *Aram.-Neuheb. Wörterbuch*; Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc.; Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*; Lane, *An Arabic-Eng. Lexicon*; Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim (Chald.)*; ——, *Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterbuchern*. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*; Norberg, *Lexicon Codicis Nasarei*; Peyron, *Lexicon Linguae Copticae*; Richardson, *A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic and English*; Schulthess, *Lexicon des Christ. Paläst. Aramäischen*; Schwally, *Idioticon des Christ. Paläst. Aramäischen*; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*; West, *Glossary and Index of the Pahlevi Texts*. Further abbreviations are as follows: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (CIS); *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (CT); *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (JTVI); Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (KB); Lidbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* (Ephemeris); *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik* (Epigraphik); *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (PSBA); Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel (Studies)*; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (ZA); *Zeitschrift für A. T. Wissenschaft* (ZATW). Such natural abbreviations as "Syr." for Syriac; "Palm."

published.² The reader has been overwhelmed by the collections of words which the different supposititious authors of an allegedly composite Pentateuch, and of the allegedly pseudonymous parts of Isaiah, are declared to have employed.³ Much has been made of the presence of terms presumed to be Aramaic,⁴ and of those used more or less frequently in the Hebrew,⁵ or Aramaic, of the Targums and Talmud. But thus far, excepting in the case of the Aramaic,⁶ no comprehensive survey seems to have been made of the foreign words found in the records of the Old Testament. It is my purpose in this article to collect the foreign terms, other than Aramaic, used in the Old Testament, and to show the bearing of their use upon the age and reliability of the documents in which they occur.

Before proceeding to the main discussion, two preliminary statements should be made. First, it will be presumed that the reader is aware that the chronological stages of the literature of a people can be determined by the foreign elements imbedded in the vocabulary in which the various documents are written;⁷ and that the age and the provenience of a record,

for Palmyrene, "Bab. Tal." for Babylonian Talmud, etc., hardly need to have special attention drawn to them. A few further abbreviations which are used are those employed in the works cited.

² See e.g., Keil, *Introduction to the Old Testament*: viz., on the Hebrew language in general, Vol. I., pp. 62-67; on the Pentateuch, pp. 128-136; on Isaiah, p. 330; on Jeremiah, p. 347; on Ezekiel, p. 557; on Joel, p. 387; on Jonah, p. 402; on Nahum, p. 408; on Zechariah, p. 424; on Proverbs, p. 475; on Job, p. 492; on Ecclesiastes, p. 519; on Daniel, II. pp. 12-14.

³ See, e.g., Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 131-135, 238.

⁴ Keil, *Introduction*, p. 62; Giesebricht, "Zur Hexateuchkritik," in ZATW, I. pp. 177-276; Driver, *Introduction*, *passim*.

⁵ See for full discussion of the so-called Late Hebrew words in the Old Testament my article on the "Evidence in Hebrew Diction for the Dates of Documents," in this REVIEW for July 1927.

⁶ The fullest collection of the alleged Aramaisms in the Hebrew of the Old Testament is to be found in Kautzsch, *Die Aramäismen im Alten Testamente*. This treatise I have endeavored to answer in my article on "Aramaisms in the Old Testament" in this REVIEW for April 1925.

⁷ See my article on "Babylon and the Bible" in the *Presby. and Ref. Review* for 1902.

even a very brief one, can often be fixed from the presence in it of a proper name or of a common term.⁸ Thus, I have been told⁹ that, when the English government organized the judicial system of the kingdom of Irak, formed after the great war of 1914-18, they found no proper word in Arabic to express the idea of an English judge.¹⁰ *Kadi* would not do. So they took over the English word. In like manner, a verb and derivatives have been formed in Arabic out of the name Wilson, in order to denote the idea of the self-determination of nations, promulgated by President Wilson. When I was in Japan, I was told by those whom I thought to be experts on the subject, that in the Japanese language traces of the Portuguese and Dutch were to be found which had come down from the time of the early Roman Catholic missionaries and European voyagers and merchants, and that many English terms had lately been adopted.

But we need not go farther afield than our own English literature in order to see that the traces of foreign influence, intellectual, religious, and political, are observable in the documents written at the time when those influences were exerted. Thus, the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon literature we find such a large number of Latin ecclesiastical terms¹¹ is in itself a proof that the English derived their religion from the Romans. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* show clearly that the Norman-French had imposed their civilization upon the uncultured Saxons, and had dominated them in government, social customs and nearly every sphere of life and thought.¹² The origin and influence of the Renaissance appears in the

⁸ No better exemplification of this principle is to be found than that made by the great Oxford professor Richard Bentley, in his *Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides and upon the Fables of Aesop*.

⁹ By Dr. John Van Ess of the American Mission, Basrah; author of *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia, compiled for the Administration of the Territories of Iraq in British Occupation* (Oxford University Press, 1918).

¹⁰ See Tisdale in JT VI, LIII, 221.

¹¹ See vocabulary in March, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*.

¹² See the glossaries attached to any good edition of Chaucer's works.

works of Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, in the forms and subjects of their poetry as well as in the great number of Italian, Greek, and Latin terms which they employ. And the trickles of influence flowing in from all over the world upon that great empire upon which the sun never sets are to be seen in the numerous terms—Spanish, German, Dutch, Hindoo, American Indian, and in fact of all nations—to be found in such works as those of Carlyle, Macaulay, Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling; and the various English dictionaries which contain them indicate the dates, localities, and in large measure the history of the world-wide commerce and relations of the English speaking race. That these same influences were at work among the ancient Egyptians and their successors, the Copts, is to be seen in their literatures. Thus, Burchardt, Erman, W. Max Müller and others have assembled a large collection of vocables which the Egyptians adopted from Palestine and other lands of Western Asia;¹³ and Persian, Arabic and especially Greek words, are to be found in the Coptic manuscripts.¹⁴

The second preliminary statement is that the course of Israelitish history and the nations that influenced the Hebrews throughout their chequered career from Abraham to Ezra are clearly shown in the documents which have been preserved to us in the Old Testament. There are intervals of silence in the narratives, from Joseph to Moses, from Zerubbabel to Ezra, and from Ezra to the Maccabees. There are many periods about which we have little reliable information. But, on the whole, it is clear that the records show that the history of the Israelites is to be divided into the following periods, according to the great nations which influenced, or dominated, them in pre-Christian times. These periods may be designated as the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Set-

¹³ See especially Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen.*

¹⁴ For Greek words in Coptic see almost any verse in the Coptic versions of the Bible, and, also, Peyron. Peyron says (p. xiv) that numerous Coptic words were adopted from the Greek and some from the Persian and Arabic.

tlement,¹⁵ the Imperial, the Assyrio-Chaldean, and the Persian. To these may be added the Greek and Roman period, covering post-Biblical Hebrew.

Our task at present, then, is to see whether in the literature which professes, or is supposed to come from these different periods, we find traces of the infiltration of words from the great nations which the documents themselves allege, or assume to have dominated the Israelites. That is, if the Bible contains a true record of the history of Israel, we will expect to find Sumero-Babylonian words in the first period; Egyptian, in the second; few foreign words, if any, in the third (inasmuch as the language of Palestine at the time of the conquest was Hebrew); words from various nations in the fourth, or Imperial period; Syrian and Assyrio-Babylonian in the fifth; and Persian words in the sixth. Further, in the post-Persian times we would expect to find Greek influence preponderating, with a smaller infiltration from Roman and later Persian sources, until in the seventh century A.D. the tide of Arab conquest overflowed all the ancient civilizations just about the time that the Jewish literature of the Talmud was completed.

FOREIGN WORDS IN BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

We shall first investigate the vocabulary of the Aramaic literature, seeing that about half of Daniel and nearly one-third of Ezra are composed in that language. The Aramaisms in the Old Testament we have already discussed in this REVIEW¹⁶ and showed that Hebrew and Aramaic speaking peoples were in close touch from the time of Abraham down

¹⁵ I was inclined to insert another period between the Egyptian and the Settlement, to be called the period of the Wanderings, or the Arabic period, because of the comparatively large number of words apparently of Arabic origin to be found in the lists of places in the desert. It is certainly a singular and remarkable fact that the parts of the Old Testament containing the most Arabic words are those concerned with the Wanderings, the Book of Job, and the genealogies of the Ishmaelites and other desert descendants of Abraham. I shall not have time to discuss this subject at present.

¹⁶ Cf. footnote 6 *supra*.

to our own time. Fortunately, we have specimens of Aramaic literature from the 8th century B.C. down to the present time. Consequently, we shall first marshal the evidence from the Aramaic literature, in order to show that (1) the date and provenience of an Aramaic document can generally be ascertained by observing the foreign words contained in it, and especially that (2) the evidence from foreign words is in favor of placing Daniel and Ezra in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. rather than later.

In the Aramaic Dialects in General

As a preliminary to the study of the Biblical Aramaic, it will be necessary first to marshal the evidence for date to be found in the extra-Biblical Aramaic literature beginning with the oldest and coming down to our times, before proceeding to the discussion of the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, whose date and provenience are in dispute.

1. The oldest document in Aramaic is the Zekir inscription. It has *waw conversive* with the imperfect three times (ll. 11, 15), and the 3rd masc. of the imperfect begins with *y* and not as in the Edessene Syriac with *n*.¹⁷

2. The next oldest documents in Aramaic are the so-called Sendshirli inscriptions from North Syria. These inscriptions, embracing about 75 lines, were written about 750 B.C. They mention Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, a number of times. They have the *waw conversive* four times and about 20 words not found in Syriac, or Palestinian Syriac, but occurring in Hebrew and Phoenician. The 3rd masculine of the imperfect begins with *y*.¹⁸

¹⁷ For the ZKR inscription see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III. 1-12. Lidzbarski says, p. 2: "Der postpositive Artikel, das vorkommen von *bar*, *si*, *ana*, verleihen dem Texte ein aramäisches Gepräge, sonst steht er in Wortschatz und Syntax dem Kanaanäischen ebenso nahe."—Still older than this inscription is the phrase "heap of witness" (*jegar sahadutha*) which occurs in Gen. xxxi. 47. There is no good reason to dispute the claim of this narrative that Aramaic was spoken in Padan-aram early in the Second Millennium B.C.

¹⁸ See Sachau, *Die Inschrift des Königs Panammu von Samal*, 1893; D. H. Müller, *The Excavations at Sendschirli*; and Lidzbarski, *Epi-graphik*, pp. 440 f.

3. The short inscriptions of Nerab from the sixth century B.C. have each one a Babylonian proper name, as does also the inscription from Teima from the 4th century B.C.¹⁹

4. The five inscriptions from Assyria of the seventh century B.C. found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, all from the regions occupied by the eastern Arameans, have the imperfects beginning with *y*. One of the proper names begins with *Nebo* and two of them end with *ēl*, which is either Babylonian or Hebrew.

5. The Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription of Darius I which was made shortly after 520 B.C. uses *y* in the imperfect. This copy is full of Persian and Babylonian words, but has in it no Egyptian words. This absence of Egyptian words indicates that it was written originally probably at Ecbatana, or at some other place not far from Behistun. There are traces in it showing that the Babylonian recension found on the rock at Behistun was translated from an Aramaic original.²⁰

6. Among the papyri found at Elephantine, one of the most interesting is the *Story of Achikar*.²¹ This story seems to be of Babylonian origin and was possibly brought from Babylonia to Egypt by the Jewish soldiers whom Cambyses settled at Elephantine about 525 B.C. The kings mentioned in this story are Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, the well known kings of Assyria from 704 to 668 B.C. The principal persons of the story are Achikar, Nabushumishkun and Nadin, the last two among the most usual of Babylonian personal names.²² Several common Babylonian terms, such as *babu*, "gate," and *shezib*, "to save," occur in the story. That it was

¹⁹ Lidzbarski, *Epigraphik*, p. 445.

²⁰ See Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*. Leipzig 1911; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923; and my review of Sachau's work in this REVIEW for 1914, pp. 411 ff.

²¹ See same works as in preceding note.

²² See Tallquist, *Neubab. Namenbuch*, *in loco*.

not written in Egypt appears in the fact that no Egyptian word occurs in it, though most of the papyri have many of them. The third masculine of the imperfect begins invariably and in many instances with *y*.

7. Among the Egypto-Aramaic papyri, No. 1 (495 B.C.), of 11 lines, has 3 Persian words and 1 Egyptian; No. 2 (484 B.C.), and No. 3, its duplicate, 7 Egyptian, 5 Persian and 3 Babylonian words; No. 5 (471 B.C.) 3 Egyptian, 7 Persian and 3 Babylonian words; No. 6 (465 B.C.) 6 Egyptian, 7 Persian and 6 Babylonian; No. 7 (461 B.C.) 2 Egyptian, 3 Persian and 2 Babylonian; No. 8 (460 B.C.) 4 Egyptian, 6 Persian and 2 Babylonian. And so on with all the papyri, till we come to No. 35 (c. 400 B.C.) which has 5 Egyptian, 4 Babylonian and 1 Greek words in 8 lines. No. 32 (408 B.C.), has 1 Egyptian, 5 Persian, 1 Babylonian, and 1 Hebrew words. No. 81 has no date; but, since it contains five or six Greek proper names, it is assigned by some to about 300 B.C. In all of these papyri, the third masculine of the imperfect begins with *y*. According to Cowley's index²³ these papyri contain 86 Egyptian words, 88 Persian, 61 Assyrio-Babylonian, 13 Greek, a few Phenician and many Hebrew words. The Greek form for *stater* occurs in four of the papyri, the earliest apparently from about 410 B.C. The Greek word for "tin" occurs in No. 69 from this period, but of uncertain year. The remaining 11 Greek names are all names of persons and all are found in No. 81. Cowley thinks No. 81 was probably written before 300 B.C. and says that "There seem to be traces of Persian in this document." Sayce suggests that *wazika* (l. 31) is Persian, and certainly *Azgad* (l. 31) and *artab* (l. 4) and probably **RD** (l. 64) are also Persian. It is hard to see why the occurrence of Greek proper names in an Egypto-Aramaic document should demand a date about 300 B.C., inasmuch as we find many Greek proper names on

²³ See Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 273-375. I follow his numberings.

the rock at Abu-Simbel written already in the time of the Psammetichi in the 7th century B.C.²⁴

8. In the Aramaic indorsements on Babylonian tablets from the reign of Darius II, the proper names and some important borrowed common terms are Babylonian.²⁵ Only the name of the king is Persian.

9. The Nabatean and Sinaitic inscriptions dating from about 90 B.C. to A.D. 95²⁶ have hundreds of Arabic words, mostly proper names, and an Aramaic grammar and vocabulary. They use the Babylonian names for the months and have the third masculine imperfect in *y*.²⁷

10. The Palmyrene inscriptions date from 9 B.C. to A.D. 271.²⁸ The proper names in these inscriptions are prevailingly Greek, with a large sprinkling of Latin. Of the common terms, I have counted 33 Greek, 10 Latin, 24 Babylonian, and possibly two Persian, one of which is found also in the Targum of 2 Chr. xxviii. 7.

11. The Syro-Palestinian, an Aramaic dialect spoken in Palestine at and after the time of Christ, contains in the fragments we possess about 185 Greek words, 45 Hebrew, 23 Babylonian (including 14 at least found in the Old Testament Hebrew, and all of the others found in the Hebrew or Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud). No Persian words occur in this dialect, except possibly two of doubtful origin which occur also in the Old Testament.²⁹

12. In the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, there

²⁴ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1842-5), Abt. VI, pl. 98, containing 18 inscriptions in Greek, 5 in Phenician and 3 in Carian. Tisdale (JTVI, Vol. LIII, p. 208) says that *kiton*, "tunic" (found in Cowley, Nos. xx. 5, xxvi. 14, 20, xlvi. 10) is from the Greek, and also the word for "arsenic."

²⁵ See Clay, *Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašu Sons*.

²⁶ Lidzbarski, *Epigraphik*, p. 122, CIS, Part II, Vol. I, 307.

²⁷ See also Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*.

²⁸ See Lidzbarski, *Epig. (passim)*, and Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*.

²⁹ See Schwally, and Schulthess *in locis*, p. 19; see also Brederek, *in loco*.

are according to Dalman³⁰ five Persian words, without counting 7 that occur in the Old Testament. There are, also, about 25 Greek, 17 Babylonian, and numerous Hebrew words.³¹

13. In the Aramaic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch there are about 20 Greek words but no Persian and only two or three Babylonian words not found in the Hebrew Old Testament.³²

14. In the Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud the foreign words occur as follows:³³

	ONKELOS	JERUSALEM	PROPHETS	HAGIOGRAPHA	TALMUD
Greek	25	206	84	212	260
Latin	1	16	2	17	24
Babylonian	17	26	28	28	35
Persian	13	27	20	40	42
Arabic	0	2	0	2	2

15. In the Mandean dictionary,³⁴ the foreign words are as follows: Greek 27, Latin 2, Babylonian 36, Persian 50.

16. The Syriac literature may be divided into four periods.

a. To the first period belongs the inscription on the tomb of Manou from A.D. 74.³⁵ It has one Babylonian word, one very ancient Aramaic word for "bones" used only once elsewhere in Syriac, and two foreign proper names, probably Parthian. The 3rd masculine of the imperfect begins with *y*.

b. The documents from the early Christian times have a large number of Greek words. Thus the history of Joshua the

³⁰ Dalman, *Aram. Grammatik*, p. 183.

³¹ See also Brederek.

³² This statement is made on the authority of a concordance to the Aramaic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch prepared for me by a number of my students.

³³ These tables are made on the basis of a count made by myself of all the words found in Levy and in Jastrow.

³⁴ My use of the Mandean vocabulary was confined to what is contained in Norberg. A new dictionary of this dialect is much needed, and the conclusions based upon Norberg are to be taken with caution.

³⁵ See Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, &c. Première Partie*, No. 2.

Stylite³⁶ has numerous Greek and some Persian and Roman proper names, about 100 Greek common terms, at least 5 Latin and 1 Persian common terms, and the Babylonian names of the twelve months. These documents and those in the next two periods have the preformative *n* instead of *y* in the 3rd masculine imperfect.

c. The literary works of the period of A.D. 700 to 1300 have Arabic and Tatar proper names and even common terms such as *kalif* "caliph" and *kān* "khan."³⁷

d. The New Syriac of Ooroomiah has still some Greek words derived through Old Syriac, mostly ecclesiastical and theological terms; also, a large number of Arabic words, coming mostly through the Turkish and New Persian; also, many Kurdish, New Persian, Turkish, and even some English words such as botany, inertia, impenetrability, atom, attraction, oasis and volcano.³⁸

In the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra

The Aramaic parts of Ezra have about 12 Indo-European and about 12 Babylonian words; the Aramaic parts of Daniel have possibly 20 Indo-European, about 12 Babylonian and, at most, 4 Greek words. I shall now proceed to give a discussion of the words in Daniel and Ezra borrowed (1) from the Babylonian and (2) from the Persian, or Indo-European.

Words borrowed from Babylonian

1. מִלְלָה ("letter," Ezra iv. 8, 11, v. 6: Heb., Est. ix. 26, 29; 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 6; Neh. ii. 7, 8, 9, vi. 5, 17, 19).³⁹ Found repeatedly in the Assyrian documents of the 7th cen-

³⁶ I have used the edition of W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, composed in Syriac A.D. 507* (Cambridge 1882).

³⁷ See the *Chronicon Syriacum* of Barhebraeus in the parts concerning the Crusades and the wars of the Turks.

³⁸ See Maclean, *Dict. of Vernacular Syriac*; also Nöldeke, *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*, especially the "erster Abhang" on *Fremdwörter im Neusyrischen*, pp. 378 f.

³⁹ In the following lists of words the occurrences in the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel are given first; then in the case of words found also in the Hebrew portions of the Old Testament the further occurrences are listed introduced by the word "Heb."

tury B.C. Hence, cannot have been borrowed by the Babylonians from the Persians, though it may have been indirectly from some other Indo-Greek people.⁴⁰ Found, also, in Syr., Pal-Syr., Palm., Mand., and in both Talmuds in Hebrew and Aramaic.

2. אַרְנָן ("purple," Dan. v. 7, 16, 29; Heb., 2 Chr. ii. 6). In Bib. Heb. it is usually spelled אַרְנָמָן (Ex. xxv-xxxix (26) P, Num. iv. 13 P, Jud. viii. 26, Cant. iii. 10, vii. 6, Jer. x. 9, Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16, Prov. xxxi. 22, Est. i. 6, viii. 15, 2 Chr. ii. 13, iii. 14). In Assyrian it is mentioned in Sennacherib's account of the tribute of Jerusalem,⁴¹ and often elsewhere. Also, in Syr., Palm., Aram. of Bab. Tal. and of Onkelos; also, in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal.

3. אַשְׁפֵּח (āshēph "sorcerer," Dan. ii. 10, 27, iv. 4, v. 7, 11, 15; *ashshaph* in Heb. of Dan. i. 20, ii. 2, and in Heb. of Bab. Tal.). As *ashuph* in Syr. Both forms and the root occur in Assyr.-Bab. in all ages of the literature.⁴²

4. אַתְּן ("furnace," Dan. iii. 10). Also, Syr., Aram. of Onkelos and of the Bab. Tal.; also in Ethiopic and Assyr.-Bab.

5. בִּירָתָא ("palace," "castle," "temple," Ezra vi. 2: Heb. in Dan. viii. 2 and Est. 10, Chr. 2, Ne. 3) = Bab. *birtu*.

6. בְּלוֹ ("tribute," Ezra iv. 13, 20, vii. 24). Also in Bab. Tal., Probably = Bab. *biltu*.

7. בְּלִיטְשָׁאֶצְרָר (Dan. 10) = Bab. *Bel-līta-šar-uṣur*, (O Bel, protect the hostage of the king).⁴³

8. בְּלִשְׁאָר (Dan. v. 1) = Bab., *Bel-šar-uṣur* (O Bel, protect the king).⁴⁴

9. דּוּרָא (Dan. iii. 1) = Bab. *duru* (wall).

10. חִיבֵּל (Dan. 6, Ezra 7) = Bab., *ekallu*, from Sumerian *e-gal*, (great house, *i.e.*, palace or temple).

⁴⁰ See Schrader in ZA. I. 461 and Delitzsch *in loco*.

⁴¹ Delitzsch *in loc.*

⁴² See Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt and especially Frank, *Studien sur babylonischen Religion*.

⁴³ See *Studies*, p. 30.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, p. 34.

11. **ילָה** (Ezra iv. 13, 20, vii. 24) = Bab., *ilku* (income).
12. **נִיר** (Dan. 7; Heb., I Kings vi. 1, 37) = Assyr.-Bab. *zimu*, (splendor), from earliest times. Also, in Syr., and in both Talmuds in both Heb. and Aram. Also, in Mand. and in the Targums Jerus. on the Pent. and Jonathan on the Prophets.
13. **כְּנוֹת** (Ezra 7: Heb., iv. 7); also Syriac = Bab. *kinati* (companions).
14. **כֶּרֶבֶל** ("hat," Dan. iii. 21) is probably borrowed from Bab. *karballatu*, the name of a *šubat*, "garment." It occurs in the contracts of Nabunaid 824.14, 1024.3. In Cyrus 183.17 it occurs with *iš*, "wood," before it, and according to Oppert means "helmet," cf. *κάρβαρης* of Herod. vii. 64. Meissner makes it to mean "cap."⁴⁵
15. **כַּרְשׁ** ("Cyrus"). See discussion on pp. 246 f.
16. **כְּתָל** ("wall," Dan. v. 5, Ezra v. 8; Heb. Cant. ii. 9) also Targs., Sam., Onk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs., and the Heb. and Aram. of both Talmuds = Bab. *kutallu*.
17. **מְנֻדָּה** (Ezra iv. 13, vii. 24) = **מְדָה** (iv. 20, vi. 8; Heb. Neh. v. 4) = Bab. *mandattu* and *madattu* (tribute, taxes).
18. **נְדָבָקָן** ("row of bricks," Ezra vi. 4) = Bab. *nadbaku*.⁴⁶
19. **נְלִי** ("dunghill," Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29) = **נְלִי** (Ezra vi. 11) = *namalu* (reeds).⁴⁷
20. **נֵזֶק** (Dan. vi. 3; Ezra iv. 13, 15, 22; Heb., Esth. vii. 4) = *nazaķu*, (to harm, harm).
21. **נְכָסָם** (Ezra vi. 8, vii. 26; Heb., Jos. xxii. 8, Ecc. v. 18, vi. 2, 2 Chr. i. 11, 12) = Bab., *nikasu*, (possessions, treasure).
22. **נְסָמָן** (Dan. ii. 48, iii. 2, 3, 27, vi. 8; Heb., Is. xli. 25, Jer. li. 23, 28, 57, Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23, Ezra ix. 2, Neh. 9) = Assyr. *šaknu* (deputy). It is found in Assyr. Bab. from Assurnaširpal down to the Cyrus Chronicle.
23. **סְרִבֶּל** ("coat," Dan. iii. 21, 27) means in Mod. Arab. "shirt, dress, coat of mail." It is common to connect this

⁴⁵ Supplement, p. 50; see Muss-Arnolt, p. 436a.⁴⁶ Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, p. 31.⁴⁷ So Muss-Arnolt, comp. KB. VI. I. pp. 40f.

word with Greek. *σαράβαπα* (cf. LXX and Theod. at Dan. iii. 27; Sym. *ἀναξυπίδες*, "breeches") and to treat it as a loan-word from the Persian (in mod. Pers. *sarwal* = trousers). But the word is not found in Zend or Armenian; and it is regarded by Richardson as a loan-word from Arab. It should be noted, therefore, that a word *s/šarbillu* occurs in the Assyr. syllabaries. Unfortunately the meaning of this word is uncertain. According to Brünnow (No. 6963, cf. 10428) it represents the Sumerian *mer-sig*. Since *mer* may mean "crown" or "girdle," *sarbillu* may be an article of dress. The meaning of *sig* in this combination is uncertain.⁴⁸ Since Babylonian *l* becomes Persian *r* but not *vice versa*, it is better to hold that the Persian derives from the Babylonian and the Greek from the Persian; whereas the author of Daniel borrowed directly from the Babylonian. The word is found in Egypto-Aramaic,⁴⁹ in both Heb. and Aram. of the Bab. Tal., and in the Targ. to Est. viii. 15.

24. **ינָע** ("time," Dan. 11). Found in Syr., Pal-Syr., Palm., Sam., Arab., Bab. in all ages. == Bab. *iddannu*, "time, season."

25. **רֹאשׁ פָּתַח** ("potter," Dan. ii. 41). Syr., Pal-Syr., Mand., Arab. (?), == Bab. *paharu* (potter).

26. **נְהִיבָּה** = **נְהִיבָּה** ("governor," Dan. 4, Ezra 6; Heb., 1 Kings x. 15, xx. 24, 2 Kings xviii. 24; Is. xxxvi. 9; Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; Ezek. xxxii. 6, 12, 23; Hag. 4; Mal. i. 18, Est. 3, Ezra 4; Ne. 11; 2 Chr. ix. 14) = Assyr. *pīhatu*, "governor."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Since the sign used here for *sig* (Br. 11866) differs only slightly from the Late Bab. form of the sign for *šipātu* ("wool," Br. 10775; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 5th Aufl. p. 125, no. 272 and p. 126, no. 300), or might possibly be used either intentionally or accidentally as its phonetic equivalent, we might think that we have here the determinative for "wool," or "garment." But this seems to be rendered impossible or at least highly improbable by the fact that it stands after instead of before the word *mer*.

⁴⁹ Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, No. XLVII. 9.

⁵⁰ It is used frequently by Sargon and other Assyrian kings to denote the governor of a district; and as late in the Babylonian as Cyrus (cf. Strassmaier, *Inscriptions von Cyrus*, No. 257. 2). The passage in 1 Kings

27. **שָׁנִיל** (noun, Dan. v. 2, 3, 23: Heb., noun, Ps. xlv. 10, Ne. ii. 6; verb, Deut. xxviii. 30, Is. xiii. 6, Jer. iii. 2, Zech. xiv. 2). Also, the noun in Palm., and in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal. = Bab. *šigritu*, "lady of the harem."

28. **שְׁיוּב** (Dan. 9) = Bab. *šuzub*, "to deliver, save."

29. **שְׁיַצֵּר** (Ezra vi. 15) = Bab. *šeši*, "to bring out."

30. **שְׁכָלֵל** (Ezra 8) = Bab. *šukluhu* "to complete."

These three roots and forms (Nos. 28-30) are all certainly Babylonian. *Šešib* occurs, also, in Syr., Pal-Syr., Nab., the Targs. of Onk. and of Jon. on the Prophets Mand., and in the Heb. and Aram. of the Bab. Tal; *šeši* in the Targs. of Onk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs.; and *shaklel* in Syr., Pal-Syr., Targs. of Onk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs., the Targ. on the Hagiographa and in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal.

31. **תָּפָת** ("sheriff," Dan. iii. 2, 3) is probably the equivalent of the Hebrew *shophet*, "judge." The first *t* is common in Aramaic for Hebrew and Babylonian *sh*, and the second *t* is the same as in the Babylonian *šapatu*, "to judge," which in Hebrew becomes *t*.⁵¹ Cf. Heb. *katal* and Arab. *katala*.

32. Finally, there are in the Aramaic part of Daniel the Babylonian, or Sumerian, proper names, Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon, Arioch, Shadrach, Meshek, Chaldean.

Words Borrowed from Persian or Other Sources

A. The names of kings and other men. Cyrus, Darius, Ahasuerus, Mithredath, Artaxerxes, Tatnai (?).

B. Names of nations, or officials, especially in Ezra iv. 9: Dinaites, Tarpelites (see below), Apharsathchites, Aphar-

x. 15 refers to Solomon's governors (= 2 Chr. ix. 14) and is the only one in the Bible that uses the word of a time preceding Ahab. In 1 Kings xx. 24 Benhadad is advised by his servants to take away the kings from their places and to put governors instead of them. Since the Book of Kings was not written till after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is easy to see how the writer of it may have used the word to denote the governors of Solomon and Benhadad.

⁵¹ Cf. Muss-Arnolt, p. 1094b.

sites, Archevites, Susanchites, Dehavites, Elamites, and, also, Mede (Dan. vi. 1) and Persia (Ezra iv. 7 and often).

C. Words of various meanings.

I. אַדְרָגָרִיָּה. The latter part of this word is admirably defined by Levy as "soothsayers, to wit, those who determine one's fate according to the division of the planets."⁵² The first word in both Hebrew and Aramaic means "mighty," "glorious," hence "chief."⁵³ The root of the second word is זָר, "to decree," from which the participle means, according to the *Thesaurus*, "decernentes, definientes, inde Chaldaeorum Astrologi, qui e siderum in hora natali dispositione variis computandi et hariolandi artibus singulorum hominum fatum definiebant . . . Bene Gr. Venit. ἀποτέλεσται."

Meyer rightly questions the attempt of some to derive the word from a Persian *andar-zaghar*. Haug⁵⁴ declares that the *zar* is the same as the new Persian *sar* and the Zend *cara*. While this might be possible, it is certainly improbable in view of the fact that Persian *s* or *sh* never becomes Babylonian, or Aramaic, *z* in the transliterations of the Behistun inscription. Besides, Haug ends by saying: "Der erste Theil *darg* oder *adarg* ist sehr dunkel; ich vermuthe die Bedeutung *Heer*, so dass die ganze *Heerfürst* heißen würde." That is, he conjectures the whole thing! Again, Haug was certainly wrong in claiming that "Semitics knows no such compositions of words."⁵⁵

If Haug's objection were simply to the pointing, it could easily be rectified, by changing from *'adar* to *'addir*. The meaning would then be similar to that of the Babylonian *rab-*

⁵² Levy (*Chald.*, (*in loco*): "Wahrsäger, eig. die nach dem einteilen der Planaten die Geschicke bestimmen."

⁵³ Compare in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 28, and the meaning in Jud. v. 30, 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, Na. ii. 6, iii. 18, Jer. xxx. 21, Neh. iii. 5.

⁵⁴ ZDMG V. 151.

⁵⁵ If we take the second part as meaning "astrologers," the first may be a noun after the analogy of "man" in the phrase "man of God"; or, it may be an adjective, as in the phrase "great ones of the earth." Arabic, Ethiopic, Assyrio-Babylonian, Aramaic and Hebrew are all partial to this kind of "compositions of words" (See Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II. 198 f.; Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, pp. 161 f.; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, pp. 191 f.).

banē, "chief of the builders" (of the heavenly houses), or of the Sumerian *gal-du*, "chief of the astrologers."⁵⁶

2. נָדֵר אָ ("firm," Ezra vii. 23) probably connected with the Zend *darez*.⁵⁷ Used nowhere else.

3. אַזְדָּא (Dan. ii. 5), is derived by some from the Avesta *azda*, participle of *az*, "to desire," "to demand" or "to go."⁵⁸ In the Egypto-Aramaic papyrus No. 27. 8, published in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri*, *azd* has the meaning "inquiry." In the Babylonian Talmud, the root is used a number of times in the sense "to go." In Armenian *azd* means "suggestion, admonition, announcement," from the verb *azdem*, "to suggest, inform, publish." In Dan. ii. 5 it may, therefore, mean: "The thing is published or proclaimed by me." This is supported by the phrase used by Darius Hystaspis in the Naks-i-Rustem inscription A 43, 45 *adataiy azda bavatiy*, "then it will be made known." Compare Behistun §10, *naiy azda abava*, "it was not made known."⁵⁹

4. שָׁתְּרָפָן (Dan. 8). In new Aramaic only in Cant. R to vii. 9. Gr. *σατράπης*, Syr. *satrapes* or *satrapa*, found in the Syriac Bible. If Daniel (and Esther) were composed in Babylon, or Susa, there is abundance of evidence to show that the name would have been written in the Bible as it is. If, however, these books had been composed in or about Palestine in the 2nd century B.C., there is no evidence to show that it would have been written as it is. It is certainly impossible that the writer of Daniel could have gotten Ahashdarpān from *satrapes*.⁶⁰ The Achaemenid Persian is *xšathrapavan*; Zend-Avesta, *shoithrapaiti*; New Persian *sītrap* (?).⁶¹ It is

⁵⁶ By reading *ard* instead of *adr*, the first word would mean "servant"; and, as *ardekal* means *archi-tect*, *ard-gosriya* would mean *arch-astrologer*, or "chief of the astrologers," an Aramaic equivalent of *gal-banē*. See *Studies*, Chap. XVII.

⁵⁷ Justi, p. 148.

⁵⁸ Justi, pp. 14a, 15a.

⁵⁹ Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, pp. 14, 90.

⁶⁰ See my discussion of the word in *Investigation*, p. 79.

⁶¹ The compound word does not occur in Pahlavi. We find, however, *shatru*, "city, country, realm," the Sanscrit *kshta*, "field"; and, also, *pānak*, "protection" from the Zend *pā*, "to protect," equal to Sanscrit *pāna*, "protecting."

rendered by *pahtha* in the Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription, §38. The word as written in the Scriptures is a correct transliteration of the Achaemenid writing; but could not possibly have originated in the Greek, nor in the Zend, form of the word.

5. **אָסְפַּרְנָה** (Ezra v. 8, vi. 8, 12, 13, vii. 17, 21, 26). It seems to me that it is better to connect this word with the Armenian *sarem*, "to complete, to finish,"⁶² whence with the nominal ending *na* we get the meaning "thoroughly, to completion," a meaning that suits all the passages in Ezra. In Ezra v. 8 it is translated by "fast" in the A.V. and by "with diligence" in the R.V. The LXX translate it by ἐπιδέξεον in v. 8 (Lucian: ἀσφαλῶς); by ἐπεμελῶς in vi. 8, 12, 13?; by ἔτοίμως in vii. 17, 21, 26; the Pesh. renders by "great" (?) in v. 8; נִפְחָה (?) "expense," vi. 8; "quickly" in vi. 12, 13; יְצִיפָּאִית "solicitously" in vii. 17, 26; "hastily" in vii. 21. Jerome renders in v. 8, vi. 13 by *diligenter*, in vi. 8, 12, vii. 17, 26 by *studiose*; by *absque mera* in vii. 21. The English versions have in v. 8 A.V. "fast," R.V. "with diligence"; vi. 8, A.V. "expenses." R.V. "with all diligence"; vi. 12 A.V. "with speed"; R.V. = vi. 8; vi. 13, A.V. "speedily," R.V. = vi. 8; vii. 17, 21, 26, A.V., R.V. = vi. 13. The only place outside Ezra where the word is found is in an inscription on a weight from Nerab and means "complete."⁶³ Probably it means a weight as in the Zend-Avesta *asperena*, defined in the Pahlavi version as being as much as a *zuz*.⁶⁴ The Pahlavi *spor* means "perfect, complete."⁶⁵

6. **אֲפָתָם** (Ezra iv. 13). Probably = Bab. *appittima*, "suddenly."⁶⁶ Others = Zend *pattima*, "treasuries" (?).

7. **נְדָבָר** (Dan. iii. 2, 3). The Aramaized form of *gizbar* can be found nowhere else except in the Targum to Ecc. ii. 7.

⁶² Bedrossian, p. 630.

⁶³ Lidzbarski gives the meaning 'genau' (*Epigraphik*, p. 223). See, also, Gesenius-Brown.

⁶⁴ Justi, p. 38a.

⁶⁵ West, p. 161.

⁶⁶ Muss-Arnolt, p. 84a.

8. גָּנְבָּרָע ("treasurer," Ezra vii. 21: Heb., i. 8), Babylonian *ganzabaru*.⁶⁷ New Persian *ganjwar*. Arm. *gantzawor*. Syriac, Targ. to Est. x. 3, and both Talmuds.

9. גָּזָה ("treasure," Ezra v. 17, vi. 1, vii. 20) is found, also, in the Hebrew of Ezek. xxvii. 24 and Es. iii. 9, iv. 7; and with the Persian ending *k* in 1 Chr. xxviii. 11. Also, in the Egyptian papyri xxvi. 4, 13, (412 B.C.) and in lxix. 13. Also, in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, as is, also, the contracted Aramaic form *gazza*. The Targums to the Psalms and Hos., and Jonathan on the Pentateuch, have the form *guz*. Esarhaddon speaks of having received a thousand *gunzi* of spices from Hazael king of Arabia.⁶⁸ The Syriac has *gazza* and the Mandean *genz*. The Armenian has the word *gantz*, "treasure," the verb "to treasure" and six derivatives. It is not found in the Persian of Achaemenids, nor of the Avesta, and appears first in Pahlavi, which was written under the Sassanians,⁶⁹ and in Persian documents in the New Persian which began to be written about the ninth century A.D. Why, then, do commentaries and Hebrew dictionaries persist in saying that the word is borrowed from the Persian, seeing that it is used by Ezekiel, Ezra, and the author of Esther, all of whom lived a thousand years, or more, before the word is found in a Persian document?⁷⁰

10. דָּהָמֵן (Dan. vi. 19) is translated by *εδέσματα* in Theodotian. It may be connected with the Armenian *dahamantz*, "meat."⁷¹

11. דַּת (Daniel 8, Ezra 6). In Heb. Dt. xxxiii. 2, Est. 20,

⁶⁷ Strassmaier, *Inscriptions von Darius*, 296. 2.

⁶⁸ KB. II. 131. See Muss-Arnolt, *in loco*.

⁶⁹ *Ganjō*, "treasurer," according to West.

⁷⁰ Both the Cylinder and brick inscriptions of Cyrus are written in Babylonian cuneiform, and both refer to events in Babylon. The earliest of the known inscriptions in the Persian script and language is the Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspis, written in, or soon after, 522 B.C. The last of these inscriptions comes from the reign of Artaxerxes III and hence cannot be earlier than 359 nor later than 338 B.C.; for he began to reign in the former and died in the latter year. See Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*.

⁷¹ Bedrossian, p. 132a.

Ezra viii. 36. Also in Syr. and the Heb. of the Bab. Tal. In the Old Persian the word is found (once) in the Behistun inscription §8. It occurs in Armenian also in the form *dat*,⁷² in Avesta *dāta*,⁷³ N.P. *dād*.⁷⁴ Pahlavi, *dād*.⁷⁵

12. דָתְבָר ("judge," Dan. iii. 2, 3). In N.Heb. it is found in the commentary to Cant. vii. 9, where it is explained by the Greek word for "advocate." Hilprecht⁷⁶ found *databarri* or *databari* in tablets Nos. 82, 83, 84, 107, from the 40th and 41st years of Artaxerxes I, *i.e.*, 424-5 B.C. This *databarri* is evidently from an Old Persian word not found in the inscriptions. In New Persian we find *dādār*⁷⁷ as a cognomen of God. In Arm. *datavor* means "judge,"⁷⁸ as also the Pahlavi *dātōbar*.⁷⁹

13. חֶבֶר (counsellor," Dan. 4). This word may be Indo-European; but with our present knowledge it seems best to connect it with the Babylonian *itbaru*, "friend." "Ex syllaba נֶ בֶר coniicias, persicae originis esse hoc ve., sed נֶ quid significet, non facile dixeris."⁸⁰

14. חֶדֶם ("piece," Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29) occurs also in Targ. to the Prophets, Mandean, and the Bab. Talmud; and in Syriac, which has a verb, also, derived from it. The Armenian has the noun *andam*, "piece."⁸¹ New Persian⁸² and Pahlavi also.⁸³

15. מִנְכָא חַמְנִיא ("chain," Dan. v. 1, 16, 29) = Syriac used in Onkelos as a rendering of בְּרִיד. The Greek has *μουνάκης*, "armlet, bracelet, of gold worn by the Persians." The Armenian has *manyak*, "necklace, collar."⁸⁴ The New

⁷² *Id.* 134.

⁷³ Justi, 153.

⁷⁴ Vullers.

⁷⁵ West, p. 10.

⁷⁶ Hilprecht, *Bab. Exped.* IX. 28, cf. p. 9.

⁷⁷ So Vullers, 779b, but Richardson gives *dadwar*.

⁷⁸ Bedrossian, p. 153.

⁷⁹ West, p. 11.

⁸⁰ Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 365b.

⁸¹ Bedrossian, p. 28.

⁸² Vullers, p. 128b; Richardson, p. 182a.

⁸³ West, p. 33.

⁸⁴ Bedrossian, p. 451.

Hebrew has *manīka*, and the Targum of Jonathan has it in Gen. xl ix. 22.

16. **תְּמִם** ("time," Ezra and Dan. *passim*) is more nearly like the Armenian *zham*, "time,"⁸⁵ and *zhamanak*, "season," than it is like *zervan* in Zend, or any other known word in Persian except the Pahlavi *samān*, also written *daman*.⁸⁶ The verb, also, is to be compared with *zhamanem*, "to have time." There are about fifty derivatives and numerous idiomatic phrases with these words in Armenian. The noun occurs in the Hebrew of the O.T. and in both Talmuds, in all the Targums and Samaritan. The verb is found in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Bab. Talmud, and in Syriac, Mandaeic, and all of the Targums; and the noun in Eth. and Arab.

17. **טָרַפֵּל** (Ezra iv. 9) cannot have been a Persian word inasmuch as old Persian and Zend did not have an *l*.⁸⁷ Even if we took it over from a hypothetical *tarabara*, equivalent to "beyond the river," it would be an unusual change from Persian *r* to Semitic *l*. There are none such in the transliterations of the Behistun recensions. Still, this may be an exception.⁸⁸

18. **כָּרֹז** ("herald," Dan. v. 29) is generally regarded as borrowed from the Greek *κήρυξ*. This is supported by no proof except that they have the same meaning. The Armenian *karoz*, however, has the same sound, form and meaning,

⁸⁵ Bedrossian, p. 234.

⁸⁶ West, p. 149.

⁸⁷ Vullers, *Gram. Ling. Pers.*, p. 48.

⁸⁸ The transliteration of the Persian proper names in the Babylonian and Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription should lie at the foundation of all our investigations of the alleged Persian words in the Old Testament. It is marvellous with what accuracy the Babylonian and Aramaic recensions transliterate the Persian proper names. Thus, Persian *b* is always *b* or *p* in Babylonian, and *p* is always *p*. Persian *g* is nearly always *g*, a few times *k*; *d* is nearly always *d*, sometimes *z*, *s*, or *t*; *t* is commonly *t*, sometimes *d* or *č*; *z* is always *z*; *m* is always *m*; *n* is always *n*; *r* is nearly always *r* (34 times) and twice *l*; the nasal *n* is mostly *n*, sometimes *m*; and so on with the other letters for which it is difficult to find an equivalent in the English alphabet. If we keep these rules in mind and make the proper contraction of the vowels and prefix occasionally a prosthetic *aleph* or *he*, we can arrive at an Indo-European original, if such exists, with some degree of ease and certainty.

and besides is a root having about a dozen derivatives.⁸⁹ If it be a borrowed word, why not derive it from the Hittite-Mitanni-Armenian group of dialects? Besides, I can find in Dalman and Brockelmann no example of a Greek *k* or *ks* becoming *z* in Aramaic or Hebrew. Greek *z* is originally equivalent to *z* in Hebrew and Aramaic, and Greek ξ to *ks*.⁹⁰

19. **נָבְבָה** ("reward," Dan. ii. 6, v. 17). As to the origin of this word I have no conjecture to express.

20. **נְבָשְׂתָא** ("candlestick," Dan. v. 5) may be from the Babylonian *nuburru*, "top" and *šetu*, "side, wall," = "top of the wall."

21. **נִשְׁתָּן** ("letter," Ezra iv. 18, 23, v. 5; Heb. iv. 7, vii. 11) is most likely from the Babylonian *uštani*, "to copy, announce, repeat." It is found in the Egyptian papyrus XVII. 3 dated 428 B.C.⁹¹ It is possible that the New Persian *nuštan*, "writing," may have been derived from the Babylonian.

22. **סִמְפּוֹנִיָּה** ("dulcimer," Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15) is generally explained as the Greek *συμφωνία*. The Hebrew text of the Textus Receptus has a reading **סִימְפּוֹנִיָּה** (Dan. iii. 10), corresponding to the Greek *σίφων*, "pipe or tube." A word *suppinu* is found in Babylonian and is a synonym of *ba'udu* and *pašulti*, meaning instrument of some kind. If it be said that *suppinu*, as the name of a musical instrument, has not been found in Babylonian or early Aramaic, it may be answered that we do not know anything about the music or the musical instruments of the later Babylonians or the early Arameans; but the Syriac has *sippon*, "trumpet." The Hebrew of the Palestinian Talmud has *simpon* once (Mg. I, 71c) and the Babylonian Talmud has *symphoniain* in Kel. XI. 6, and *sipponia* in Kel. XVI. 8 and also in Tosephta Kel. B. Mg. I. It occurs also in the Midrash Till, to Ps. xii as *simphonia*. But *simpon* commonly stands for the Greek *σίφων*, "pipe."⁹²

⁸⁹ Bedrossian, p. 747.

⁹⁰ But Hebrew *z* sometimes is transliterated by Greek ξ , as in 1 Chron. i. 21, 37; viii. 18b; Gen. ii. 21.

⁹¹ Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*.

⁹² Compare *amphem* for Heb. *huppmim* in the Greek of 1 Chr. vii. 15.

23. סָרָק ("president," Dan. vi. 5), is probably connected with the Armenian *sarahakzem*, "to serve or serve together,"⁹³ whence *sarahakez*, "colleague, vassal, officer." It is found in the Targums in the sense of "ruler."

24. פַתְשֵׁשׁ ("hosen," Dan. iii. 21). The Midrash Rabbah to Lamentations, I. 1, defines it as a garment on one's legs, i.e., breeches or trousers.⁹⁴

25. פִסְנֶרְין ("psaltery," Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15) is commonly supposed to be derived from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*. This involves the change of *l* to *n*. Why may it not come from the Babylonian *pisannu* which probably means "pipe"? *Pisannu* is a synonym of *alallum*, a word meaning "music," or "reservoir." If *pisannu* be taken as meaning "pipe," *pisannerin* would mean "double-pipe" as the word is interpreted in the Talmud. For the construction compare פִי שְׁנִים, "double portion,"⁹⁵ and מַהֲלָכִי שְׁתִין, "double footed."⁹⁶

26. פָרְשָׁנָן ("copy," Ezra iv. 11, 23, v. 6. In Hebrew, Ezra vii. 11). The synonym פָתָשָׁנָם in Est. iii. 14, iv. 8, viii. 13, and also in Armenian *pataschani*⁹⁷ and in the Targum of Onkelos Deut. xvii. 18, and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets, Jos. viii. 33, Jer. x. 11, and in Targ. to Ps. lx. 1 and to 2 Chr. xxiv. 27. In Syr. as in Jer. viii. 22.

27. פָתָנָם (Dan. iii. 16, iv. 14, Ezra iv. 17, v. 7, 11, vi. 11). In Heb. Est. i. 20, Ecc. viii. 11. Found, also, in Syriac, Samaritan, Onkelos, Targ. J to Pent. and Targ. J on Prophets. Same word in Armenian as in Hebrew. Not found in the Achaemenid inscriptions, nor in the Avesta. In New Persian the form is *pay-gram* or *payām*. In Pahlavi = *petkham*, "message, mission."⁹⁸

28. קִתְרָם or קִיתְרָם ("harp," Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). It seems

⁹³ Bedrossian, p. 308a.

⁹⁴ Jelamden to Gen. iii. 23 explains this *barkin* = *βρακκαι*, *braccae*. In the passage in Lamentations the *pattesh* is said to be worn on the legs. See Levy and Jastrow *in locis*.

⁹⁵ Deut. xxi. 17, 2 Kgs. ii. 3, Zech. xiii. 8.

⁹⁶ Stein, *Das Verbum der Mischnasprache*, p. 9.

⁹⁷ Bedrossian, p. 598b.

⁹⁸ West, p. 111.

impossible to determine to what country and language this word originally belonged. Homer uses *kitharis*. On account of the final *s*, it is more likely that the Aramaic borrowed from the Greek than *vice versa*; although both may have borrowed from a common original source, alien to both. The thing and its name may easily have travelled from Troy to Babylon in the course of 400 years, more or less.

28. מַנְנָה ("secret," Daniel 9) occurs also in Syriac, in Gen. xlix. 6, in Onkelos, in the Targums to the Prophets and Hagiographa, in the Bab. Talmud in Hebrew and Aramaic, in Mandaean and Ahikar 141. The Armenian word *eraz*, "dream," was probably originally the same.⁹⁹ New Persian *rāz*, "secret."

Remarks on the Aramaic Parts of the Old Testament

1. It will be noted that the Aramaic literature may be divided into six general periods: first, the Assyrio-Babylonian; secondly, the Persian; thirdly, the Greek; fourthly, the Graeco-Roman-Persian; fifthly, the Arab-Turkish; and sixthly, the Perso-Turkish.

2. It will be noted, also, that almost every document in the Aramaic tongue can be determined as to time and locality of authorship by the foreign words present in it. The foreign words of the earlier periods may continue to occur in the documents of the later periods; but there are foreign words of the later periods not to be found in the literature of the earlier periods.

3. Note that in the first three of the above given divisions of the literature, none but Assyrio-Babylonian and Hebrew-Phenician foreign words are found. In the Persian period, however, we see that the foreign vocables are Persian, Babylonian, and a small number of Greek commercial terms, except that in Egypt the papyri have also a large number of Egyptian words. In the Greek period, the Greek proper names and common terms become more and more prevalent; many Latin names appear; Persian and Babylonian words disappear.

⁹⁹ Bedrossian, p. 159; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 192.

pear almost entirely from documents written to the west of the Euphrates, but are still comparatively numerous in those written to the east of the Euphrates.

4. The presence of Arabic in the Nabatean dialect, almost to the absolute exclusion of all other foreign elements, is a further evidence of the correctness of our premises that the time and place of a document can be determined by the foreign words in it. The documents of the fifth period are correctly characterized by Arab and Turkish among new foreign words and those of the sixth by New Persian, Azerbaijan Turkish and Kurdish.

5. Again, it is to be noted that there are no Aramaic inscriptions from any country which were written between 400 B.C. and 100 B.C., except perhaps a couple of small and imperfect ones from Egypt.

6. No Aramaic inscription of any date from Palestine has as yet been discovered.

7. Of the dialects from Palestine, the Syro-Palestinian has no Persian words and the Samaritan Pentateuch has none not found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and probably only two found there; and of Babylonian words the Syro-Palestinian has only about nine and the Samaritan about three not found in the Hebrew Old Testament.

8. In the Nabatean inscriptions, mostly found in a section extending from Damascus to the Red Sea, the foreign words are almost all Arabic, except the Babylonian names of the months.

9. In Syro-Palestinian, Palmyrene, the Targums of Onkelos, Jerusalem, Jonathan, and of the Prophets, the various translations in the Hagiographa, the Talmud, Mandean and the second period of Syriac, Greek affords the largest proportion of foreign words.

10. Assyrio-Babylonian words are found in the Aramaic documents of all ages.

11. Persian words are found to occur frequently in the dialects of Egypt, the Jewish Targums, the Talmud, Mandean, and Syriac *b, c* and *d*.

12. Latin words are found in Palmyrene, the Targums of Jerusalem and on the Hagiographa, the Talmud and Syriac *b*, with an exceptional occurrence in Onkelos, Jonathan to the Prophets and Mandean.

13. Egyptian words characterize only the papyri from Egypt.

14. It is evident that the Aramaic of Ezra seems to have come from the country between Egypt and Ecbatana before the Greek conquest of that part of Asia, since it contains no foreign elements except Hebrew, Babylonian and Persian.

15. The most common of foreign words are proper names; then come the titles of governmental and religious officials, objects of art and commerce, names of plants and animals, scientific and philosophical and ecclesiastical terms. For example, from the Assyrian come such words as *sagan*, "deputy," *pahath*, "governor"; from Persian, *satrap*, *astabid*, "dux"; from Greek, *hegemma*, "leader," *episkopos*, "bishop," *hyparch*, "ruler"; from Latin *comes*, "count," *dux*, "duke," *magister*, "master"; from Arabic, *kalif*, "calif," *wazri*, "vizier"; from Tatar, *kan*.

16. Aside from the names of the kings, only three of the foreign non-Semitic words found in Daniel are found in the Old Persian of the inscriptions from 532 to 338 B.C.,¹⁰⁰ three or four in the Avesta,¹⁰¹ of which three are the same as three of the Old Persian words. On the other hand, 13 of the allegedly Old Persian words are to be found in Armenian,¹⁰² of which two are met with in Old Persian, one in Zend, and three to five in New Persian. Only one of the so-called Persian words found in Daniel is not present in Armenian.¹⁰³ How can we account for these facts? Only, it seems to me, by

¹⁰⁰ To wit, *ahashdarpan* "satrap," *azda* "gone," and *dath* "law."

¹⁰¹ Some think that *'aptom* is derived from the Zend *pattima* "treasuries."

¹⁰² To wit, *gantz*, "treasure," *gasbar* "treasurer," *pataschani* "copy," *pitgam* "word," *sarak* "officer," *zeman* "time," *asporna* "completely," *azda* "proclaimed," *raz* "secret," *haddam* "piece," *hamaniak* "chain," *dath* "law," *databar* "lawyer."

¹⁰³ That is, the word for "satrap."

supposing that the Arameans were in contact with the Armenians and other Indo-European tribes, as we know that they were with the Medes, who preceded the Persians in the march from the east into the countries to the north of the Semitic possessions in Western Asia.¹⁰⁴ If we can believe that the Hittites and the Mitanneans spoke a language of the Indo-European family, we have abundant evidence that the Arameans were commingled with the Indo-Europeans from before the time of Moses.¹⁰⁵ For the Amarna letters show us that the Hittites, Mitanneans and Arzawans were fighting one another and contending also against the Aramean tribes, Suki, Suti, and Ahlamu in Syria and Mesopotamia at the time when these letters were written.¹⁰⁶ From the middle of the ninth century on we have mention on the Assyrian monuments of Armenians, Medes, Cimmerians, Scythians, and other Indo-European tribes¹⁰⁷; and from the Assyrio-Babylonian records we learn that Assyria was conquered by the Medes in or about 612 B.C.¹⁰⁸ and Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C.¹⁰⁹ Israelites were settled in the cities of the Medes as early as about 720 B.C.,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ "Après la destruction du royaume d'Assyrie, la tribu de Manda conquit l'Osrhoene." So Pognon in his comments on the Nabonidus inscription of Esiki-Harran. Further, he says: "La population assyrienne de Harrân finit par perdre sa langue et par se confondre avec les populations Areméennes des environs." These Mandeans were Indo-Europeans, probably a tribe, or tribes, of the Medes. See Pognon, *Insc. Semit. de la Syrie*, etc. I, 1-14.

¹⁰⁵ See Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, and Witzel, *Hethitische Keilinschriftenkunde*.

¹⁰⁶ See the references to all of these tribes and nations in the glossaries of Winckler's and Knudtzon's editions of the Amarna letters.

¹⁰⁷ See the best description of the connection of these tribes with the Assyrians in Streck's *Assurbanipal*, I, cclxxxv, for the Armenians; ccclv, for the Medes; cccli, for the Cimmerians and Scythians.

¹⁰⁸ See Pognon's Esiki-Harran inscription in his work cited in note 104; also, Streck, *Assurbanipal*, cdviii, f.

¹⁰⁹ See K.B. III, II, 120-136, and Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, I-8. The year 539 is determined by means of the contract tablets.

¹¹⁰ In the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (Pul) 2 Kings xv. 29, many Israelites were taken captive and settled in Assyria about 750 B.C. In 2 Kings xviii. 11, it is said that the king of Assyria (whom we know from Is. xx.

and Persians probably in Anshan, a part of Elam, about 640 B.C.¹¹¹ During all of the long period of time from about 1800 B.C. to 539 B.C., it seems certain that the Arameans were in contact with Indo-Europeans, and, especially in the later part of the period, under subjection to these foreign rulers of alien language and government.¹¹² And of all these foreign and closely related peoples of the Indo-European family, the Armenians, like the Gaels of Scotland in their mountain fastnesses, have alone been preserved as a people with a language comparatively free from the influx of foreign words. It is owing to this, most probably, that the Armenian dictionary gives words in a dialect which is the nearest and most analogous to the language from which the Aramaic dialect in which Daniel is written borrowed the foreign vocables which have hitherto been generally designated as Persian. And since the modern Armenian is the living language most closely connected in locality, and probably in vocabulary and pronunciation, with the ancient Hittite and Mitannean on the one side and with the ancient Median on the other,¹¹³ it is easy to see how the Aramean tribes may have borrowed such terms as we find in such a relatively large number in the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel. It is evident, also, from the above discussion, that these words may have been borrowed long before the time when Babylon was taken by Cyrus.

17. It is a striking fact that only *one* of all these foreign words found in Daniel and Ezra occurs in Palestinian Syriac, that is, the word *rāz*, "secret or mystery," as in Mark iv. 7; and that only three are found in the Aramaic of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that is, *pithgam* and the verb and noun *רְאֵת*,

¹ to have been Sargon) carried away the prisoners captured in Samaria and settled them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gizeh, and in the cities of the Medes.

¹¹¹ This is probably the year in which Susa was captured and destroyed by Assurbanipal and the whole land of Elam desolated. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I. cccxlv.

¹¹² See besides works mentioned above Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 206, 213, et al.

¹¹³ See Wetzel, *Heth. Keilinschriften*, p. x.

"time" and "appoint." *Rāz* is not found in Old Persian, nor in Zend and New Hebrew; but it occurs in Armenian, Syriac, Mandean, Egypto-Aramaic, the Targums of Onkelos, of Jonathan to the Prophets, and of the Hagiographa, and in the Hebrew of the Talmud. It affords, therefore, no evidence as to the time or place of a document. *Zemān*, "time," is found in Pahlavi,¹¹⁴ but does not occur in Old Persian, and is written *zrvan* in Zend. The New Persian form *zaman* is almost certainly borrowed from the Arabic. It occurs, also, in Ethiopic, Nabatean, the Biblical Hebrew,¹¹⁵ Mandean, the New Hebrew of both Talmuds and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, and in the Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem to the Pentateuch, Jonathan to the Prophets and in the Targum to the Hagiographa. The verb occurs in Biblical Hebrew,¹¹⁶ Armenian, Syriac, Mandean, in the Hebrew of both Talmuds, and in all the Aramaic Targums. *Pitgam*, "word," occurs in Armenian, Biblical Hebrew,¹¹⁷ Syriac, and the Targums of Onkelos, Jerus. on Pent., Jonathan on Prophets; being mentioned in the Talmud as an unknown word only to be explained.¹¹⁸

18. Another striking fact is that in Egypto-Aramaic only two common terms occur, which are found also in Daniel, to wit: *ganz*, "treasure," *azda*, "gone"; and that in Nabatean we find only one such word, *i.e.*, *zeman*, "time"; and in Palmyrene, not a single word.

19. In the Targum of Onkelos there are nine¹¹⁹ of the Indo-European words or roots found in Daniel and Ezra, of which all appear also in Armenian, but not one in Old Persian, and only seven in New Persian.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Also written *damān* (*West in loco*).

¹¹⁵ Est. ix. 27, 31; Ecc. iii. 1; Ne. ii. 6.

¹¹⁶ Ezra x. 14, Ne. x. 35, xiii. 31.

¹¹⁷ Ecc. viii. 11, Est. i. 20.

¹¹⁸ See Levy (*Chald.*) IV. 154a. He cites from Meg. 9a.

¹¹⁹ These words are *haddām* "piece," *zeman* "time," *simmen* "to appoint," *karoz* "voice" (?), *akras* "to call," *manika* "chain," *sarak* "officer," *patgam* "word," *ganaz* "to treasure."

¹²⁰ These words are *ganz* "treasure," *ganzwar* "treasurer," *raz* "secret," *andam* "piece," *dād* "law," *dādār* "judge" (or God), and *pēigam* or *pai-gram* for *patgam* "word."

20. In the Palestinian Talmud there are only three of these words,¹²¹ of the documents written beyond the Euphrates, the Babylonian Talmud has twelve.

21. The presence of three or four Greek words in the Aramaic of Daniel has long been advanced as a convincing argument for the late date of the book (2nd cty.). It has been pointed out above that none of these words has been conclusively proved to be Greek. But even if this could be done it would be very far from establishing the late date and Palestinian origin of Daniel. There are at least three ways by which Greek words may have been taken to Babylon before the time of Cyrus, to wit: by commerce, by soldiers, and by slaves. In the year 630 B.C. the Greeks founded the city of Sinope on the Black Sea from which they carried on a good caravan trade with the Euphrates Valley.¹²² Gyges, king of Lydia, ruled over the Greeks of Miletus and other Greek settlements along the coast of the Aegean, and this same Gyges was subject to the great Assyrian king Ashurbanipal who reigned from 668 to 628 B.C.¹²³ Sargon, king of Assyria, has left at Citium an inscription in which he tells us frequently that he had conquered (in 700 B.C.) seven kings of Cyprus¹²⁴ belonging to the Greeks. Ashurbanipal mentions the names of ten kings of Cyprus who joined him in his attack on Egypt in 668 B.C.¹²⁵ Most of these kings have Greek names. Sennacherib in his Tarsus inscription¹²⁶ and Abydenus¹²⁷ and Polyhistor¹²⁸ tell us of battles by sea and land

¹²¹ To wit: *gadbar* "treasurer," *seman* "time" and *karos* "crier," all found in the Old Testament and also in Armenian.

¹²² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXV. 149.

¹²³ K. B. II. 172; also Streck, *Assurbanipal* II. 21.

¹²⁴ K. B. II. 74, Winckler, *Sargon*.

¹²⁵ Streck, *Assurbanipal* I. ccclxx.

¹²⁶ *Cuneiform Texts*, &c., p. xxvi.

¹²⁷ Abydenus (268 B.C.) says that Sennacherib defeated and sank a Grecian fleet upon the coast of Cilicia. See Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 63.

¹²⁸ Polyhistor (A.D. 150) says that Sennacherib marched against the Greeks who had made a hostile descent upon Cilicia and overthrew them and erected a statue of himself with an inscription on it in Chaldean characters. *id.* 62.

won by the Assyrians over the Cilicians and their allies the Greeks, and of the transfer of the conquered to Assyria. As early as the Saite dynasty the Greeks served in the armies of Egypt and had commercial settlements in lower Egypt.¹²⁹ Greek inscriptions are found at Abu Simbel coming from the reign of one of the Psammetichi in the 7th century B.C.¹³⁰ Besides, Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar are said to have had Greek mercenaries in their armies.¹³¹ These soldiers would almost certainly have their music, like the Jewish captives in Babylon, who hanged their harps upon the willows. And since Greece was in their time the land of song,¹³² we can be sure that her musicians and their instruments would find their way to the luxurious court of Nebuchadnezzar, and into its public functions. That the Babylonians had music at their court ceremonies is evident from the account of the accession of Nabunaid where we are told that they sang: "Father of the land! There is none like him."¹³³ We may be sure that Nebuchadnezzar would have the best band of musicians that the world could give. Lastly, we know that in those times of slavery the young women captives as well as males were trained as musicians,¹³⁴ just as later in the times mentioned in the Arabian Nights.¹³⁵ Greek slaves would naturally use Greek instruments with Greek names,

¹²⁹ See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III. 328-330, Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 399. The latter says: "Greek settlers had been coming to Egypt from the 8th century B.C. The armies of Egypt who opposed Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar were composed largely of Greeks." Pp. 389, 407, 415.

¹³⁰ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, VIth Abtheilung, plate 98. There are about 20 Greek proper names and about a dozen common terms.

¹³¹ In 668 B.C., ten kings, most of whom have Greek names, joined Ashurbanipal's expedition against Egypt. In 659 B.C. we find a Greek a captain in Ashurbanipal's army, and another one a *shalshu*. See Streck, *Ashurbanipal*, p. 787, and Johns, *Deeds and Documents* I. 159; K. B. II. 240. Nutimenides, the brother of Pittacus, is said to have served in the army of Nebuchadnezzar (Strabo: XIII. 2).

¹³² Polybius, IV. 20.

¹³³ Langdon, *Neubab. Königsinschriften*, p. 276.

¹³⁴ Becker, *Charicles* 245.

¹³⁵ *Passim*.

and their names would pass on into the language of the people for whom they played.¹³⁶ No terms are more frequently borrowed by a language than those denoting musical instruments.¹³⁷ Thus in English we have borrowed organ, lyre, and cither (zither), guitar, directly or indirectly from the Greek; piano-forte, spinet, violin, violoncello, piccolo, cornet, trombone and others from the Italian; and lately, ukelele from the Hawaiian. So, in like manner, the Arameans who were the merchants and intermediaries of commerce in Western Asia from the 7th to the 4th century B.C., may easily have adopted the Greek names of musical instruments into the language.¹³⁸ Schrader's argument based on the fact that the names of these instruments have not been found in the Babylonian records breaks down when we find that no names of any musical instruments in any language have been found in the Babylonian records, as can be seen in the Dictionaries of Tallquist and Langdon.¹³⁹ The stilted language of the later Babylonian documents did not admit of new or

¹³⁶ For the use of foreign names for foreign musical instruments, even in Greek, see Muss-Arnolt, *Semitic Words in Greek and Latin*, pp. 127-129.

¹³⁷ The borrowing of the names of musical instruments was common also with the Greeks. Thus, the *nablos* of Sophocles is the *nebel* of the Old Testament; the *sambuke* of Aristotle is the *sabbeka* of Daniel; the *tympanon* of Herodotus is the *tuppanu* of the Assyrians; the *kinyra* is the *kinnor* of the Hebrews; the siren and *syrinx* of Homer are probably of Semitic origin (see Levy, *Semitische Fremdwörter in Griechischen*, Muss-Arnolt, *Semitic Words in Greek and Latin*; Thumb, *Greek Grammar*, p. 108; Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 34). Böhl (*Die Sprache der Amarna-briefe*, p. 20, note) suggests that there may be Greek words in the Amarna letters. There are at least 22 Persian common terms in Herodotus and scores of Medo-Persian proper names (see Professor John D. Davis in the *W. R. Harper Memorial Volume*).

¹³⁸ Thus Syriac transliterates lyre, cithara, *et al.*

¹³⁹ In the German translation of Langdon's great work on the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, there is a complete glossary and an adequate concordance of the words in the inscription. Tallquist prepared a similar dictionary for the contract tablets of the age of Nabonaid (*Die Sprache der Contracte Nabunaids*).

foreign words.¹⁴⁰ Besides, this part of Daniel is not written in Babylonian but in Aramaic. That these names of musical instruments are not mentioned in the Egypto-Aramaic and the other pre-Christian Aramaic has no bearing upon their use in Daniel, inasmuch as no mention of either music or musical instruments is made in any of them.

22. Judged by the above criteria and evidence, the foreign words in Daniel point to Babylonia as the provenance of the Aramaic portions at least, since it has more Babylonian words than Persian, and no Egyptian or Latin words. The possible presence in it of three words derived from the Greek, which has led so many scholars to believe that the book must have been written in the Greek period, does not, as has just been pointed out, warrant the late dating of the book. There is no evidence in the language to show that it was written in Palestine. For, first, there is no inscription in writing of any kind in the Aramaic of Palestine (see Nos. 5, 6 *supra*) to bear witness to the supposition that the work was written there; and the testimony of the Samaritan dialect and of the Syro-Palestinian (see No. 7 *supra*) is decidedly against it. Secondly, it is the only work of any length written in Aramaic, wherein the majority of the foreign words are Babylonian. The Egypto-Aramaic, Ezra and Daniel, purporting to have been written from 539 to 400 B.C., all have a comparatively large number of both Babylonian and Persian words. Daniel has three or four Greek words, and the Egyptian papyri one common Greek term occurring a number of times, and another occurring once, and about a dozen Greek proper names. No one can doubt that the proper mixture of Persian, Greek and Babylonian, is found in Mandean, Syriac, the Jewish Aramaic Targums and the Aramaic parts of the Talmud. We are entitled to assume that this will be true of Daniel also.

23. In conclusion from the facts stated in Nos. 16 to 22

¹⁴⁰ Excepting the proper names Seleucus, Antiochus, Stratonice, and Macedonian, there are no foreign words in the Babylonian text of the inscription of Antiochus-Soter (280-260 B.C.). See K.B. III. II. 136.

above, it seems clear from the evidence that the Aramaic parts of Daniel and Ezra were more probably written east of the Euphrates than in or about Palestine. For, let it be observed and emphasized, that we have no sufficient evidence in existence to show that Aramaic documents like those contained in Daniel and Ezra could at any time whatever have been written in or about Palestine, or on the western side of the Euphrates. On the other hand, the evidence leads to the probability that these documents were written in or about Babylon, Susa and Ecbatana, under the conditions existing in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; and to the certainty that they were written before the time of the Greek conquests under Alexander.

FOREIGN WORDS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

Having completed our examination of the foreign words in the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament we shall now proceed to the second main topic of this article, the investigation of the foreign words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. First of all a complete list of these words will be given arranged according to their occurrence, book by book, in the Old Testament. These words are classified according to their respective origins as Babylonian, Egyptian, etc. It is to be observed that this classification agrees in the main with the derivations found in the *Gesenius-Brown Lexicon*. Where such is not the case, attention is called to this fact in a footnote. The proper names are listed simply in their standard English form (*e.g.*, Sennacherib); but in the case of common terms the Hebrew is added in a parenthesis to avoid any uncertainty as to the word referred to. The list will be followed by general and also detailed discussions of the bearing of these data upon the dates of the Old Testament books.

The Foreign Words, Book by Book

GENESIS. *Babylonian*: Adam, Abel, Methusaleh, Amraphel, Chedorlaomer, Tidal, Abram, Sara, Babel, Erech, Ur, Harran, Havilah, Calah, Padan, Nineveh, Eden, Shinar; to cover

with pitch (כְּפָר), pitch (כְּפָר), cherub (כֶּרֶב), oven (תַּנֵּר) to dwell (זֹבֵל), flood (מִבּוֹל). *Sumerian*: Arioach, Gihon, Pishon, Hiddekel; gopher-wood (גַּפֵּר), cereal (שִׁיחָה),¹⁴¹ canal (אֲדָם).¹⁴² *Egyptian*: Asenath, Hagar, Potiphar, Potiphera, Pharoah, Pikol(?), Zaphnath-Paaniah, On, Cush(?), Goshen; pasture (חָמָן), ark (חָבָה),¹⁴³ kind (טִין).¹⁴⁴ *Doubtful*: Canaan; bdellium, to create (בָּרָא).¹⁴⁵ *Arabic*: many of the proper names in Gen. x and in the genealogies, are probably Arabic.

EXODUS. *Babylonian*: charioteer (שְׁלִישִׁים), tablet (לְוחָה), eunuch (סְרִירָה), measure (חָמֶר), cherub (כֶּרֶב). *Egyptian*: Phinehas, Pithom, Raamses, Pihahiroth, Migdol (?), Shur (?); pitch (זְפָת), slime (חַמֵּר),¹⁴⁶ span (רוּחָה), magician (הַרְמָם),¹⁴⁷ reed (סֻף), shittim-wood (שְׁטִים).

LEVITICUS. *Egyptian*: shoddy (שְׁעַטְנָה), measure (חָמֶר).

NUMBERS. *Babylonian*: necromancer (אֲמָן), measure (חָמֶר). *Egyptian*: Zoan; melon (אַבְטָחָה), aloes (אַהֲלָה). *Arabic*: some of the proper names in the wanderings.

¹⁴¹ This word is the Sumerian *še* (corn or cereal) = Bab. *šeū* (grain), often in inscriptions of Hammurabi's time. See King, *Letters etc. of Hammurabi*, III, p. 291, and Delitzsch, *Sum. Sprachlehre*, p. 136.

¹⁴² *Ed* is a Sumerian word meaning "canal" or "river." In King, *Tablets of Creation*, it appears as a "determinative" before the rivers Tigris and Euphrates; and in *Letters etc. of Hammurabi* frequently before the name of a canal.

¹⁴³ The word *tēbāh* (ark) is probably the Egyptian *tept* (boat).

¹⁴⁴ All doubt about the Egyptian origin of this word was removed by Gardiner in his article in the PSBA (Vol. XXXVIII. 181). He shows that *mini* (kind) was used in Egyptian documents as early as the XIXth dynasty. It occurs also in Coptic. See Peyron, p. 99.

¹⁴⁵ It seems to me that the best derivation of *bārā'* "to create" is the Sumerian *ba-ru*. It is translated three times in the *Creation Tablets* by the Babylonian *ibtani* (to make), used of mankind, beasts and herbs (King, *Sum. Tablets of Creation*, p. 134); and it occurs frequently in the sense of "build" or "form" in the chronicles of the kings of the First Dynasty.

¹⁴⁶ On *hemer* (slime) and *zepheth* (pitch) see "Essay on Egyptian Words in the Pentateuch" by Canon Cook in the *Speaker's Commentary on Exodus*, pp. 476-492.

¹⁴⁷ See *Studies*, p. 377.

DEUTERONOMY. *Babylonian*: demon (שָׁׂטָן), diamond (חַלְמִישׁ); *Hittite*? : law (תְּדִ).¹⁴⁸ *Arabic*: *Di Zahab*.¹⁴⁹

JOSHUA. *Arabic*: Eshtao, Eshtemoa.

JUDGES. Dagon(?), Chemosh(?), Kushan-Rishathaim (?), Timnath-heres(?), Ashtaroth(?), Eshtao, Lord (סֹרֶן)¹⁵⁰ is either Babylonian (*šarrani*) or Philistine.

RUTH. (No foreign words.)

SAMUEL. Temple (הִיכָּל) = Sumerian *e-gal*, "great house."

KINGS. *Assyrian*: Tiglath-Pileser (Pul), Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Sharezer, Anamelek, Sepharvaim, Succoth-Benoth, Beth-Zakuth, Nibhaz, Nisroch, Gozan, Cutha, Chabor; Tartan, Rab-Shakeh, Rab-saris, governor (פָּתָח),¹⁵¹ deputy (סָנָן),¹⁵² treasure (נְכָתָה),¹⁵³ constellation (מְזָלוֹת). *Babylonian*: Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, Baladan, Merodach-Baladan; mina (מִנָּה). *Egyptian*: Shishak, Tahpenes, So, Tirhakeh, Necho, Syene. *Phenician and Aramean*: Hiram, Jezebel, Tyre, Sidon, Bul (month), Rimmon, Hazael, Hadadezer. *Sanskrit or doubtful*: ape (קָרֵן),¹⁵⁴ peacock (תָּוָךְ),¹⁵⁵ ivory (שְׁנָדָבִים).¹⁵⁶

ISAIAH. *Assyrian*: Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Baladan, Merodach-Baladan, Nebo. Bel, Tel-asar, Lilith; treasure (נְכָות), abundance (רַוֵּת) deputy (סָנָן). *Egyptian*: Noph

¹⁴⁸ *Dath* is possibly the Babylonian *ditti* for *dinti* (judgment, decision). There is no sufficient reason for identifying it with the homonymous Persian word (cf. p. 195, *supra*) which occurs in the late books.

¹⁴⁹ *Di-zahab* means "possessor or place of gold." See Lane, p. 984, and Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, 203.

¹⁵⁰ The word *sarne* (lords) may be borrowed from the Babylonian *šarrani* (kings).

¹⁵¹ See p. 190, *supra*.

¹⁵² See p. 189, *supra*.

¹⁵³ See Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁴ Probably from Sanscrit *kapi* (Burnouf, p. 140a).

¹⁵⁵ Probably from Sanscrit *ta* (tail) and *ka* (peacock). Cf. Burnouf, pp. 132, 281.

¹⁵⁶ *Hab* (elephant) = Sanscrit *ibha* (Burnouf, p. 89b, "whence perhaps ελ-εφας with the Semitic article α'"); or = Egyptian 'ab (Budge, *Reading Book*, p. 371).

(Memphis), Hanes; pitch (זפת), girdle (מזה). *Persian*: Cyrus.¹⁵⁷

JEREMIAH. Babylonian: Samgar-Nebo, Sarsechim. Nergal, Nebuchadnezzar, Neboshazban, Bel, Merodach, Merathaim(?);¹⁵⁸ officer (טפסר),¹⁵⁹ governor (פחתה), deputy (סגן). *Egyptian*: Noph (Memphis), Hophra, Tahpenes, Necho.

LAMENTATIONS. (No foreign words.)

EZEKIEL. Babylonian: Gog, Koa, Shoa, Tammuz (as name of month), wing (אנף), garments (נילום),¹⁶⁰ gift (נדן). *Egyptian*: Syene, Pibeseth.

HOSEA. Assyrian: Jareb, Shalman; temple (היכל). *Egyptian*: Memphis (מצרים).

AMOS. Assyrian: Chiun (כין) = kaimanu (Saturn).

JONAH. Phenician: boat-swain (רב חבל).

NAHUM. Babylonian: officer (טפסר). *Egyptian*: Amon.

ZECHARIAH. Babylonian: Zerubbabel, Hadad-Rimmon, Kisliu, Shebet; pupil (בביה), corner (זווית). *Persian*: Darius.

HAGGAI. Persian: Darius.

MALACHI. Assyrian: governor (פחתה).

JOEL, OBADIAH, MICAH, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH: (No foreign words).

PSALMS. Babylonian: diamond (חַלְמִישׁ), gold (חרוזם), corner (זווית). *Egyptian*: Egypt (חַם), aloe (אַלָּה).

PROVERBS. Babylonian: gold (חרוזם). *Egyptian*: aloe (אַלָּה).

CANTICLES. Babylonian: workman (טנא), timbers (ברות).¹⁶¹ *Indo-European*: nut (אנונה), palankeen (אֲפִירון),¹⁶² nard (נרד), garden (פרדס).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ See *Excursus on Cyrus* at end of article, pp. 246 f.

¹⁵⁸ A name for Babylon. Fdk. Delitzsch thinks it = Bab. *Marrātim*, the land by the *nar Marrātu*, or bitter river. According to another etymology the word is Hebrew and means "double rebellion."

¹⁵⁹ An old Sumerian combination of *tup* (tablet) and *sar* (writer).

¹⁶⁰ May be compared with the Babylonian *gulinu*. See Muss-Arnolt, *in loco*.

¹⁶¹ Probably the same as the Assyrian *berāti* (timbers).

¹⁶² Burnouf (p. 400) gives the word *paryan(y)ka* as meaning literally "bed." If the word and thing came from India, at what better time than that of Solomon could it have come? That was the time at which the other

ECCLESIASTES. *Babylonian*: wealth (**נָכֶם**), free men, nobles (**חָרִים**).¹⁶⁴ *Indo-European*: garden (**פַּרְדֵּס**), time (**זָמָן**), word (**פְּתָנָם**).¹⁶⁵

DANIEL. *Babylonian* and *Sumerian*: Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Babel, Shinar, Elam, Ulai, Mede, Grecia, Chaldean, Shushan, Hiddekel, Ashpenaz, Amelsar (?), Shadrach, Meshach; temple, palace (**הַמְלֵל**), sorcerer (**אֲשָׁרָה**), fortress (**בִּירָה**). *Persian*: Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes (?); colonnade (**אַפְּדָן**),¹⁶⁶ princes (**פָּרִתִּים**). *Various*: portion (**פָּתָן**),¹⁶⁷ magician (**חַרְטָם**), fine gold (**אַוְנוֹן**), Greeks (**כָּתִים**).

possibly Sanscrit words for elephant, peacock and ape came. Or, it may have come easily at that time from the Hittites, the forerunners and first cousins of the Armenians, seeing that words from the proper root in Armenian mean divan, throne, etc. The prosthetic *aleph* in Hebrew would suit the derivation from the Armenian as well as from Greek or Sanscrit. Again, Hrozny in his *Sprache der Hittiter* gives a verb *patwar*, "to bear," "draw," etc.

¹⁶⁸ *Pardes* (paradise, garden, park) = Bab. *pardisu* (Cyr. 212.3, written in 535 B.C.). Commonly assumed to be from Greek *παράδειος*, first used by Xenophon of the parks of the Persian kings after his retreat, 400 B.C. May be connected with the Zend *pairidaēza*, "Umhäufung" (Justi, p. 180a); but more likely with Armenian *partez*, "garden" (Bedrossian, p. 611b). Armenian has also words from the same radicals for gardener and gardening.

¹⁶⁴ *Hor* (free man, noble). A word with the same radicals is used in the Code of Hammurabi for a husband, and the feminine for a wife, who was free-born. It seems to have been a primitive Semitic root, being found also in Arabic, Aramaic, and Sabea.

¹⁶⁵ *Pitgam* is nearest in form and meaning to the Armenian *patgam* (word, order), with derivatives for messenger, prophet, envoy, etc. (Bedrossian, p. 599).

¹⁶⁶ *Apadāna* is found in an inscription of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.). It is transliterated by the Susian as *habadana* and by the Babylonian as *appadān*. Weissbach translates by *Säulenalle* (colonnade). See Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, pp. 122-125, and Johnson in Tolman's *Cuneiform Supplement*, p. 5, and Strassmaier *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis*, 106.

¹⁶⁷ *Patbag* (delicacies) is commonly taken to be from Sanscrit *pratibhaga* (?), Zend *patibaga* = Greek *ποτί-βαζις* (a transliteration), Syr. *paṭbāgā*. Unfortunately for this derivation the words from which the Hebrew is supposed to have been borrowed do not occur in either Sanscrit or Zend. Lorsbach derived it from *pat* (idol), and *bāh* (food), and made it mean "food of God"; von Bohlen from *pad* (father) and *bāh* and made it mean *cibus patris*. Both are far fetched. Better from the Hebrew *path* (morsel) = Sumerian *pat*, and the Sumerian *baga*, meaning "a

ESTHER. *Babylonian*: Nebuchadnezzar, Mordecai, Cush, Shushan, Adar, Nisan, Siwan; fortress (בִּירָה), letter (אֲנָרָתָה), purple (אַרְגָּמָן), blue (תְּכִלָּתָה), a kind of stone (סָהָרָתָה), governor (פָּחָתָה), loss (נוֹקָה). *Persian*: Xerxes, Esther, Vashti, Shaashgaz, fourteen names of counsellors and princes of Persia and ten of the sons of Haman, Hage, Bigran, Teresh, Haman, Hatheh; princes (פָּרָתִים), cotton (כְּרָפֶם), law (דָתָה), satrap (אַחֲשָׁרוֹפָן), copy (פְּתַשְׁנָן), time (זָמָן), mule? (אַחֲשָׁתָרָן), dromedary? (רַמָּךְ).¹⁸⁸ *Various*: linen (בּוֹץ), porphyry? (בְּחַטָּה), byssus (שֵׁשׁ); or *doubtful*: pearl (דָּרָה), lot (פּוֹרָה).

CHRONICLES. *Babylonian*: fortress (בִּירָה), fortress (בִּירָה), letter (אֲנָרָתָה), cup (כְּפָרָה), treasure (נִכְמָה), which (שָׁהֵם). *Persian*: Cyrus; daric (אַדְרָכָן),¹⁸⁹ treasure (נִידָּחָה), crimson (כְּרָמִילָה), sheath? (נִנְזָהָה), suburb (פְּרָבָרָה). (These are in addition to the foreign words contained in the passages which the Chronicler has taken from Kings, Jeremiah and other Biblical sources).

EZRA. *Babylonian*: Nebuchadnezzar, Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, Esarhaddon, Ashur; deputy (סָנָן), governor (פָּחָתָה), talents (מִנְיָם), companions (כְּנָזָתִים), cup (כְּפָרָה), temple (הַיכָּלָה). *Persian*: Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Mithridates, Bigvai; satrap (אַחֲשָׁרוֹפָן), basket? (אַנְרָטָלִי), treasurer (נִיבָּרָה), copy (נִשְׁתָּוֹן), copy (פְּרַשְׁנָן), daric (אַדְרָכָן), law (דָתָה), to fix a time (זָמָן).

NEHEMIAH. Nehemiah's memoirs. *Babylonian*: Sanballat, Meshezabel, Nebuchadnezzar, Zerubbabel, Mordecai; Tirshatha, Shushan, Kisleu, Nisan, Elul; fort (בִּירָה),

special part of a temple where the offerings to the god were brought" (Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, p. 211). The Sumerian sign for *pat* (Brünnow, p. 404) stands, also, for *kurmatu* and *kurummatu*, meaning "food, share," perhaps including drink; hence "food for the gods" (Muss-Arnolt, p. 438b). Compare *ša-ilušu ana* (var. *ina*) *kuramati išbatušu*.

¹⁸⁸ *Ramak* in Pahlavi means "herd, flock, troop, company" (West, p. 137). The New Persian is the same.

¹⁸⁹ *Daric* is most probably from the Persian *Darius*. The Pahlavi has *Dârai* and *Dârâk* for *Darius* and *dârâkhân* for the adjective *Darian*. See West, p. 180.

concubine (**שָׁבֵל**), garden (**פְּרִדְסָה**), letter (**אֹנוֹתָה**), governor (**פָּחָת**), deputy (**סָנָן**), division (**פָּלָקָה**), talents (**מְנִימָה**). *Persian*: Bigvai, Azgad, Darius, Artaxerxes; appoint a time (**מְעֵדָה**).

General Remarks on These Words

1. It will be seen from the above collection of facts in evidence, that the different kinds of foreign words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament are found in just the books where we would expect to find them, provided that these books originated either in the time indicated in the books themselves, or were composed from original sources, contemporaneous with, or of about the same age as, the events or subject-matter recorded in them,—as far, at least, as related to the period from Abraham to Ezra.

2. That these particular and correct kinds of foreign words could have been deliberately and knowingly inserted into the Pentateuch by writers of myths and fictions living as late as the 8th century B.C., (when the critics agree that J and E were written), or as late as the 6th or 4th century (where they place H and P) is absurd. At least, there is certainly no documentary evidence of any kind or place, leading us to suppose that there ever were scholars in pre-Christian Judaism (or post-Christian for that matter) who knew Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian and Arabic well enough to scatter words borrowed from them in documents treating of events covering a period of nearly two thousand years. Especially is this statement weighty, when we consider that these various writers never made a mistake in their use of a word. That is, we never find Egyptian words in documents alleged to have been written after the time of Moses, except such as had already been adopted by Moses in his works and the proper names of a number of royal persons and of cities which were brought in contact with Israel from Shishak to Hophra; and, again, we never find any Persian words in documents alleged to have been written before the time of Daniel and Cyrus, except three words, two probably

Hittite (both occurring in Ecclesiastes and one in the Song of Songs) and the word Cyrus in Isaiah. And lastly, the discriminating use of such purely Assyrian terms as Tartan, Rabshakeh and Rab-Saris,¹⁷⁰ indicates that the documents containing them must have been written before the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C.¹⁷¹

3. It will be noted, also, that scarcely a foreign word is to be found in any one of the numerous poetical productions from first to last.¹⁷²

4. As to the Pentateuch, we find that Sumero-Babylonian words are to be met with in the first chapters of Genesis, and Egyptian in the rest, except in the Wanderings in the desert, where the foreign names are predominantly Arabic.

5. In the time of Solomon, we find Hittite, Sanscrit and other foreign words, agreeable to the commercial activity of his peaceful reign.

6. From Tiglath-Pileser to the fall of Nineveh, the words are almost entirely Assyrian; for this was the period of the Sargonids, the greatest kings of Assyria.

7. From 612 B.C., when Nineveh was destroyed, to 539 B.C., when Babylon was captured by Cyrus, we find Babylonian words predominating.

8. From 539 to 400 B.C., the last period of Old Testament history according to the *prima facie* evidence, we find Armeno-Persian and Babylonian words almost exclusively. It must be remembered that from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus to its re-capture by Xerxes, the kings of Persia reigned over Babylon under the title "king of Babylon" or "king of lands," or both. Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah served

¹⁷⁰ For a discussion of *tartan* and other Assyrian officials, see Klauber's *Assyrisches Beamtentum*. For the *rab-shakeh* and other army officers, see W. Manilius, *Das stehende Heer der Assyrerkönige*, (ZA. xxiv. 199 f).

¹⁷¹ This date for the destruction of Nineveh has been established by the record edited by C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (1923). For a discussion of this tablet see the article by O. T. Allis in this REVIEW for July, 1924.

¹⁷² See further p. 238, *infra*.

the kings of Persia in Susa and Babylon especially.¹⁷³ Hence, their writings are naturally full of words from the languages both of Persia and Babylon.

9. No certainly Greek words are found in the *Hebrew* of the Old Testament, nor in the Zadokite fragments; and only one in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus.¹⁷⁴

10. On the contrary, the Hebrew of the Talmud is full of Greek words and has many Latin, Persian, and Babylonian words; although, while all parts have Greek words, some are entirely devoid of Latin, Persian or Babylonian.

Special Discussion of Hebrew Literature by Periods

A. *The Pentateuch.*

We shall now enter on several discussions of groups of books purporting to be from a given period. And, first, let us look at the bearing of the collections of foreign words upon the origin and date of the books of Moses.

1. The foreign common words in the Pentateuch are Babylonian and Sumerian, Egyptian and a couple of Aramaic words.

2. The Babylonian and Sumerian words occur in the parts of Genesis preceding the descent into Egypt; the Aramaic words in the history of Laban from Aram Naharaim.

3. The Arabic words all occur as the names of places in the Wilderness or of persons living in Arabia.

4. The only Egyptian words in the part preceding the going of Joseph into Egypt are Pharaoh, Hagar, *mîn* (kind), and possibly Picol.

5. The only words certainly foreign in E are Egyptian.

6. There are no foreign words in H alone; and but two in D and H (one Egyptian and one Babylonian).

7. Perhaps one Babylonian and one Indo-European (Hittite?) word are found in D.

¹⁷³ See my articles in the *Sachau Denkschrift* and in this REVIEW for 1905-6.

¹⁷⁴ Some claim that there is a Greek word in the Song of Songs, iii. 9 (see note 162 *supra*), and the doubtful word *atîl* in Eccl. 1. 9 is supposed to be borrowed from the Greek.

8. Gen. xiv has three Babylonian words and one Sumerian, but no Egyptian.

9. P has from four to eight Babylonian, eight Egyptian words, and many Arabic words, especially in the genealogies and the account of the Wanderings.

10. Five foreign words (two Egyptian and two Babylonian) occur in JE, two Egyptian in EP, and one Egyptian in JRE.

11. Two foreign words occur in JDP, and three in JEDP and one in JEP.

12. How are we to account for these 27 Egyptian words, 13 of them common terms, occurring in the Hexateuch, unless the original sources were written in the Mosaic period? How could 19 of them have gotten into J and E, if they were written in the 8th century B.C.? How could 16 of them have gotten into P, if it was written in the 5th century B.C., or later? Why are 18 of these words found in no other book of the Old Testament and most of the 27 in no language outside the Bible except Egyptian?

13. Again, how account for the fact that there are 29 Babylonian words in J, 11 of them common terms, if J were written in the 8th century B.C. in Judah, and for the fact that there are only about 8 Babylonian words in P, if it were written largely by Ezra at Babylon (or under Babylonian influences) in the 5th century B.C.? Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, which purport to be from post-captivity times, have all a large number of Babylonian words. Why so few in the lengthy work of P, treating, as it does, of so many subjects? Especially why, if, as many hold, the Hebrews derived many of their laws and religious ideas from the Babylonians?¹⁷⁵ In my judgment, the small number of Babylonian words in P, as compared with the five books named above, can only be accounted for by supposing that it was written at a different time. And when we take into account the large number of Egyptian words as compared with

¹⁷⁵ See my article on "Babylon and the Bible" in the *Pres. and Ref. Review* for 1902.

all other parts of the Old Testament, the only proper period for P is the period when the Israelites were in, or just out of Egypt.

14. The small number of foreign words in H and in the legal parts of P can only be accounted for by supposing that the language of law was a native development of the Israelites and that the law given by the Lord to Moses was put by him in plain language that every one could understand.

15. The absence of all Babylonian words, except two or three, from Deuteronomy, can be accounted for by the fact that it is largely popular speeches on legal matters and poetry, both of which avoid foreign words as much as possible.

16. If H was written during or after the Captivity, how does it come that there is in it only one Babylonian word? If it were written after the Captivity, why has it no Persian words? The only foreign words in it are one Egyptian and one Babylonian word, both of them found also in D.

17. But not merely are there Egyptian words in H and P, the most surprising thing about them is that there are no Persian words in them. Nor are there any Persian words in any of the Redactors, whom certain critics conjure up from their imagination as the composers of the Hexateuch in its present form. This is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that Ezra, the greatest of the scribes and the last and best equipped of all the alleged composers and redactors, should in his so-called Memoirs and in the other works supposed to have been written by him, have a large number of Persian words. There must have been two Ezras, a Dr. Jekyl Ezra who wrote Hebrew as if it had been written a thousand years before his time, and a Mr. Hyde Ezra who wrote the ordinary language of his time! And this Dr. Jekyl Ezra must have determined that he would compose and edit a Mosaic work, ostensibly the work of Moses, which would fool the whole world of his time and after into believing that it was really the work of Moses! His contemporary, Nehemiah, the minister of the king of Persia and governor of Judea, and all the priests and Levites and scribes of the second temple

were taken in by him and his allegedly Mosaic work. The great high-priests, the two Simeons, and the learned Jews of Alexandria, and the Ben Siras, and the predecessors of the Maccabees were all deceived into thinking that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses. There was not a single Jew to protest against the forgery. The generation of Mattathias gladly laid down their lives rather than cease their devotion to its commands and regulations. Believe this who can and will. As for me, I cannot believe that there ever was among that brilliant nation which along the line of its historic development produced and was led by such men as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David and Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezra—that there ever was a generation so ignorant, submissive and easily beguiled, as to accept without protest or rebellion a system of law so onerous written in a language so markedly ancient as that of the Pentateuch, less than a hundred years after the death of Haggai and Zechariah, and while Malachi, the last of the prophets, was still in the midst of his labors unless it was really what it purported to be.

18. When we consider that the narratives of the Hexateuch contain nothing that is known to conflict with the incontrovertible evidence of the language as to the time of its composition, our belief in its Mosaic origin is confirmed. For when, so well as in the time of *Abraham*, could the first chapter of Genesis have been written? The time of Hammurabi was the age when the minds of men were exercised about the question of the origin of the universe and man. A Babylonian account of the flood similar to that in Genesis corroborates our conviction that the Biblical record refers to an historic event known at the time of Abraham alike to the ancestors of both Babylonians and Hebrews.¹⁷⁶ The account of Hagar and Ishmael shows a knowledge of the laws of the Babylonians about legal substitution of the rights of a concubine and about customs of adoption. The contract about the cave of Macpelah reflects the Babylonian laws about

¹⁷⁶ See *Das Gilgamiš (Nimrod) Epos* in Jensen's *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, vol. VI of KB, especially pp. 228-256.

the sale of land. The code of Hammurabi affords a parallel in many respects to the laws of H and P, and its differences from the Mosaic laws support the theory of its independent development and sanctions. The divisions and boundaries of the land have their analogues in both Egypt and Babylon from before the time of Abraham. The biographies of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses have their prototype in the numerous biographies and autobiographies of Egypt. The catalogue of the nations given in Gen. x points back to a time preceding the age of Solomon. So that we are reasonably justified in concluding that the substance of the Hexateuch dates back to about the time of Moses. Even if it could be shown that certain passages, like the list of the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi, had been interpolated at a later time, or even as late as Ezra, this would not invalidate the veracity of the whole Hexateuch; nor would it show that the list of the kings of Edom was incorrect. The later scribes to the time of Ezra may have been as much inspired to edit the books of the canon as were the original documents or the works composed by Moses himself. Thus the revelations made to Jeremiah were written by the inspired scribe Baruch. The deeds of David were written by the inspired prophets Samuel, Nathan and Gad; and Ezra the scribe and others like him were just as much inspired to give us the Canon as we have it.

Neither does it invalidate the trustworthiness of the Hexateuch in general, to show that there are certain so-called duplicates, or parallel passages, differing slightly. Such a criticism would invalidate the testimony of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Nor will it render the records of the Hexateuch unworthy of confidence to show that there are in it many things that we do not clearly understand and that we cannot explain or corroborate. There are many such inexplicable and unsubstantial statements in all human histories, even those of the late great world war. It does not prove that a thing is not true, because we cannot prove that it is. But, by and large, we can securely take the position, that the Hexateuch is substantially correct and that no one knows enough to show

that it is not. So far as we *know*, the prophets, Christ and the Apostles, and the Churches of Christ in all ages and lands, have been fully justified in asserting that "the law was given by Moses."

B. *From the Conquest to the Reign of David.*

The second period of the Israelitish history, from the time of the conquest to the beginning of the reign of David, embraces the books of Joshua (which will here be considered without regard to the alleged documents P, D, etc.), Judges, Ruth and Samuel. These books contain the history of Israel in Palestine shortly after the time when the Tel-el-Amarna letters were written, and it is noteworthy that the proper names of cities and nations mentioned in these books correspond closely with those named in the Letters. The only common foreign terms mentioned in the books are *seren* as the title or name of the rulers of the Philistines, and *hekal* palace, or temple. The former of these may be Phenician, or it may be the plural of the Assyrian word for king. The latter is the Sumerian phrase *e-gal* meaning great house, either palace or temple. In view of the fact that, as the Amarna Letters show, the Assyrio-Babylonian language was written and read at that time all over the part of the world whose center is Palestine, we can readily see how likely it is that these words were borrowed by the Philistines and Israelites from the Babylonians.

It is noteworthy that in the Psalms ascribed to David we find not a single foreign word, unless possibly in Ps. cxxxix, where we have a form of the verb which may be of Aramaic origin.¹⁷⁷

C. *David to Omri.*

The third period embraces the reign of David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and those of Jeroboam I, Abijah of Israel, Baasha, Elah and Zimri. The history is recorded in the books of Samuel and in 1 Kings i-xvi. 15. The other works

¹⁷⁷ See discussion of word *essak* in my article "Aramaisms in the O.T." in this REVIEW for April, 1925.

professedly written in it are Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and much of Proverbs and the Psalms. Egypt at this time, under the XXIInd and XXIIInd dynasties, was in a decline. We have only a few monuments of the reigns of its kings and there was comparatively little intercourse with Palestine and the rest of Asia.¹⁷⁸ Solomon is said to have married an Egyptian princess.¹⁷⁹ She was probably of the family of Hez-haq-Ra (987-952 B.C.), the last king of the XXIInd dynasty.¹⁸⁰ Hadad the Edomite is said to have married the sister of Tahpenes, probably the queen of Hez-haq-Ra.¹⁸¹ Shishak¹⁸² is the king of Egypt who conquered Jerusalem during the reign of Rehoboam,¹⁸³ an account of which is given by Shishak on a pylon at Karnak.¹⁸⁴ As far as our information extends Assyria and Babylon had no special relations with Israel during this period. In fact, from Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1100 B.C.) to Assurnasirpal, (875 B.C.) there are very few inscriptions from either Babylon or Assyria during a period of 225 years.¹⁸⁵ Tyre, however, was at this time at the height of its splendor and its king Hiram is according to Josephus celebrated in the histories of Dius and Menander.¹⁸⁶ The Hittites, also, were still in Syria where they had been so powerful in the days of Rameses II,¹⁸⁷ and their power was not finally destroyed till the capture of Carchemish by Sargon II in 717 B.C.¹⁸⁸ So, we can understand how Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon, can have been married

¹⁷⁸ Breasted in his great work on Egypt gives only 225 pages to dynasties XXI-XVI inclusive, whereas he gives 1000 to the XVIIIth to the XXth. In the 500 years before Necho, Shishak alone conducted a great expedition into Palestine.

¹⁷⁹ 1 Kings ix. 16.

¹⁸⁰ Petrie's *History of Egypt*, III, 225.

¹⁸¹ 1 Kings xi. 20.

¹⁸² Sheshong reigned from 952 to 930 B.C. See Petrie's *History of Egypt*, III, 232.

¹⁸³ 1 Kings xiv, 2 Chron. xii.

¹⁸⁴ See Breasted, *Egypt* IV. 348-357.

¹⁸⁵ See Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*.

¹⁸⁶ See Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I. 18.

¹⁸⁷ Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 46-71.

¹⁸⁸ See Winckler's *Sargon*, Hall xiv. 9; and KB. II. 42.

first to Uriah the Hittite, how Solomon can have had Hittite wives, how Abimelek the Hittite may have been the companion of David, and how easily the Syrians may have thought that the king of Israel had hired against them the kings of the Hittites.¹⁸⁹ We can understand, also, how Solomon may have used words of Hittite origin.¹⁹⁰ Again, knowing that David conquered the Arameans of Sobah, Maachah and Damascus, and the Moabites and Ammonites, we can see how Syrian (or Aramaic) and Moabite words like Chemosh, Ben-Hadad, and Hadad-ezer, are to be found in the records of this period.¹⁹¹ Finally, when we note that the fleets of Solomon and Hiram sailed the seas as far at least as Gibraltar on one side and perhaps as far as India and Somaliland on the other, we can see the reason why Sanscrit words for aloes, nard, elephants, apes, peacocks,¹⁹² are to be found in works assigned to this period.

D. *The Assyrio-Babylonian Period.*

This period extends from about 875 to 539 B.C., i.e., from the beginning of the reign of Omri to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, king of Persia. Its history is recorded in the books of Kings from 1 Kings xvi. 16 to the end of 2 Kings. The other works purporting to have been written in the same period are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Prov. xxv.-xxix, and probably Obadiah.

I. Of foreign words mentioned in the literature of this period, we have the Egyptian kings So, Tirhakeh, Necho and Hophra; the Assyrian kings Shalman, Tiglath-Pileser (Pul), Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; the Babylonian kings,

¹⁸⁹ 2 Kings vii. 6.

¹⁹⁰ Such as *pardes* (garden), and *pitgam* (order).

¹⁹¹ 2 Sam. viii. 2, 3, 6, xiii. 26-31.

¹⁹² 1 Kings x. 22. The words for elephant and ape may be Egyptian, and those for aloes and nard may be Arabic.

Merodach-Baladan, Nebuchadnezzar and Evil-Merodach; Ethbaal of Tyre; Benhadad, Hazael and Rezin of Damascus; Mesha of Moab. The names of all these kings appear in the proper order and in the proper place with reference to their contemporaries.¹⁹³ Moreover, the acts of each as recorded in the Scriptures are either confirmed by the extra-Biblical inscriptions of Moab, Babylon, Assyria and Egypt, or in harmony with them. And, lastly, the names with two exceptions are spelled with exactly the equivalent consonantal letters.¹⁹⁴

2. The relative importance of the dominating nations of the part of Asia in which Israel was placed is also stated with accuracy and truth. Thus, the recrudescence of Egypt under Shishak, Tirhaka and Necho corresponds with the reappearance of Egypt in the literature of Israel: the rise to power of the New-Assyrian empire is reflected in the names for Assyria and Assyrian which occur 27 times in Hosea, Micah and Isaiah, and only 19 times in the rest of the Bible: whereas Babel and Babylonians appear appropriately in the time of Merodach-Baladan¹⁹⁵ and then sink out of sight till the time of Nebuchadnezzar when they are found 53 times in Jeremiah and Ezekiel as against 38 times in all the other books of the Old Testament. Moab, Tyre and Syria come on the stage in their proper place.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, the one reference to the Amorites¹⁹⁷ and the few references to the Philistines¹⁹⁸ and Hittites¹⁹⁹ show that they had ceased to be dominant forces in the view of the Israelites, a

¹⁹³ See my *A Scientific Investigation of the O.T.*, p. 177 f.

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*, pp. 72 f.

¹⁹⁵ 2 Kings xx. 12-19.

¹⁹⁶ Moab in 2 Sam. viii. 2, 2 Kings i. 1 *et al.*; Tyre in 1 Kings ix. 12, Joel iii. 4 *et al.*; Syria, 1 Kings x. 29, xi. 25, xix. 15 *et al.*

¹⁹⁷ Amos ii. 9.

¹⁹⁸ Seventeen times in Judges, forty in Samuel, and in Kings only once.

¹⁹⁹ Only three times in the books of Kings, and not elsewhere in the literature of this period.

decadence which is confirmed by the records of this period which have come down from other nations.²⁰⁰

3. The names of the gods of the foreign nations which appear in the Hebrew literature of this period seem, also, to show the extreme accuracy of the Biblical records. Thus Ashur, Sin, Anu, Adar, Nergal, Ramman, Bel, Nebo, Mero-dach and Tammuz (some alone, some in proper names) declare to the initiated the gods of Assyria and Babylon,²⁰¹ and Amon the great god of No (Thebes) in Egypt,²⁰² while Chemosh is constantly mentioned as the god of Moab, in accordance with the Mesha inscription (l. 3).²⁰³

4. The names of foreign officials, also, are in harmony with what the extra-Biblical records would lead us to expect. Thus, Tartan,²⁰⁴ Rab-Shakeh,²⁰⁵ Rab-Saris²⁰⁶ and Rab-Mag²⁰⁷ are used in the literature of this period only; and Sagan²⁰⁸ is used in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and besides only in Ezra, Nehemiah and the Aramaic of Daniel; while

²⁰⁰ The Hittites are mentioned 203 times in the index to the third volume of Breasted's *Egypt*, covering the XIXth dynasty alone, whereas in the fourth volume the name appears only three times and always in the XXth dynasty, which ceased about 1100 B.C. From then on, the Assyrians were the dominating power in Northern Syria. See Winckler's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 200-202.

²⁰¹ See lists of proper names in Tallquist's *Namenbuch* and Streck's *Assurbanipal*.

²⁰² Nahum iii. 8, Jer. xlvi. 25.

²⁰³ 1 Kings xi. 7. Compare the occurrence of Chemosh nine times on the Moabite Stone. Lidzbarski, *Epigraphik*, p. 415.

²⁰⁴ *Tartan*, or *turtanu*, appears as an officer of the Assyrians from the reign of Shalmaneser III, 860-825 B.C., when Da-Asur, a *limmu*, is called a *turtan* to the beginning of the reign of Assurbanipal, when he summons his *turtan* to go against Egypt. K.B. III. 142, Streck II. 158. II. I cannot find the word in the records of Babylon.

²⁰⁵ *Rab-Shakeh*, "chief cupbearer," was one of the principal officials of the Assyrian court. See Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, p. 73, and Manitius in ZA. XXIV. 199.

²⁰⁶ In *Rabsaris*, the *rab* is certainly "chief" and the *saris* is certainly the Assyrian *šariš*. In the ritual tablet 57.10 the *šariš* of the king is mentioned. See Muss-Arnolt, 1120.

²⁰⁷ The identification of the *Rab-mag* with the *rab-mugu* of the Assyrians is, according to Klauber (*Ass. Beamtentum*, p. 52) very probable.

²⁰⁸ "Prince" or "ruler" in the King James version. More properly "deputy."

Pechah²⁰⁹ is used in Kings 3 times, Isaiah 1, Jeremiah 3, Ezekiel 3, Daniel (Aram.) 4, Ezra 4 in Heb., 6 in Aram., Hag. 4, Esther 3, Mal. 1, Neh. 11, and Chron. 1.

5. The foreign names of persons are, also, in harmony with what one would expect to find in this period, such as Hadadezer, Baladan, Jezebel, Tabrimmon, Adramelek, Shar-ezer, Nebuzaradan, Neboshazban, Shamgar-Nebo, Shar-sechim.²¹⁰

E. The Babylonian-Persian Period.

This period extends from 539 B.C. to about 400 B.C., and, according to the *prima facie* evidence is the time in which were written the books of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, *i.e.*, counting Chronicles as two, nine books of the Old Testament Canon. Of these books, all except Malachi have the name of at least one of the Persian kings as a sure sign of the time of their composition. Malachi, however, mentions the governor under the Babylonian term *pechah* (פְּחָה) a word never used for the rulers of Judea except after the time of the conquest of Babylon by the Persians.²¹¹ Haggai and Zechariah show their date by the mention of Darius²¹² and Chronicles, Ezra and Daniel by that of Cyrus.²¹³ Esther refers frequently to Ahasuerus (Xerxes)²¹⁴ and Ezra and Nehemiah to Artaxerxes.²¹⁵ The number of the significant foreign words in these nine books may be denoted by the following table:²¹⁶

²⁰⁹ "Governor, captain or deputy" in the King James version.

²¹⁰ *i.e.*, there is no commixture such as having a man with an Assyrian or Babylonian name from some other country. Besides, the kings of each country are in the right order of time and in the proper synchronism.

²¹¹ Thus in the Aramaic papyrus, No. 30, Bagohi is *pahath* (governor) of Judah, and Sanballat of Samaria. This papyrus is dated on the 20th of Marheshwan, the 17th year of Darius (*i.e.* 408 B.C.).

²¹² In Hag. i.1, 15, ii. 19, Zech. vii. 1.

²¹³ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, Ezra i. 1, 2. Dan. i. 21, x. 1.

²¹⁴ Est. i. 1, ii. 16, 21, iii. 12, vi. 2, viii. 1, 10, x. 3.

²¹⁵ Ezra iv. 7, vi. 14, vii. 1, 11, 21, Neh. ii. 1, v. 14.

²¹⁶ The last column enumerates the aggregate of occurrences, not the different words.

FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT 229

DAN. HAG. ZECH. MAL. EST. I CHR. 2 CHR. EZRA NEH. ALL

Proper names:

	DAN.	HAG.	ZECH.	MAL.	EST.	I CHR.	2 CHR.	EZRA	NEH.	ALL
Bab.	II	I	3	I	3	0	0	8	7	34
Pers.	3	I	I	0	36	0	I	7	3	52
Others	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	20	2	4	I	39	0	I	15	10	

Common terms:

Bab.	6	I	3	I	II	2	5	8	9	46
Pers.	2	0	0	0	6	3	2	7	I	21
Others	3	0	0	0	9	0	I	3	I	17
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	II	I	3	I	26	5	8	18	II	

Ben Sira has no words certainly Persian;²¹⁷ only II Babylonian words of which 8 are found in the Old Testament; and possibly one Greek word. We note further:

I. The entire absence of all foreign words of Greek origin (except the word Javan "Ionia" in Zech. ix. 21, x. 20) from the Hebrew literature of this period is a strong confirmation of the *prima facie* evidence that they were all written before the time of Alexander the Great.²¹⁸ By this it is not meant to imply that a Greek word might not have been found here and there in the literature preceding the time of Alexander, or even that of Cyrus, or for that matter as early as the time of Moses;²¹⁹ but certainly it must be admitted that there is no indication of a predominating Greek influence, such as is to be seen in most of the Hebrew literature which is known to have been written in Greek times.²²⁰ If the authors of all of these books had been averse to the use of all foreign terms, as the writer of Ecclesiasticus and of the Zadokite Fragments seem to have been, this absence of Greek words might be accounted for from the intention of the authors to avoid anything but pure Hebrew expressions. But that they had this intention is precluded by the fact that the

²¹⁷ *Pitgam* (word), occurs in v. 4, viii. 9, and *rāz* (secret), in viii. 18, xii. II.

²¹⁸ That is, before about the year 330 B.C.

²¹⁹ *Peleghesh* (concubine), for example, may have been borrowed from the Greeks as early as the time of Moses. The Greeks were at that time already in Cyprus. See article "Cyprus" by S. A. Cook in *Enc. Brit.*

²²⁰ For example, the tractates of the Talmud edited by Strack.

authors, especially of Daniel, Esther, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah indulge so freely in the use of Persian and Babylonian words.

2. It will be noted, that of the books written by authors who lived in Palestine, Haggai and Zechariah have but one Persian word (that of Darius) while Malachi has none; whereas, of the works whose authors lived in Babylon, Daniel has at least five, Chronicles 6, Ezra 14 and Nehemiah 4.

3. It will be noted, further, that in the works whose authors lived in Palestine, Haggai has 2 Babylonian words, Zechariah 6, and Malachi 1; whereas, in the works whose authors are connected with Babylon, Daniel has 17, Chronicles 7, Ezra 16 and Nehemiah 16.

4. Further, it will be observed that the book of Esther whose scene is laid in Susa, has 42 Persian words and 14 Babylonian.

5. The facts just mentioned, especially when taken in conjunction with the fact that no certainly Persian words (except Cyrus) are found in any other book of the Old Testament afford a sufficient amount of irrefutable evidence to drive us to the double verdict, first, that these nine books were written in this period, and secondly, that the other books were not. The evidence as to place as well as time of composition, as far as this evidence can be gathered from the diction of the Hebrew of the documents, supports the *prima facie* evidence that Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi were written in Palestine in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and that Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were composed by men who spent their lives among the exiles in, or near to, Babylon, from the 6th to the 5th century B.C. Further remarks along this line will be reserved until we have presented the linguistic evidence for the next period.

F. *The Greco-Roman and Parthian-Persian Period.*

The last period of Hebrew literature which I shall consider in this article is that extending from 300 B.C. to A.D.

700.²²¹ During most of this time, the Greeks and the Romans had control of all the countries to the west of the Euphrates, and divided with the Parthians and Sassanid Persians the overlordship of the provinces to the east of the Euphrates as far as the mountains of Iran.²²² These were the parts of the world in which all of the Aramaic Targums and all of the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) and Babylonian Talmuds were composed.²²³ We have treated above of the Aramaic Targums and shall here confine ourselves to the Talmud, using as the sources of our information the general dictionaries of Dalman, Levy and Jastrow, the special glossaries of Strack²²⁴ and concordances of the *Pirke Aboth*, of the Hebrew of Ben Sira and of the Zadokite Fragments, all prepared by my students. In the Dictionary by Dalman, which is the latest and most critical of the three dictionaries just mentioned, we find about 2250 Greek and Latin words and a few over 400 other foreign words (*i.e.*, not Hebrew or Aramaic). Considering these words in the great dictionary of Levy which gives the references to the places in the two Talmuds where these 2650 words are found, we discover that of the Greek and Latin words about 1300 are used in the Babylonian Talmud alone, 325 in the Palestinian Talmud alone, and 650 in both; or, putting it in another way, about 1950 in the Babylonian and 975 (just half as many) in the Palestinian Talmud. Of the other foreign words about 169 are claimed by Levy as of Persian origin. Of these, 8 are found in the Palestinian Talmud alone, 148 in the Babylonian, and 13 in both; or, 161 in the Babylonian as against

²²¹ Or from the beginning of the Greek era, 312 B.C. to the conquest of Western Asia by the Arabs in the 7th century A.D.

²²² See Bevan. *The Seleucids*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. V; Gibbon's *Rome* in many places.

²²³ That is, the three Jewish Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch, the Samaritan Targum, the Targum of Jonathan to the Prophets, and the various Targums to the books of the Hagiographa, as well as the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds.

²²⁴ In his editions of the *Pirke Aboth*, the *Aboda Zara*, the *Shabbath*, *Yoma* and *Pesachim*.

21 in the Palestinian.²²⁵ Of these 169 Persian words, 21 are found in the Hebrew of the Talmud and 139 in the Aramaic, and 9 in both. Of the 30 Persian words in the Hebrew parts 13 are found only in the Babylonian Talmud, 4 in the Palestinian, and 13 in both.

Of Babylonian words, there are in the Hebrew of the Talmud 34, of which 23 are found in the Bible. Of these words, 21 are in both the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud (of which 14 are in the Bible) and 13 in the Babylonian Talmud, of which 9 are in the Bible. There are none in the Jerusalem Talmud alone.

In the Hebrew of the Talmud, we gather from the special glossaries prepared by Strack that the Hebrew of the Tract *Sabbath* has 52 Greek, 8 Latin, 1 Babylonian and no Persian words; *Yoma* has 12 Greek and 2 Babylonian; *Pesahim*, 14 Greek, 5 Babylonian (3 of these found in the Bible) and 1 Persian; *Aboda Zara*, 22 Greek, 7 Latin and 1 Babylonian (found also in the Bible); the *Pirke Aboth* has 16 Greek, 1 Persian and 1 Babylonian (the latter two found also in the Bible).

To this period belong also the following documents and dialects:

1. Ecclesiasticus, or Ben Sira, has of words not in the Hebrew of the Old Testament the Greek word אַתִּי (l. 9); the Persian or Armenian word ՚ (viii. 18; found in the Aramaic of Daniel). אָרֶפְּה (xlvi. 5, 16?), מְמֻן (xxxii. 8), and בְּקָלָה (x. 29) of uncertain origin. Also, the Armenian

²²⁵ I call the attention of my readers to the fact that I have not been able to determine in all cases which of the above lists of words are found in the Hebrew portions of the Talmud as over against the Aramaic. This point is not always made clear in the dictionaries, and I have not yet had the time to look them all up in the original documents. Further, it ought to be said, that the smaller number of foreign words assigned to the Palestinian Talmud is due in part to the fact that this western Talmud is itself much shorter than the eastern. It is to be hoped that some Jewish scholar will clear this up.

word *pitgām* found in the Old Testament in both Hebrew and Aramaic.²²⁶

2. The Zadokite Fragments have one word פָּתַח possibly of Greek origin; one פָּחָת (governor), from the Assyrian (used often in the Old Testament); and one מְמֻן (mammon), used also in Ben Sira and in the Greek of the New Testament.²²⁷

3. The fragments of the Syro-Palestinian dialect contained in Schwally's dictionary have 185 Greek words and no Persian (except possibly two found also in the Bible).²²⁸

4. The Aramaic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch has 20 Greek words and no Persian.²²⁹

5. The Mandeans dictionary has 27 Greek words and 50 Persian.²³⁰

Remarks

1. It has been seen above that the only parts of the Bible that have a considerable number of Arabic words are the lists of names of persons and places in the Hexateuch and in Job, just as we would have expected when we consider the relation of these parts to Arabia. In like manner we find in the Talmud a large number of words borrowed from the Arabic. That there are comparatively few of these in the Palestinian as compared with the Babylonian Talmud is to be accounted for by the fact that the authors of the Palestinian lived at some distance from direct Arab influence. The Nabatean power which reached from Damascus to Elath was broken by Hadrian in A.D. 105,²³¹ and the seat of Hebrew learning in Palestine was in the extreme north of the country

²²⁶ This selection is made from the concordance to Ecclesiasticus which is in my possession.

²²⁷ This statement is made on the ground of the concordance which I have prepared.

²²⁸ The two words are *rāz* (arsenic) and *nard*, both of uncertain origin.

²²⁹ This statement is derived from a concordance of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch prepared by students under my direction.

²³⁰ This statement is based upon a study of the words in Norberg.

²³¹ The oldest Nabatean inscription is dated 40 B.C., and the latest A.D. 95 (See Lidbarski, *Epigraphik*, p. 121).

at a distance from Petra on the south and the desert on the east.²³² On the contrary, the Babylonian Talmud was composed in a part of Mesopotamia (using the word in the broad sense) which from the end of the third century A.D. to the seventh century was largely under the dominion of the Arabs of Hira,²³³ and in daily intercourse with them. This fact will account for the large number of words which the writers of the Talmud borrowed from the Arabic.²³⁴

2. In the Palestinian Talmud there are no Babylonian words, not occurring either in the Bible, or in the Babylonian recensions of the Talmud. Of the five of the latter kind, one is derived from a word borrowed from the Babylonian,²³⁵ one is a part of a Babylonian word found in Nahum and Jeremiah,²³⁶ one is the word for document occurring frequently in the Aramaic indorsements of the fifth century B.C.;²³⁷ one is a word for the metal "lead";²³⁸ and the last is

²³² The principal seats of the rabbis in Palestine were Caesarea, Sephoris, Tiberias and Usha.

²³³ Nehardea, Sura and Pumbeditka were all near to the Arabs of Hira.

²³⁴ The matter of the Arabic words in the Talmud needs further investigation. The dictionaries are not satisfactory. It is hard to prove just how many words are derived from the Arabic by the Hebrew or Aramaic, seeing that the resemblances in sound, form and meaning may be due to the fact that many words go back to the primitive Semitic from which they were all descended. While doctors may differ as to the total amount of the words borrowed from the Arabic by the writers of the Talmuds, there will be, I think, no material difference in the relative proportion of the numbers borrowed by the writers of the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions.

²³⁵ To wit, *Eluli* from the name of the month Elul.

²³⁶ *Duf* is part of *tuf sar* ("tablet-writer," Na. iii. 17, Jer. li. 27). In the cuneiform the first part is written *dup*, *tup* or *tup*. See Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter, &c.*, p. 19.

²³⁷ **תְּבַשֵּׁל** is the common word for "document" in the Aramaic Indorsements on the Babylonian tablets. See Clay's *Aramaic Indorsements*. It is from the same root as the biblical Hebrew *shôter*, "scribe" (Ex. 5, Num. xi. 16, Deut. 7, Jos. 5, Prov. vi. 7, Chron. 6). The verb is found 13 times in the old Babylonian contracts (See Schorr, *Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil-und Prozessrechts*, p. 553); and also in those of the new Babylonian (Tallquist in his work, *Die Sprache der Contrakte*

the common word in Hebrew for temple preceded by the Babylonian word for servant.²³⁹

3. In the Hebrew of the Tractates of the Mishna called Aboda Zara, Pesachim, Sabbath and Yoma²⁴⁰ there are 100 Greek words, 20 Latin, 7 Babylonian and 2 Persian.

4. In view of the facts given under Nos. 1, 2 and 3, we would expect to find that works written in Hebrew, or Aramaic, in or about Palestine, during this period, would contain a large number of Greek words. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the Hebrew of the Old Testament has not a single Greek word except Javan, the old name for "Grecian" or "Greek," and that Ben Sira and the Zadokite Fragments have but one each.²⁴¹ To be sure the יְרֵנָה of the Song of Songs may be derived from the Greek. This word means "chair that is carried," corresponding to the chair of the 18th century in England or to the jinrickshaw of modern China and Japan. Such chairs were used by the kings of ancient Egypt,²⁴² and it is easy to see how the Greek kinglets of Cyprus may have adopted the use of them from the Egyptians long before the time of Solomon, and how he may have taken the thing and the Greek name of the thing from the kings of Cyprus. Or, since the word for "carry" in many Indo-European languages began with *b* or *f*, it is possible that the word and the thing were derived from some one of the numerous nations who preceded the Armenians, Medes and Persians in their irruptions into the cis-Euphratean

Nabu-naids &c., gives the verb as occurring 16 times and the noun 12). This noun is the same as the one under discussion. See also Zimmern, *Akk. Fremdwörter*, pp. 19, 29.

²³⁸ "Lead," is found also in Syriac. Zimmern, *id.*, 59.

²³⁹ Viz., *arad* + *ekal*, "servant of the temple." See Zimmern, *Akk. Fremdwörter*, p. 26.

²⁴⁰ Edited by my former Berlin Professor Hermann L. Strack.

²⁴¹ That is, in the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments *Javan*; and in Ben Sira *afil*.

²⁴² See Erman's *Aegypten und Agyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, p. 100.

lands, for example, the Hittites, or Cyprians, with whom Solomon was so intimately connected.²⁴³

5. In view of the fact that the Samaritan Targum has no Persian words; that the Syro-Palestinian has no Persian words (except possibly two, found also in the Old Testament); that in the Palestinian Talmud alone there are, according to Levy, Jastrow and Dalman, only eighteen words possibly of Persian origin,²⁴⁴ of which seven are found in the Bible,²⁴⁵ two are probably from the Greek,²⁴⁶ one is a proper name of a person²⁴⁷ and one of a place,²⁴⁸ four are names of Persian feasts,²⁴⁹ two are probably Arabic,²⁵⁰ and the other one is the name of a bunch of vegetables;²⁵¹ and that Ben Sira and the Zadokite Fragments have no Persian words not found in the Old Testament; it is difficult to see how the books of Daniel, Esther, and any part of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah can have been written in the Greco-Roman period, or that they ever can have been written in Palestine. At least, the evidence of the foreign words in these books is all in favor of their dating from the Persian period and from the Tigris-Euphrates region, and all against the Greco-Roman period and the Cis-Euphratean region.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. Looking back over the language of all the periods we see that the age and provenance of every part or document of the Old Testament containing foreign words can be de-

²⁴³ According to Hrozny and Witzel the verb "to bear, carry" in Hittite begins with *b* or *p*. Compare *fero*, Arm. *barnam*. See Hrozny, *Hethitische Keilinschriffttexte*, and Witzel, *Hethitische Keilinschriffturkunden*.

²⁴⁴ At least seven of these eighteen are of doubtful origin.

²⁴⁵ To wit, *gasbar* (treasurer), *parwar* (suburb), *ramak* (dromedary?), *mān* (vessel), *darkon* (daric), *'agoz* (nut) and *nard* (nard).

²⁴⁶ To wit, *perasa* (parasang) and *tasa*.

²⁴⁷ *Ardeban*, name of a Persian ruler.

²⁴⁸ *Ardaksam*, name of a city.

²⁴⁹ See Levy (*Chald.*), II. 389 b.

²⁵⁰ *Alkaphta* (an official), and *napt* (naptha); though this latter word may be Greek.

²⁵¹ The consonants are *pr-gr*. There is in Babylonian a *šam-paru* and a *šam-gurru*.

terminated approximately by the number and origin of these words occurring in it. Thus, we have seen that the first period, embracing the accounts of the creation and flood, to which similar accounts are known from the Babylonian monuments, and also, the biography of Abraham who came out from Ur of the Chaldees, a Babylonian city, contain a goodly number of Babylonian and Sumerian words, which are found nowhere else in the Old Testament and of which a like amount are found nowhere in the Bible except in Daniel. Only three Egyptian words (*mîn* "kind," Hagar, and Pharaoh) occur in this part of Genesis.²⁵² The word *mîn* may properly have been added by Moses when he composed the book of Genesis,²⁵³ and Pharaoh was already in Abraham's time the official title of the king of Egypt.²⁵⁴

In the part of the second period, extending from Abraham to Moses, and down to Ex. xix, the foreign words are exclusively Egyptian, except a few Arabic proper names of the descendants of Abraham who dwelt in the Arabian desert, and two Aramaic words in Gen. xxxi. 47.

The latter part of the second period,—that of the wanderings,—contains a few Egyptian words not found elsewhere, and a number of Arabic names of places. The third period embracing the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth and Samuel, contains two Arabic names of places,²⁵⁵ one Philistine (or Assyrian) word,²⁵⁶ and the name of the Mesopotamian king

²⁵² If the name Hagar be Egyptian.

²⁵³ It is used nowhere in the Old Testament outside the Pentateuch except in Ezek. xlvi. 10.

²⁵⁴ According to Breasted (*Egypt*, I, § 401), Pharaoh occurs already in an inscription of Kheti I of the IXth (or Xth) dynasty in the phrase "the officials of Pharaoh were (a prey) to fear." Budge gives it as occurring under Teja, the second king of the III^d dynasty (*ibid.*, I, § 185) and again under Pepi the third king of the VIth dynasty, and again under Sesostris I the second king of the XIIth dynasty (III, 10). It became common first in the XIXth dynasty, but was seldom used after the XXth. It is used, however, by Psamtek I of the XXVIth, and of Xerxes and Artaxerxes of the XXVIIth.

²⁵⁵ *Eshtaol* and *Eshtemoa*. See Gesenius-Brown *in loco*.

²⁵⁶ *Sarnê*, lords or kings of the Philistines. Perhaps = Assyrian *sharrani*.

Cushan-Rishathaim.²⁵⁷ The fourth period, from David to Omri, the period of the empire and commerce of Solomon, borrowed words from the subject Hittites and Arameans and from the East Indies or Egypt—the words for apes, ivory and peacocks, the name of an Egyptian princess and of Shishak the king of Egypt, and one Assyrian word for governor.²⁵⁸ The fifth period, extending from Omri (about 850 b.c.) to about 550 b.c., during which time the Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians (or Chaldeans) dominated the region from Iran to the Mediterranean, has a large number of Assyrio-Babylonian common terms and proper names, but scarcely any other foreign names, except those of four kings of Egypt and various geographical terms and especially (in Isaiah xliv. 28, xlv. 1) the proper name Cyrus.²⁵⁹

2. It will be noted that the poetical books of Psalms, Proverbs and Lamentations and, as a general thing, even the individual poems such as Gen. xlix, Ex. xv, Balaam's Oracles, Deut. xxxii, xxxiii,²⁶⁰ Judges v, 2 Samuel xxi, Hab. iii and others, have in them no foreign words to determine their time and provenance. This almost complete absence of foreign words is a characteristic of lyric poetry in general, as may be seen by examining a church hymn book, or a volume of Burns' songs. Proverbs, also, being used by the common people, smack of the native soil. The Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, also, has very few foreign words. It contains only one Greek word and two or three other foreign words of uncertain origin, which do not occur in the writings of the Old Testament. The large number of Arabic words in the book of Job is to be accounted for from the fact that the scene of the account is laid in the land of the Arabs.

²⁵⁷ Joshua iii. 8.

²⁵⁸ The *pahoth* of 1 Kings x. 15 may have been inserted by the composer of the books of Kings. Or, the name may have been used by Solomon himself, since he reigned a hundred years, or so, after the time of the great Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I, who ruled over all the nations as far as the Mediterranean.

²⁵⁹ See *Excursus*, pp. 246 f.

²⁶⁰ The *dath* of Deut. xxviii. 2 probably comes from *dun*, "to judge."

3. It is noteworthy that foreign words are almost entirely absent from the strictly legal works which are to be found in the ancient Hebrew literature outside the Talmud. Thus, the Zadokite Fragments seem to have not one foreign word not occurring in the Old Testament. In the laws of the Pentateuch, also, as distinguished from the narrative portions, there are only eight foreign words, five Egyptian and three Babylonian. Five of these are names of measures. One is the Egyptian *min* "kind" (in D and P) and another the Egyptian word for "shoddy" (in D and H), and another is the Babylonian word *luah* (tablet).

In the Code of Hammurabi, there are many Sumerian words in the prologue and epilogue; but, in the laws themselves, there are only the Sumerian words *duppu* "tablet," and *mo-gal* "greatly" (xxiii. 71).²⁶¹ In the Assyrian laws, also, the language is pure Assyrian.²⁶² It is evident that in those old times the laws were meant to be understood and observed.

4. How do the results of this investigation affect the criticism of the Pentateuch? (1) They confirm the *prima facie* evidence that the first part of Genesis as far as and including the history of Abraham was written under Babylonian influences; that the latter part of Genesis and most of the remaining four books, except the wanderings in the Wilderness, were composed under Egyptian influences; and that the wanderings actually took place through a country already inhabited and its stations named by Arabs. (2) They show in the legal parts no such influence of Aramaic and Babylonian as we would have expected had the laws been derived largely from the Babylonians in the time of the Exile. The claim made by Giesebrecht²⁶³ that there are many Aramaisms in P was sufficiently well answered by Dr. Driver.²⁶⁴ That the language of the laws shows no marks of Babylonian deriva-

²⁶¹ See Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, Glossary, *in loco*.

²⁶² See Scheil, *Recueil de Lois Assyriens*, and Jastrow in *Journ. of Amer. Orient. Society*, XLI, 1-60.

²⁶³ "Zur Hexateuchkritik," in ZATW, I, 177-275.

²⁶⁴ See Driver's discussion (*Introduction*, pp. 155-157).

tion appears from the comparison of the Hebrew and Babylonian vocabularies.²⁶⁵ And lastly, the absence of any Persian or Greek word argues against the composition of any part of the Pentateuch after the time of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Besides, how would a Jew living in Babylonia get all of those Arabic words that are found in the genealogies and the geographical terms of P?

5. Viewing the headings of the Psalms in the light of the antique and unique language found in them and of the entire absence of Persian, Greek and other foreign terms, one is compelled to admit that there is in them every evidence of verisimilitude and no evidence that would lead us to suppose that they were a late insertion or addition, to the original text of the Psalter.²⁶⁶

6. Judging by the number of times and by the books and dialects of Hebrew and Aramaic in which Babylonian and Persian words occur, it will be seen that the literature of the Israelites may be divided into two great sections according as it was composed by authors who passed their lives inside or outside of Palestine and its environs. Thus, the authors of Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were probably all of them residents of Babylon or its vicinity (?) and these books are the only ones which have many Persian words. The author of Job, also, either was, or affected to have been, a denizen of the Arabian desert; and his book is the only one which makes a large use of Arabic borrowed terms. So, also, the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch and the Syro-Palestinian dialect have no Persian words not found in the Bible. The Targum of Onkelos and the Palestinian Talmud have only three, or four, Persian words not found in the Bible. The book of Ben Sira (*Ecclesiasticus*) and the Zadokite Fragments have not a single Persian word, nor one claimed as such, except what are

²⁶⁵ See my article in *Pres. and Ref. Review* for 1902 on "Babylon and the Bible."

²⁶⁶ See my article on the "Headings of the Psalms" in this REVIEW for 1927.

found in the Old Testament. The Nabatean inscriptions, all of them written near Palestine, have not one Persian word, and the Palmyrene have but one, and that an official title.

Remember, of the Hebrew Biblical writers living in Palestine, Isaiah has the one word Cyrus, and Haggai and Zechariah have each the one word Darius. These two words are the only ones certainly of Persian origin to be found in the works of all the Jews who certainly lived and wrote in Palestine. On the other hand, of the Hebrew and Aramaic literature which according to the *prima facie* evidence, was composed east of the Euphrates: (a) The Syriac Lexicon of Brockelmann has 52 Persian words beginning with Aleph alone; (b) The Mandeon Lexicon to the Nazarean Codex alone has 50 Persian words; (c) The Babylonian Talmud has about 50; (d) Daniel has from 15 to 20 certainly or allegedly Persian; (e) Esther has about 50; (f) Chronicles has 5; (g) Ezra has 14; (h) And Nehemiah, possibly, 6 or more.

7. Again, no work claiming to be or alleged to have been written before the time of Cyrus, has in it a single Persian word, except the word Cyrus in Is. xliv. 28, xlv. 1. No one of the works, such as Joel, Jonah, Job, the so-called Maccabean Psalms, the headings of the Psalms, the Priest Codex, *et al.*, which many critics put after 539 B.C., has a single assuredly Persian word,—not even Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, as we have seen above.

Consequently, as far as the evidence of foreign words in the O.T. languages goes, the *prima facie* evidence of the time and place of the composition of the books of the Old Testament cannot be successfully assailed. And so, at last and at length, I have come to the end of my philological investigations into the language of the Old Testament Scriptures. I call them *scientific*, because they are along the lines of *what is known*. Anyone who knows enough of the languages referred to can readily follow me in the proper dictionaries and correct me when I am wrong. Perhaps, as *humanum est errare*, I have here and there made a mistake

or enlarged my conclusions above what the premises allow; but, by and large, I am thoroughly persuaded that my conclusions will stand. And, if they do, what does it show? It shows that the arguments of the assailants of the Old Testament Scriptures insofar as they have been based upon philological premises have been in general fallacious. Just as a hundred years ago, the ablest scholars used to explain the names of the Assyrian kings as if they had been Persian,²⁶⁷ and as later they explained the Babylonian as if they had been Aramaic,²⁶⁸ so they have been and are yet explaining the Indo-European terms, as if they were almost all of Persian origin. All of these explanations have been manipulated by them, so as to injure the historical character of the documents of the Old Testament. In my article on "Aramaisms in the Old Testament,"²⁶⁹ I investigated thoroughly more than 360 different words alleged by one or more critics to have been embedded in the Hebrew portions of the Old Testament, and also alleged by the same critics to show that the documents containing them are either late or have been interpolated and corrupted from their original form. I endeavoured to show by evidence from reliable sources outside the Scripture, first, that since the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament had a beginning, there never was a time when Moses and his successors may not have used an Aramaic word; and secondly, that of the 360 words alleged to be Aramaisms only about 50 have any apparent ground for being considered as such. Seventy-six of them do not even occur in any Aramaic dialect. Ninety-six more of them are found in Babylonian and

²⁶⁷ Thus Gesenius' *Thesaurus* derives Esarhaddon from the Persian *sar dhānā*, "wise prince," or from another combination of two Persian words meaning "king of fire." The *Thesaurus* was published in 1840. Lorsbach derived Nebuchadnezzar from *Nabu* + *hudhām* + *sar*, i.e., "Nebu is chief of the gods." Von Bohlen got it from another combination of Persian words meaning "Nebo is the god of fire," *id.*, 840.

²⁶⁸ Thus Driver (in his *Introd.*) still treats *batal*, "to cease," *hedwah*, "joy," and many other words as if they were derived from the Aramaic, as does Wellhausen *rada*, "to rule" and *kabash*, "to subdue" (*History of Israel*, p. 389), although all of these words are common in Babylonian.

²⁶⁹ In this REVIEW for July 1925.

one hundred and fifty-six in Arabic, as well as in Hebrew. Only eighty-one of the 360 are found in Hebrew and in one or more Aramaic dialects alone. And, with regard to these last, it is more reasonable to suppose that, in most cases at least, the Aramaic documents borrowed from the Hebrew rather than that the Hebrew borrowed from the Aramaic; inasmuch as the most of the Aramaic documents are from 300 to 1000 years later than the Hebrew.

In a second article on the "Evidence in Hebrew Diction for the Dates of Documents,"²⁷⁰ I investigated especially the Hebrew words cited by the critics to show that certain parts of the Old Testament must have been written *subsequent to Nehemiah*. The argument of the critics is this: if a word occurs only once or a few times in the Old Testament and that in one or more books written late; and if this word occurs also in the Hebrew of the Talmud, this proves that the Biblical document is later than Nehemiah. To answer this, I gathered up *all* the words of the Old Testament that occur in it anywhere from one to five times, and that occur also in the New Hebrew; and I found that there are 216 of them in the literature admitted by such critics as Dr. Driver to have been written before 400 B.C., and only 44 in what, according to the same authority, was written after 400. This kind of word is found in all periods of the Hebrew literature and in almost every document; so that it is evident that they should not be used as an indication of post-Nehemiah date, nor, in fact, of any date at all, of an Old Testament document. Besides, it was natural to expect that the later Jews, who wrote the Talmud, would draw largely on the vocabulary of the Bible which they translated and expounded. In fact, we find that the Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums uses about 550 words which are not found in Syriac, or other Aramaic, but evidently are borrowed from the Hebrew of the Old Testament in which they occur. These words prove Hebraisms in Aramaic documents, not Aramaisms in Hebrew.

I have shown, I hope beyond successful contradiction, that

²⁷⁰ In this REVIEW for July 1927.

the words in the Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the Jews which were alien from the writers of this literature and borrowed by the authors of it from peoples outside the Israelitish fold, bear witness to the historical character of the documents embraced in the O.T. canon. This testimony is objective. It is open to the consideration of all who can read the Old Testament in the original tongues. I would remind my readers that I have generally agreed with the judgment passed on these borrowed words by Brown, Driver and Briggs in their great Hebrew Dictionary, and by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, and in the no less great New Hebrew and Aramaic dictionaries of Levy, Jastrow and Dalman. I have used Brockelmann for Syriac, Dillmann for Ethiopic, Lidzbarski, Cooke and Sachau for the Aramaic inscriptions, Norberg for Mandean, Schulthess and Schwally for Syro-Palestinian, Hommel for Sabean, Lane and Wortabet for Arabic, my own concordances for Samaritan, Ecclesiasticus and the Zadokite Fragments, Muss-Arnolt and Delitzsch for Assyrio-Babylonian, Tolman, Weissbach and Justi, for Old Persian and Zend, Richardson and Vullers for New Persian, West for Pahlavi, Burnouf for Sanscrit, Bedrossian for Armenian, Hrozny and Wetzel for Hittite, and Budge, Erman, Petrie and Breasted for Egyptian; besides, the special discussions and vocabularies especially of Haug, Tisdale, Lagarde, Scheftelowitz, Muss-Arnolt, and Levy (on Semitic words in Greek), Gardiner, Cook, Schrader, Winckler, Sayce, King, Strack, Franke, Franz Delitzsch and many others. Experts will observe that I have differed from previous scholars mostly on two points. I have referred more words than they did to Babylonian rather than Persian origin, and I have preferred judging from the facts as I saw them, to assign some words to an Armenian (or possibly Hittite or Mitannean) original, rather than to a Persian. But *my main object has been to show that these foreign terms came into the Hebrew literature at the time when we would have expected them to come, provided that the original historical documents of the Old Testament from Abraham to Ezra*

were contemporaneous with the events recorded. The anti-biblical critics have summoned to their aid legions of winged words marshalled from all quarters of the compass, but I have arrayed against them not merely the Hebrews themselves but hosts of auxiliaries gathered from the Egyptians and Ethiopians, from Arabia and Palestine and Syria, from Babylon and Nineveh, from Persia and Armenia, from India and Greece and Rome. I have called the dead of all the ages of civilized society, who embalmed their ideas and their words in the literature which they wrote, to rise up to life again to confound the unwarranted assaults made by unbelievers upon the Word of God. I have summoned these dead men who were alive when the events recorded in the history of Israel were enacted to testify in their own words as recorded in the literature which they wrote and as made known to us in the dictionaries which have been derived from this literature. These words in these dictionaries present an ever-living and objective witness to the thoughts and environment of those who used them. Opinions and conjectures of all of us who are living can never determine the real historical values of the records of the Old Testament, nor the outside forces which moved their authors to write as they did; but the written testimony of the men who were living in the ages when the history of Israel was enacted and presumably written down, is testimony to which all of us must submit. That is the testimony which I have presented in this article. It is testimony which runs like a thread of gold through all the warp and woof of Old Testament history. It can be seen and recognized everywhere by every competent scholar, and it serves to bind the whole fabric together. It gives the relative sequence of events and brings out the beautiful and orderly design of the whole. And it can never be taken away from the fabric without destroying the plan of the whole. As long as the Hebrew Bible exists, this thread will be in it as a witness that the records of the Old Testament from the first of Genesis to the last chapter of Nehemiah come from original sources, extending all along the line from Abraham

to Ezra. To explain the meaning of these records, such as the first chapter of Genesis, I leave to others, such as Guyot, Dana, Dawson and Price. I maintain simply, that the records, so far as anybody *knows*, are correct and that, when rightly interpreted, they are an "infallible rule of faith and life."

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EXCURSUS ON THE NAME "CYRUS"

The employment by Isaiah of the name of Cyrus is the only instance I have found which seems to militate against the general proposition that the foreign words in a Hebrew document show the approximate date of the document. This conclusion with reference to Cyrus, may, however, be due to our ignorance. For, unfortunately, we know neither the language nor the meaning of the word Cyrus. In the Old Persian, it is spelled *kuruš* (genitive *kurauš*), Elamite *ku-raš*, Babylonian, *ku-ra-aš*, *ku-raš*, *kur-raš*, *ku-ra-šu*, *et.al.* Greek *kúpos*, New Persian *kuras*, Armenian *kiuros*, Heb. and Aramaic *kores*. It may probably be connected with the Old Persian *kara* (people or army), and *ras* (head or chief). It would, then, mean "chief of the army," like the German *Heerfürst*, or Napoleon's *Tête de l'armée*. Compare the New Persian *kār-dān* (vizier), and *kar-zār* (battle), and *kur-kān* as a cognomen of Timur. Its use to denote the king or generalissimo of the Persians, or Anzanites, would then be similar to the titles Pharaoh, Ptolemy, Augustus, Czar and Great Mogul.

Again, it is worthy of note that Darius Hystaspis says that he was the ninth king of his family to occupy the throne of Persia; but including himself he mentions only six of the nine by name. It is usual to get the number nine by counting Cyrus the Great, his father Cambyses, and his grandfather Cyrus as making up the other three. But why omit Cambyses the son of Cyrus the Great, who was certainly a legitimate king and, also, the conquerer of Egypt? In fact, Darius in his Behistun inscription does mention Cambyses the son of Cyrus the Great, but not the father. Nor does he anywhere mention Cyrus the grandfather of Cyrus the Great. Cyrus the Great mentions his predecessors as Cambyses his father, Cyrus his grandfather, and Teispes his great-grandfather, all as kings of the city of Anšan (Cylinder, l. 21, cf. K.B. p. 125). Darius mentions his predecessors as Hystaspis his father, Arsames his grandfather, Ariaramnes his great-grandfather, and then Teispes (Behist. Ins., § 2. See Weissbach, *Keilinsch. d. Achaem.* p. 9), thus connecting up with the line of Cyrus, whose great-grandfather was Teispes the Achaemenid. Teispes was the first king of the city of Anshan mentioned in the Cylinder Inscription, and probably became king of that city on the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., or possibly earlier, about 640 B.C., when Ashurbanipal conquered Elam (cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II. cccxlv. Elam reappears under Cyrus). Achaemenes was either the own father, or the ancestor, of both Cyrus and Darius. Cyrus was a popular name in the royal line of Persia, being the name not only of Cyrus the Great but of

his grandfather, of Cyrus the Younger and of Artaxerxes I before he became king of Persia (so Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 184). It is possible that this was the name, or title, of one or more of the eight predecessors of Darius Hystaspis of whom he names only five in the Behistun inscription. In this case, a Cyrus may have been at the head of a Persian contingent of the Indo-European host that came into conflict with the Assyrians under Sargon, about 714 B.C. (cf. Winckler, *Hist. of Bab. & Asyrr.*, pp. 248-253). In Esarhaddon's time (680-666 B.C.) an army under a certain Teušpā was defeated by the Assyrians (cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I, p. ccclxxii; also K.B. II, p. 128). May this Teušpā have been the same as the Teispīš the first mentioned king of Anshan? If so, his father according to Xerxes in Herodotus, was a Cyrus the son of Cambyses the son of Achaemenes. The date of this Cyrus would be about 700 B.C. If he were one of the nine meant by Darius, and we add him and his father Cambyses after Achaemenes and before Teispes, according to the list given by Xerxes in Herodotus, we harmonize the sources and we get a Cyrus in either case at about 700 B.C. In Herodotus vii. 11, Xerxes is said to have spoken as follows: "I should not be sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspis, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Achaemenes, if I did not avenge myself on the Athenians." In the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus he says: "I am Cyrus . . . son of Cambyses . . . grandson of Cyrus . . . great-grandson of Teispes." In the Behistun Inscription Darius says: "My father is Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspis Arsames, the father of Arsames Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes Teispes, the father of Teispes Achaemenes. . . . Eight of my race (or family) were aforetime kings. I am the ninth." Combining the other genealogies and omitting Hystaspis who was certainly an underling of Cyrus and Darius (See Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* and *Beh. Ins.* §§ 35, 36. Hystaspis was commander of one of the armies of Darius) we get the nine kings as follows: Darius, Cambyses, Cyrus the Great, Cambyses (or Arsames), Cyrus (or Ariaramnes), Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Achaemenes.

Finally, *Kuru* occurs in the Mahābhārata as the ancestor of Pandu and of Dhritarāshtra, the heroes of that poem (See Burnouf, p. 173a.). About 734 B.C. many of the Hebrews were transported to the cities of the Medes. Through these transported Hebrews, Isaiah may have learned about this traditional hero of the Indo-Europeans, whose name was *Kuru*, or *Cyrus*; and so he could understand when the Lord says concerning a certain *Cyrus*: He will be my shepherd, my anointed, and he will perform all my pleasure.

Of course, it will be understood by my readers that I am not denying the possibility that God may have revealed the very name *Cyrus* to Isaiah a hundred years, or more, before there was a man, or a king, of that name. I am only contending that it is not necessary to maintain this, inasmuch as Isaiah probably knew of some leader of the name or title *Cyrus*, who already in his time was at the head of that wave of Indo-European hosts which was just beginning to break in an overwhelming flood over the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, not to be stopped till it beat against the sands of the Sahara and the shores of Salamis.

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