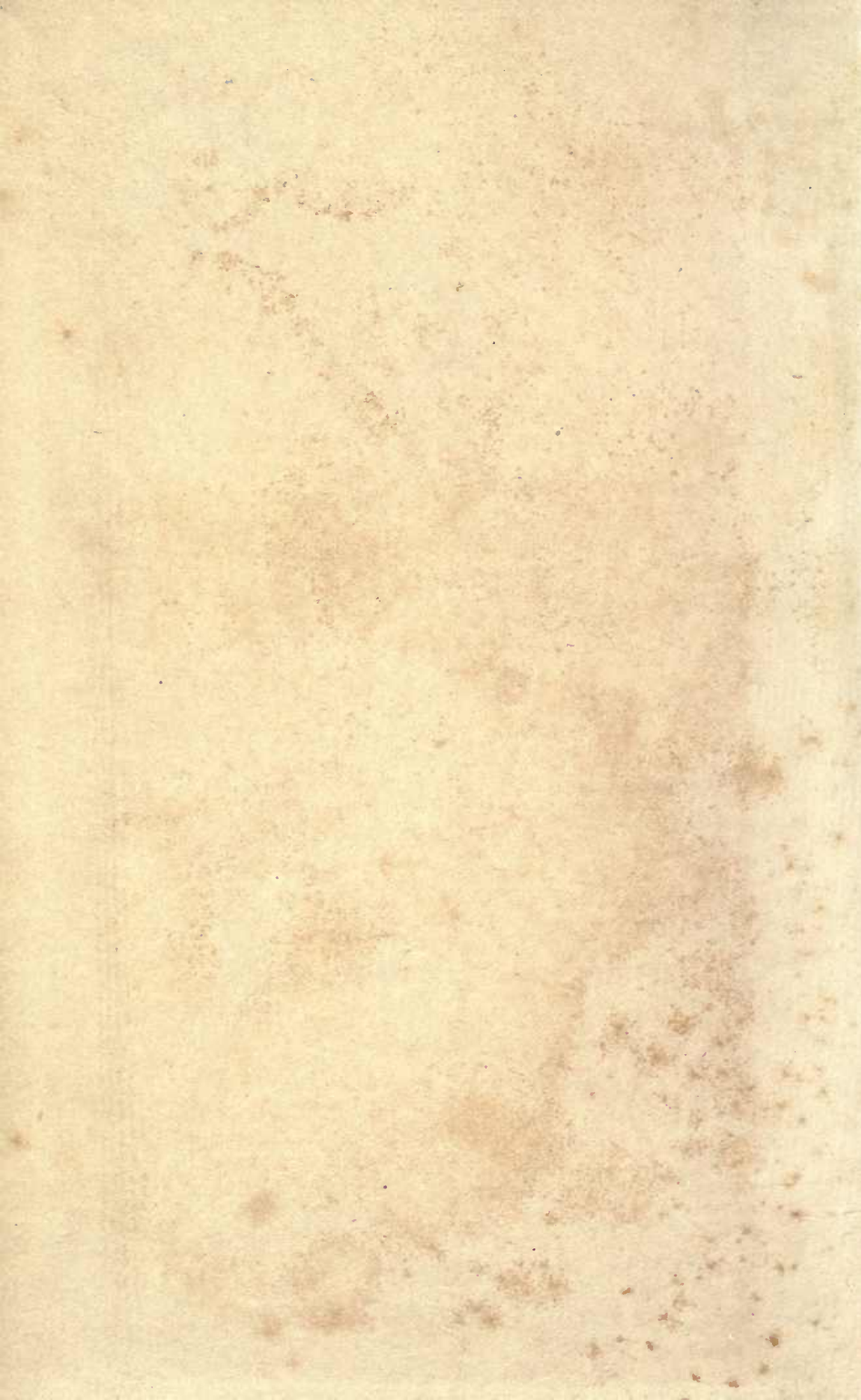


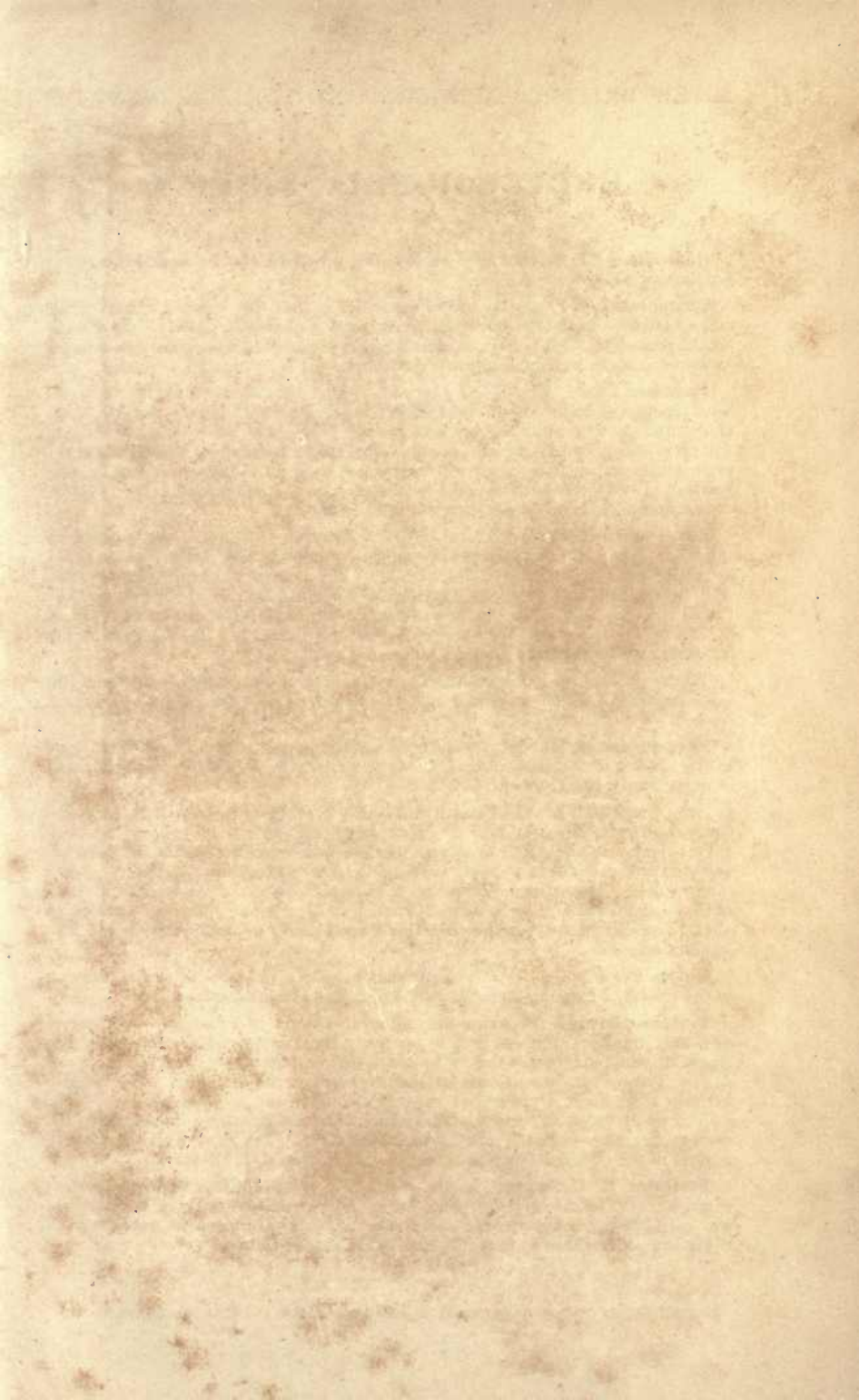
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OR

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE
TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT WRITINGS

BY

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CONTENTS

PROLOGUE	PAGE I
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PART I

ISAIAH	7
JEREMIAH	51

PART II

EZEKIEL AND MINOR PROPHETS	87
EZEKIEL	89
HOSEA	119
JOEL	129
AMOS	133
OBADIAH	146
JONAH	150
MICAH	153
NAHUM	164
HABAKKUK	170
ZEPHANIAH	174
HAGGAI	179
ZECHARIAH	181
MALACHI	194

PART III

FIRST AND SECOND SAMUEL	199
FIRST SAMUEL	201
SECOND SAMUEL	248

PART IV

	PAGE
FIRST KINGS	313
SECOND KINGS	353

PART V

JOSHUA	399
JUDGES	436

CRITICA BIBLICA

PROLOGUE

A GREAT period of Biblical criticism has come to a close. There are now few books published by Old Testament scholars as boldly progressive as Kuenen's *Onderzoek*, Wellhausen's *Der Text Samuelis* and *Prolegomena*, Klostermann's *Samuel und Könige*; and when, by a happy accident, such an able pioneering work as Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* is given us, it is to the author's exaggeration of the points in which he appears to differ from Wellhausen that he owes some part of his success. Of the three critics first mentioned, two still remain to us. Klostermann's work, however, has not yet apparently made its public; and Wellhausen, of whom it was once said, in Schiller's words, 'Wär' er besonnen, wär' er nicht der Tell,' now feels himself 'too old' to trouble himself about the 'very latest criticism,' and can hardly be said to have put his full strength into his most recent work on the Old Testament. It is no doubt Wellhausen himself who has taught us to apply the highest standard to his books, and he may yet become more manifestly our leader. But so much at least may, without fear of contradiction, be affirmed, that the Old Testament teaching which is now in the ascendant is distinctively cautious, and that scholars generally confine themselves to work in narrow grooves, and use old even if improved methods. The contributions which these teachers and their disciples make to Old Testament study are therefore on the whole, however learned and sensible, not distinguished by originality;

and when exceptions occur, it must be confessed that the basis of the new results is not always as sound as could be wished. It is, however, on the few scholars who are not afraid to be original that the hope of any considerable progress in our study depends. These investigators have at any rate an eye for problems, and are not of those who call a result 'wild' because they themselves only know what they have been taught, and who confine the application of the term 'scientific' (*wissenschaftlich*) to their own inherited processes and conclusions.

The *Encyclopædia Biblica*, of which I am one of the editors, is an honest attempt at a brave forward movement in the critical study of the Bible. It appeared to be time for scholars to throw off the fatigue not unnatural at the close of a great period, and to encourage one another to co-operate in the cause of progress. The plan of the work referred to was partly the late Prof. Robertson Smith's, partly my own (submitted to him very near the close of his last illness). Co-operation between scholars of different schools was indeed indispensable, and it may be hoped was morally as well as intellectually profitable to all parties; but, speaking especially for myself, it soon became more and more evident that at least one half of the book ought, if possible, to consist of what is commonly called advanced criticism. The literary, political, and religious history, the archæology, geography, and natural history of the Old Testament presented numerous doubtful points, and a searching examination of the basis of received views seemed imperatively called for. Holding that the 'truest truth' was not too good for the best students, and that merely to put forward clearly and learnedly the average opinions of scholars would have been to ensure the propagation of countless errors, I carried on (with all the help that I could get) the work of revising the basis of the existing Old Testament science (*Wissenschaft*). I seemed to feel that with an expanded point of view, and with new as well as old methods at my command, small indeed would be my merit if I could not discover many fresh facts.

Both literary and historical criticism claimed my attention, and it appears no presumption to hope that much reconstructive work may be within my reach. Even though the

reform of grammars and lexicons (begun by Stade, Siegfried, and Kautzsch) must be left for a company of scholars in another generation, yet the growth of the Israelitish literature and the external and internal history of Israel, besides textual criticism and exegesis, and some archæology and geography, may, if health continues, yet occupy my pen. My first result is, I confess, a disappointing one. The study which I have given to textual phenomena leads me to the conclusion that very much of the learning expended on the explanation of the tradition is, so far as that purpose is concerned, thrown away. Grammars and dictionaries abound in words and forms which, though handed down to us by ingenious and skilful editors, have ultimately arisen from errors of the scribes. 'Ingenious and skilful,' not 'wild and rash,' I call these editors, for I judge them to have been able and gifted men, even if narrow in their range, and arbitrary in their emendations and alterations. But to make these words and forms the subject of philological theories, and, after this, to comment upon the texts which contain them, and, last of all, to construct a history of Israel on the basis of the exegetical results of the commentaries, seems to me, I will not be so discourteous as to say 'wild and rash,' but at least an error which cannot but have unfortunate consequences.

There is happily no occasion to speak sharply of individual scholars. The fault, if fault it be, is common to nearly all the current books on the Old Testament, including my own. Of course, those books are the fullest of critical improbabilities which enjoy the highest reputation for 'caution and moderation,' especially those which are mainly devoted to registering the average opinions of the scholars of yesterday and to-day. But even those who do not take the highest rank in the scale of critical orthodoxy, and who may relatively be called keen critics, are liable to the same errors of judgment when they cease to suspect the traditional text. And to this I must add that there is among some not unprogressive scholars a tendency to hero-worship, and to attach themselves to this or that master (say, Lagarde), who attained eminence in the last quarter of a century. This means that such scholars do not probe the wounds of

the text half deeply enough, and lack that wide acquaintance with the textual phenomena, with the habits of the scribes and editors, and with recurring types of corruption which has to be superadded to the rules applied by earlier scholars. There are some critical conjectures of Lagarde and his contemporaries which would, by not a few scholars, be regarded as virtually certain. Far be it from me to deny that some of these are really so, but I must express the deliberately formed opinion that the number of them is very much smaller than is commonly supposed. That a particular conjecture has met with a comparatively wide acceptance is not a strong argument in its favour. If you train up a sufficient number of scholars in the mechanical application of certain rules, you will, of course, obtain a concurrence of opinions in favour of those conjectures which follow most readily from the mechanical process referred to. But while some of the conjectures which are most generally favoured are doubtless correct, there are others, including some of those counted most plausible, which, if regarded from a wider point of view, fail to satisfy. It is the point of view among scholars which needs changing, needs at any rate a very considerable expansion, so as to admit new methods, leading to correspondingly different results.

The only way to enable the student to comprehend what is to some extent a new style of criticism is to put before him a sufficient amount of continuous work, in which such criticism is exemplified. It is proposed to begin with the prophets. Then the reader will see why the present writer has abandoned the theory of prophecies of a Scythian invasion, and why he has come to the conclusion that the prophets often denounce the men of Israel or of Judah for falling away to Jerahmeelite (N. Arabian) religion. That *Miṣrim* (on which land and people see Winckler in Schrader's *Keilinschriften*, i., ed. 3), Jerahmeel and Asshur (Ashḥur) recur so frequently in the later prophetic writings will not surprise us when we have more fully grasped the continuity of the literary tradition, and the fondness of the later Hebrew writers for archaism. Very naturally, there is not so much in the prophets, thus critically interpreted, to shock or (maybe) attract as in the narrative books. But it is just

for this reason that the prophets have been selected. Before very long the Book of Psalms will be commented upon in print anew by the present writer on the basis of a similarly revised text, and it will be convenient to thoughtful readers to have also by them a summary of the results of a long period of critical study of the prophets. Those who will may prepare themselves for the reading of both works by a study of articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and, in due time, of a condensed sketch of the history of Israel now ready for press in a comprehensive historical work. He will there see, *inter alia*, how much light the new Jerahmeel-Muşri theory can throw on Hebrew names. New problems in onomatology are opened and partly solved by its help. It is possible, indeed, that some of the geographical passages in the Old Testament, which apparently relate to N. Israel, were derived by the ancient compilers (P and the Chronicler) from documents referring to the Negeb. Still, even if this be true (the theory explains many difficulties), enough evidence from names both of places and of persons still remains to suggest that there was a large Jerahmeelite, *i.e.* N. Arabian, element in the pre-Israelitish population of N. as well as S. Canaan. It will also be seen that except on the theory that there were N. Arabian border-lands called Mişrim and Cush (or Cusham) very many passages of the Old Testament hardly admit of a consistent historical explanation. And then it will become more probable than ever that the Exodus of Israel was from Mişrim and not from Mişraim (Egypt), and a fresh light will also be thrown on the new problems of the migration of the Hebrew tribes, to which Prof. Steuernagel in Germany and Mr. H. W. Hogg in England have given so much attention. The present writer's experience, however, of the difficulty which many persons, preoccupied by the older teaching, have felt in putting themselves at his point of view deters him from any attempt at a premature exposition either of his principles of textual criticism (in so far as they are at all distinctively his own) or of the reconstruction of history, geography, and onomatology to which his researches lead. These principles and that reconstruction require the basis which will shortly be set before the reader. They are not adapted to the

swift perusal required for examination purposes; it is indeed to a harder work and a closer personal intercourse than is expected by the ordinary student that the writer, at this stage in his researches, invites his reader. Imperfections, doubtless, abound in the following work, but it is believed confidently that even those errors and imperfections will be found to point towards the truth. And not a few positions are taken up from which it is hardly conceivable that the writer can be dislodged.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to make four observations. The first is that the early introducers of the 'higher criticism' into England and Scotland were accused, just as the present writer (who happens to be also one of that company) is now accused, of a want of caution and common sense. The second, that to judge of the results of one method by canons derived from the application of another method would be unfair. The third, that though the results of the older methods are not often referred to in this work, this is simply for the sake of putting the new points more clearly, and Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (Hebrew edition) will enable any reader to supply the deficiency. The fourth, that advanced criticism need not involve the disparagement of the work of a more gently progressive scholarship, nor on the other hand need a specially cautious scholarship hesitate to 'lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes' by the aid of more 'audacious' workers.

PART I

ISAIAH

CHAP. I.—The key to the historical problem of this prophecy (apart from the appendix) is the discovery that the 'Syro-Ephraimitish war' was really a Jerahmeelite invasion (see on chap. vii.). Ephraimites could not be called זרים (*v.* 7). —*Vv.* 7*b*-9 should run thus—

אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים אנלים אתה : ונותרה בת-ציון נסכה
בכרם נמלוכה במקשה : לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד
כמהפנת נושם היינו לעמרה דמינו :

Here there is one alteration, נושם for כסדם. It is probable that the original story of Sodom spoke not of כסדם but of נושם, which was corrupted first of all into קדם. The proper phrase for the ruin of the doomed city was therefore not מהפנת ס' but מ' נושם. The words כמהפ' זרים at the end of *v.* 7 should be כמהפ' נושם; these words stood in the margin as a correction of כסדם נמנט (*v.* 9). ושממה, which precedes, is a corruption of ירושלם, which was a marginal gloss on בת-ציון (*v.* 8). The words נעיר נצורה (*v.* 8, end) probably come from ירחמאל רצון; 'Jerahmeel' and 'Rezon' were mentioned in a marginal gloss as the 'foreigners' (זרים) who 'consumed' the land. See on vii. 1.

i. 19 *f.* The ordinary explanation of *v.* 19 is inevitable as the text stands, but it produces a poor sense, and if the reading of *v.* 20, suggested in *E. Bib.*, 'Husks,' be adopted, it will compel us to relegate *vv.* 19 *f.* to the margin as a later insertion. But now that we have the key to

chap. i., it is plain that we should correct thus, keeping the passage for the great prophet—

אִם־תֵּאבְרוּ וְשָׁמַעְתֶּם בֵּית מִצְוֹר הַיְזְקָלוֹ : וְאִם־תִּמְאֲנוּ וּמִרִיתֶם
יִרְחַמְאֵלָה תִּגְלוּ כִּי פִי יְהוָה דָּבָר :

Obedience should be rewarded by victory over Beth-miṣṣur; disobedience should be punished by exile to Jerahmeel.

i. 29-31. אֵילִים (terebinths? sacred trees?) should be יִרְחַמְאֵל; on the connection of Jerahmeel-worship with gardens or plantations of trees, see Isa. lxvi. 17, Jer. ii. 20, 23. In *v.* 31, Lagarde rightly reads הַחֲזָקָן; נֵעֵרֶת should be נֵעֵצוּן, and תִּבְנוֹר, and נֵיִצוּן, as Ruben has remarked, should be תְּנִצוּן, 'thorns.' The חֲזָקָן was probably a pillar devoted to the Jerahmeelite Baal.

CHAP. ii. 6-22 cannot be properly understood without a comprehension of the profound religious influence exercised upon Israel and Judah by the Jerahmeelites. Two passages specially call for mention.—(a) *V.* 20. 'In that day a man shall cast his silver and his gold אֵילִים to the rats (?) or moles (?) and to the bats.' But (1) why should any of these animals be mentioned? and (2) the existence of such a word as חֲפֵרָה (from חָפַר, 'to dig') cannot be proved. No one familiar with the types of textual corruption can doubt that חֲפֵר פְּרוֹת and עֲטֻלָּפִים have both arisen out of corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵלִים. Either (see *E. Bib.*, 'Mole') the Jerahmeelites are mentioned as the makers of the idols, or יִרְח' is a gloss on אֵילִים. Comparing *v.* 8 and xxxi. 7, we may pronounce in favour of the second view. We are now enabled (1) to account for the word אֵילִים, 'idols,' and (2) to confirm afresh the view that popular Israelite religion was largely of Jerahmeelite origin. In all the passages where the word אֵילִים occurs in the sense of 'idols,' the writers may be presumed to have a consciousness that the idols of the Israelites were largely images or symbols of the Jerahmeelite Baal and his consort. That very late students of the O.T. connected אֵילִים with אֵל (Sym. ἀνύπαρκτοι) is no argument at all. For a parallel to the gloss in *v.* 20 see Hab. iii. 18, לְעֵשׂוֹת, אֵילִים אֱלֹהִים, where אֱלֹהִים probably represents יִרְחַמְאֵלִים (a

gloss on אֱלִילִים). It is also highly probable that the abrupt and obscure clause וְהָאֱלִילִים כָּלִיל יַחֲלֶף has arisen out of אֱלִילִים יְרַחֲמֵם, a gloss meaning, 'now *ha-elilim* is *yerahme'elim*.' Cp. לַחֲלוֹף in xxi. 1. In short, sometimes by an error of the scribe (see *e.g.*, on Ps. xcvi. 5, xcvi. 7), sometimes by deference to popular usage, 'elil has taken the place of *yerahme'el*.

(b) V. 6. Every part of this verse is difficult. Continuing the attempt to clear it up made in *SBOT*, the following solution of the problem may be offered. Read—

כִּי נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֲרָמְנוֹת יַעֲקֹב
 כִּי מָלְאוּ יְרַחֲמָאִים
 וַיִּנְאָמוּ כַפְלֵשִׁתִּים
 וּבְהִיכְלֵי יְרַחֲמָאִל יִכְשְׁפוּ :

Line 1—א mistaken for ע, ר for ד. Line 2—מִקְדָּם, as in ix. 11, Gen. xi. 2, xiii. 11, from יְרַחֲמָאִל. 'ירח' is here used in the sense of 'soothsayers.' Line 3—עַנְנִים has had no satisfactory syntactic explanation. We need a verb; cp. Jer. xxiii. 31, and note the reading in a MS. of Kenn. יִנְאָמוּ (for יִנְחָמוּ). Line 4—וּבִילְדֵי is impossible; we might read בְּהִיכְלֵי (Ex. vii. 11), but Am. viii. 14 suggests בְּהִיכְלֵי. חֲזָרִים might conceal חֲזָרִים. But it is more likely that the most general term would be used for the Negeb where the venerated sanctuaries were. The final ל in יְרַחֲמָאִל and יִשְׁמַעְאֵל is sometimes corrupted into נ (ן). יִכְשְׁפוּ is due to Kohler.

ii. 13, 16. The 'cedars of Lebanon' need a more complete parallel than the 'oaks of Bashan.' The 'southland' is nearer to Isaiah's thoughts than the snows of the northern Lebanon. בָּשָׁן, as often, should be כָּשָׁן. The mountains of Cushan were called, as it appears, sometimes Lebanon (cp. the southern names, Libnah, Libni, Lebanah (Ezra ii. 45—the 'Nethinim' were Ethanites), sometimes Gebal or Gebalon (see 1 K. v. 32, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 3). Possibly, indeed, 'Lebanon' may sometimes have been miswritten for 'Gebalon.' 'Ships of Tarshish' is far from probable in this context. תְּרַשִּׁישׁ comes by an editorial error from אֲשֻּׁר, *i.e.* the southern Asshur; אֲנִירוֹת no doubt should be אֲרָמְנוֹת; cp. the 'palaces in Asshur,' Am. iii. 9.

משכנות, as the parallelism shows, should be **מסכנות** ורחמאל.

CHAP. iii. 24. פתיגיל. Read **חליפות**; transposition and corruption of letters (ג=ח).

CHAP. v. 16. Read **בקרוב בני ישמעאל**. The mention of the defences of the vineyard now receives a new meaning. **שמן** occasionally (*e.g.* x. 27) comes from **ישמעאל**. Cp. *SBOT*, p. 83. The reference is not to the Cimmerians (Peiser and Winckler, *E. Bib.*, col. 2195), but to the N. Arabians.—26. Read **גרי מרחוק**, and cp. on viii. 9, xiii. 5, Jer. viii. 19.

CHAP. vi. 4. Read **אמנות**, 'posts' (2 K. xviii. 16).

vi. 13. The disputes as to the interpretation of MT, and as to the originality of the closing words (which may seem intended to soften what goes before), need not be summed up again. Textual criticism throws a new light on the passage. Read—

ועוד בָּה שְׂאֲרוֹת	'And should there yet be a remnant therein,
וּשְׂבָה וְהִיָּתָה לְבָבָר	It shall again be destroyed,
כִּי כִלְיוֹן בְּנוֹרְעֵיהָ	For consumption (shall be) on its plants,
וּמִשְׁנֵלַת בְּצִמְחָהּ	'And failure of fruits on its sprouts.'

כאלה and כאלון both represent כליון. זרע קדש מצבתה is a scribe's second attempt to make sense, by transposition and manipulation of letters, of a corrupt passage.

CHAP. vii. The historical difficulties of the story of the invasion connected with the names of Rezin and Pekah are very considerable. To remove or even lighten these we must have recourse to textual criticism. Corrections, which, being paralleled elsewhere, are at any rate possible, become probable when they lead to a connected and intelligible view of the events referred to; see *E. Bib.*, 'Rezin.'—V. 1 has been taken by the redactor with a small variation from 2 K. xvi. 5. Apparently it was substituted for some fuller account, which was either indistinctly written or contained some statements which did not fit in with the redactor's historical theory. The two views may perhaps with advantage be combined, but at any rate the place improbably assigned to Pekah, Israel, Ephraim, and Shōmērōn (Samaria) in the composite narrative sanctioned by the redactor, justifies one in supposing that here, as elsewhere, the

narrative has been editorially manipulated. In Isa. vii. 2-25 and viii. the names Pekah and Israel do not occur. Shōmērōn, it is true, does occur twice (vii. 9, viii. 4), but this appears to be due to the redactor. Ephraim occurs four times (*vs.* 2, 5, 8, 9), but one of the four passages *must* be a later insertion, and in the other passages אפרים may be corrupt (see on *vs.* 5, 8, 9). We need not linger on *v.* 1, but have to mention that 2 K. xvi. 5 (from which *v.* 1 is in the main taken) has probably also been manipulated, and that 'Israel' may have been accidentally miswritten for 'Ishmael,' and 'Pekah' for some other name such as Pir'ām (= Ephraim?). See Josh. x. 3. [Possibly, however, 'Pekah' was *arbitrarily* inserted.] That Rezin's ally was the prince of a N. Arabian people is suggested by ix. 11 (see note).

In *v.* 2 נָחָה is not a likely word; 2 S. xxi. 10 is in quite a different style. Nor is 'lighted upon Ephraim' at all a suitable sense. The easiest correction is נָחָה, which with עַל means 'to encamp against.' If this be adopted, אפרים must be the name of a city. A city with this name is mentioned in 2 S. xiii. 23, where, as several scholars have pointed out, אפרים may be a corruption of עפרון. It has not, however, been observed that Absalom's Ephron was almost certainly in the Negeb. There, too, the city mentioned probably in Isa. vii. 2 must have been. According to 2 Chr. xiii. 19, 'Ephron' was one of the cities which Abijah took from Jeroboam; these cities were in the Negeb (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboam'). There was, in fact, a constant rivalry between Israel, Judah, and 'Aram' (the southern Aram), as to which of these peoples should possess the 'holy land' of the Negeb (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' § 6). Not being opponents of the Chronicler, let us frankly accept his statement that Ephron had passed into the occupation of Judah before the time of Ahaz. We can now more clearly understand why Ahaz and his people trembled. Their anxiety was twofold, (1) for their much prized possessions in the Negeb, and (2) for Judah, on the road to which the Arammites now were.

vii. 3. 'Go forth to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son.' The phrase שָׂאֵר יָשׁוּב occurs in x. 21, in a passage which recent critics (including Dill.-Kit.) hold to be a later insertion. Here the phrase is supposed to be taken

from vii. 3, and just afterwards another phrase (אל גבור) is taken to be borrowed from ix. 5, *i.e.* from the close of the same section which contains the mention of the boy called Shear-jashub. It is remarkable, however, that אל גבור is not (apparently) used in x. 21 in the same sense as in ix. 5 (see Dill.-Kit.), and we shall see that in reality 'א' ג' owes its existence in ix. 5 to corruption. We have also recognised that in the true text of chap. vi. there is nothing which favours the idea that the preservation of a 'remnant' was a part of Isaiah's prophetic teaching. Judging from the analogy of the names Immanu-el and Maher-shalal-hash-baz (we reserve the question as to the correct reading of the names) there ought to be underneath שאר ישוב some other name closely related to the circumstances of the kingdom of Judah at this time. Can we doubt what this name must be? There is at any rate much probability in the easy correction אשר ישוב, 'Asshur will return.' Isaiah knew or suspected that Ahaz was about to invoke the help of Asshur against Aram. He had also a prophetic certitude that Asshur would not fail to return in a different character—*i.e.* as Judah's conqueror. That a 'remnant' would 'return' or 'turn' to God was a characteristic post-exilic hope.

vii. 5. Omit אפרים ובן-דמליהו. It is an incorrect variant to 'וארם ובן רם' (v. 4). The scribe who first wrote it wrongly supposed that the ally of Rezin was the reigning king of Israel or Ephraim. The mistake would be all the easier if the original reading was either פראם (cp. Josh. x. 3) or אפרים followed by 'בן רם'.

vii. 6-9. See *SBOT*. For תובל read טבאל (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tubal'). The southern Tubal is meant. For דמשק read כושם, and for ששים וחמש שנה read probably שנה (ששים represents כשם, a dittographed correction of דמשק). What Isaiah means is briefly this,—The anxiety of Ahaz is at present needless. Aram is not strong enough to take Jerusalem, and within a year will itself be plundered by Asshur. The time, however, is at hand when, without faith, Judah too will be exposed to irremediable ruin at the hands of Asshur. Will Ahaz and his people in the short interval obtain faith? Observe that Isaiah is well assured that, quite apart from the meditated request of Ahaz to Asshur,

that formidable king nourishes designs against the Negeb and against Judah.—*V.* 9a is an insertion of the redactor. If we point שְׁמֶרֶן, the passage states what is incorrect; the southern Ephraim did not constitute a kingdom by itself, nor did it belong to ben-Remaliahu. Cp. on viii. 4. (The usual view that וְבֵעוֹד שָׁשִׁים וָגֵר' is a misplaced interpretation loses its plausibility when textual criticism has been applied.)

vii. 14 *f.* The discussions on עִמְנוּאֵל still continue (see *E. Bib.*, 'Immanuel'). It may, however, perhaps be doubted whether Isaiah would have approved of such a name as 'God is with us' (cp. Am. v. 14, and Porter's remarks, quoted in *E. Bib.*, col. 2163). That Yahwè was on the side of the pious community, and would ultimately prove this by a signal interposition, was a characteristic post-exilic faith (cp. Ps. xli. 8, 12). We do indeed meet with עִמְנוּ אֱלֹהִים in Isa. viii. 8, 10, not as a proper name, but as a statement (see Marti) of the futility of the assault upon Judah made by the assembled peoples (read, in *v.* 8, כִּי עִמָּנוּ). This assault is a part of the theme of the later eschatology. Nothing but a bold and yet methodical conjecture will open the secret of עִמְנוּאֵל. Like עִמְנוּ and נִמְוֹאֵל (Num. xxvi. 12, 1 Chr. iv. 24), it is a corruption of יִרְחֵמְאֵל. But יִרְחָ' is not the whole name. The rest of the name must be hidden in חֲמָה וְדָבַשׁ יֵאֱכָל. Alas! how often we suppose that we understand the unintelligible! These three words are no doubt grammatical enough, but what is the sense of them here? A later writer, in *v.* 22, explains that the land having gone out of cultivation, owing to the invasion, those who are left in it will be reduced to pastoral fare. How far-fetched! The truth most probably is that חֲמָה and יֵאֱכָל (cp. on lxvi. 17) are corruptions of יִרְחֵמְאֵל, and דָּבַשׁ represents the verb which has to be combined with יִרְחֵמְאֵל. What that verb is, we learn from *v.* 16; it is תִּעָוֵב. Thus the name becomes 'Jerahmeel will be deserted.' Cp. viii. 4. The result is of much historic interest. But the redactor's transformation of the name is felicitous from the point of view of edification. The rest of *v.* 15 is, of course, a late insertion.

vii. 16 gives the reason for the name. Before the child referred to can distinguish between the wholesome and the harmful, וְאֶרְצָן נֹשֵׁא יִרְחֵמְאֵל. This must have

been the original reading. ירח' for אדמה, and קין for כוש are in accordance with frequently recurring types of corruption. The redactor expanded this in order to make sense of a dittographed but corruptly written ירחמאל, which intruded at the end of the verse (מלכיה).—*V.* 18, יארי מצרים (cp. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25).

CHAP. viii. 1, 3. Winckler's view of viii. 1-4 (*AOF*⁽³⁾ i. 168 ff.) seems to me impossible; his textual criticism is imperfect. An older critic, Hitzig (*Jes.*, p. 96), has a claim to be heard first. He thinks that the child whose birth is announced is 'evidently the same as the child to be named Immanuel.' At any rate, the essential part of the name in viii. 1 is ירחמאל תָּעוּב, 'Jerahmeel will be deserted.' It is true, this simple name has received accretions. בְּחַרְט אָנוּשׁ, 'with a common man's pen,' should almost certainly be רַחְבוֹת יִשְׁמַעֵאל. לְמַהֵר (in spite of the current learned explanation of ל) comes from ירחמאל; שָׁלָל is a dittographed יִשְׁמַעֵאל; בוּ comes from תְּבוּ. That Isaiah actually put more than one name is improbable. If ירח' ת' is right in vii. 14, surely it is also right here. In *v.* 3 the precedence of מַהֵר (= ירח') favours this conclusion.

viii. 4*b*. Read יִשָּׂא ירחמאל כּוּשִׁים וְאֵת יִשְׁמַעֵאל לְפָנָי מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר. The redactor, who had a corrupt text before him, inserted שְׁמֵרוֹן to match דְּמַשְׁק.

viii. 6. Read probably—יֵעַן כִּי יָפַס הָעַם הַזֶּה מִיִּשְׁמַעֵאל [ירחמאל] וּמִכּוּשׁ [את רצין וּבֵן רַמְלִיָּהוּ] לֹאֵט הַהַלְכִים has never been clearly made out; the words indeed are corrupt, וּמִכּוּשׁ = רַמְסֵר; כּוּשׁ for כּוּשׁ, as lxvi. 20, Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, etc.

viii. 23. That this verse belongs to the redactor may be admitted. But he had some literary basis, including probably the words אֲרֵץ יִשְׁמַעֵאל וְאֲרֵץ נַפְתָּלִי.—*V.* 23*b* appears to have grown, through corrupt repetitions, out of a very simple gloss, עֲרַב ירחמאל, 'Jerahmeelite Arabia,' i.e. the districts of the Negeb which were connected with Ishmael (= Jerahmeel) and the Naphtuhites; cp. on xxx. 32. (If 'Naphtali' is right, it will be a southern Naphtali, but Naphtuhi and Naphtali seem in several places to have been confounded.)

CHAP. ix. 1-6. See *SBOT*, pp. 89, 195. As to the

royal name, at any rate, we can now get much further. Profiting by experience of typical errors of the scribes, we may venture to hold that *ען אל* [גבור] *אבי עד* is a corruption of *אביר ישראל*, which should of course be 'אביר יש', 'mighty one (= protector) of Israel'; *גבור* may be omitted as a variant to *אביר*. The *ע* in *עד*, and also that in *ען*, may have arisen from a dittographed *י*; *ז* for *ש* is the substitution of one sibilant for another. *ר* in *ישראל* fell out. *פלא* may, in the light of *Θ*'s *ἄγγελος*, be corrected into *מלאך*; *יו* of course will mean *יהוה*. It is now time to look behind and in front. The obscurity of *משרה* appears from Aq. *μέτρον*, Theod. and Sym. *παιδεία* (cp. Tg. *אורייתא*); *v.* 6 shows that a synonym for *שלום* is desirable; read in both lines *הישועה*. *על-שנמך*, which is not very happily connected in *Θ* and MT with *המשרה*, should be *על-משיח יהוה*. Thus *vv.* 3, 6 become—

For a child is born to us, | a son is given to us,
 And salvation comes | on Yahwè's anointed,
 And the angel of Yahwè | calls his name,
 Protector of Israel, | Prince of prosperity.
 Abundant is salvation | prosperity has no end,
 On the throne of David, etc.

ix. 7-x. 4. The problems arising out of this section can now be much more nearly solved. According to Delitzsch (*Isaiah*, E.T., i. 251 ff.) the 'first commission' (*vv.* 8 f.) of the personified divine oracle 'is directed against Ephraim, which is so little humbled by the misfortunes experienced under Jehu (2 K. x. 32) and Joahaz (2 K. xiii. 3) that they are presumptuous enough to substitute for bricks and sycamores hewn building stones and cedars.' In *vv.* 10 f., however, 'the range of vision widens to the whole of Israel; for the northern kingdom has never had to suffer from the Philistines, whereas an invasion of Philistines into Judah actually belonged to the punitive judgments of the time of Ahaz, 2 Chr. xxviii. 16-19.' On *vv.* 18-20, Delitzsch remarks, 'how easily the unbrotherliness of the northern tribes towards each other can turn into united hostility against Judah, has been sufficiently proved by the Syro-Ephraimitish war, whose consequences are still going on, even now when the prophet is prophesying.' On x. 1-4,

however, he merely assumes that the unjust judges, those at least who do not fall in war, will be deported into the land of exile—Assyria.

All this, however, needs complete revision. The course of the prophetic poem is as follows. A N. Arabian invader has been commissioned against Israel, *i.e.* against S. Israel, *viz.* Judah and the Negeb (which was partly occupied by the northern Israelites, partly by the Judahites). More particularly the doomed people is called 'Ephraim and the population of Shimron,' *i.e.* the inhabitants of districts of the Negeb bearing these names. In *v.* 20, however, we hear of Manasseh and Judah, as well as of Ephraim. That Israelites of Manasseh and Ephraim dwelt in the Negeb¹ appears from a thorough criticism of Josh. xvi., xvii., and 1 Chr. vii., also probably from 2 Chr. xv. 9, xxviii. 12, xxx., xxxiv. 6, 9; the 'Negeb of Judah' is of course a standing phrase, which must have had facts to justify it (cp. 2 Chr. xxviii. 18), 'Ephraim' indeed virtually = 'Jerahmeel' (1 S. i. 1, ix. 4, etc.). That those who uttered the vainglorious boast in *v.* 9 dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Shephelah, is shown by the reference to the sycomore trees (cp. 1 K. x. 27). We have also seen already that Rezin, who is mentioned by name in *v.* 10, invaded Judah from the south. The reference to Aram and the Pelištīm in *v.* 11 has puzzled most critics (cp. Del. and Kittel), who naively remark that we hear nothing of an invasion of N. Israel by the Philistines. The truth, however, is that in its origin Aram = Jerahmeel; Rezin had one of the Jerahmeelite kingdoms (Isa. x. 10) which owned the suzerainty of the great king of Meluḥḥa. The so-called Pelištīm are the Šarephathim, who oppressed Israel in the days of Saul. From *v.* 11 we gather that the Arammītes lived in the east, and the Šarephathim in the west of the Negeb, so that the Israelites in the larger sense (Israelites and Judahites), who occupied the greater part of the Negeb, had to be constantly on the alert (hence the repeated references in 2 Chr. [rightly understood] to the fortification of cities in the Negeb). 2 Chr. xxviii. 17 *f.* speaks of a renewed invasion of Judah (cp. 2 Chr.

¹ 'Manasseh,' as a royal name, probably indicates the annexation of N. Israelitish territory in the Negeb by the later kings of Judah.

xxviii. 5a) by the Arammites (read אַרְמִים) and of the Shephelah and the Negeb of Judah by the Pelištīm (but the authority used by the Chronicler must have said 'the Sarephathim'). The reference in *v.* 13 to a great defeat is not altogether obscure. It is the king of Asshur (Asshur) who, as Isaiah announces, will return and work ruin not only to N. Israel, but to Judah. Dissension will paralyse the power of the advanced guard of N. and S. Israel in the Negeb to resist this terrible onset. No external aid will this time be attainable, Tubal and Asshur, Maacath and the Hāgrim, having already succumbed to their irresistible assailant.

The necessary corrections appear, thus far, to be as follows—

In *v.* 7a, for דבר read עָרַב = N. Arabia; וּנְפֹל means 'and he shall fall (as an invader).' In *v.* 8, שְׁמֵרוֹן; *v.* 10, אֶת-רִצְיִן; *v.* 11, וְצִדְפָתִים; *v.* 16, יַפְסָח (Lag.); *v.* 19, רָעוּ; cp. Jer. xix. 9. So Secker, etc., after ㊀.

In x. 4 read,

תִּיבֹל כָּרַע תַּחַת אֲשׁוּר
מֵעֲבַת יְהוּדָיִם וּפְלֹי:

This verse connects well with *v.* 3, but the combined verses do not cohere well with *vv.* 1, 2. See, however, Kittel, Duham, Marti, Che. *Intr. Is.*, pp. 24, 46, and cp. *SBOT*, Heb., p. 85, cp. 194 *f.*, where Lagarde's emendations in *v.* 4 (Beltis and Osiris) are favourably regarded.

CHAP. x. 5-11. The supreme N. Arabian power, here called אֲשׁוּר (= אֲשַׁחֲזִיר) and (probably) יְרוּחַמָּאל is represented as having already conquered the cities of the Negeb, and as aiming at the conquest of Jerusalem. This, at least, is the view which we are led to take by applying our methods of criticism to the text.—*V.* 5 should probably run thus—

הוֹי אֲשׁוּר שְׁבַט אֲפִי
יְרוּחַמָּאל מִטְּהַר זַעֲמִי:

In *vv.* 6, 7, which are poetical in form, there is nothing to alter.—In *vv.* 8-11, however, nearer to prose, there is a good deal of corruption. It may be presumed that Isaiah is referring not to the conquests made by the Assyrians in

different campaigns in various northern districts (one of the names, Calno, is at any rate incorrect), but to the cities taken by the N. Arabian potentate in one and the same region, and in one and the same campaign. The opening words of *v.* 8, *כי יאמר* were probably evolved by the editor out of *ירחמאל* (*ח* naturally came from *ה*), which stood in the margin as a gloss on the corrupt *מלכים*. Read probably—

הלא ירשתי ירחמאלים הלא נקדשם ירחמאל אם-לא נאפרת
מעכת אם-לא נבשם שמרון הלא כאשר מצאה ידי ירחמאלים
וישמעאלים ושמרונים הלא כאשר עשיתי לשמרון ולירחמאל כן
אעשה לירושלם ולמבצריה:

The ordinary explanation of *v.* 8 in the MT is thus given by Dillmann-Kittel, 'He gives expression to his proud consciousness of might by recalling that his princes (*i.e.* generals), high officers, governors, resemble kings in the greatness of their authority and in their rank.' Is this bombastic vaunt in place here? Just before, we have been told that the great object of Asshur is to 'cut off nations not a few.' What we expect to hear next, and what our criticism appears to bring out, is an appeal to his previous conquests.

'Have I not conquered the Jerahmeelites? Has not (the city of) Jerahmeel fared like Kidsham, Maacath like Ephrath, Shimron like Cusham? As my hand has laid hold on the Jerahmeelites, the Ishmaelites, and the Shimronites, shall I not, as I have done to Shimron and to Jerahmeel, so do to Jerusalem and to its forts?'

The chief doubt here relates to *הוא בידם* (*v.* 5*b*). Most since Hitzig take this to be a gloss, but what a poor gloss! and why *בידם*? Experience of forms like *אום* and *ירחם* suggests that *ב* may come from *ירחמאל*. In this case *הוא בידם* becomes *הוא ירח*, 'that is, Jerahmeel,' and we obtain a gloss on the somewhat less known word *אשור*. It is also possible, however, that *ירחמאל* underlies *הוא ב*, and is a second title of the N. Arabian potentate. This is perhaps favoured by *v.* 27 (see below) and by Jer. li. 1, where *לב-קמי* (*Leb-kamai*) comes from *ירחמאל* (*בבל* ||). Observe that the speaker (Asshur) represents the people of Shimron and the other cities mentioned as 'Jerahmeelites,' although the

Israelite and Judahite element in the population appears to have been politically predominant. It should be added that both ממלכות (see on Jer. xxxiv. 1) and אליל (see on ii. 6-22) can be corruptions of [ירחמאלים]. ירחמאל is to be preferred to קיר נשם (city of Cusham) as a correction of כרמיש for the reason mentioned on Jer. xlvi. 1.

x. 13b. See *SBOT*, Heb., p. 96.—18. Read perhaps, וכבד ירחמאלים, and at the close of the verse וְכָמֵץ וְכָעֶצוֹן.

x. 28-32. In its original form, a prophecy of a N. Arabian invasion of the Judahite territory in the Negeb. Probably not Isaiah's work. See Marti, and cp. *SBOT*.

x. 27. For וְחָבַל read וְחָדַל with W. R. Smith. על שָׁמֶן has been corrected by the same lamented scholar into עָלָה מִצָּפוֹן שָׁדָד. שָׁדָד, however, is not definite enough. שָׁמֶן, in accordance with parallels elsewhere, should be יִשְׁמַעֵאל; render 'Ishmael has gone up from Zaphon' (see on Jer. i. 14, Ezek. i. 4). Possibly 'Ishmael' is here used as a title of the king of Asshur (cp. on *vs.* 9-11), *i.e.* refers to a distant part of N. Arabia. It is very probable that *vs.* 28-32 have been recast, just as Mic. i. 10-16 and Jer. vi. 1 have more than probably been recast, in accordance with a theory that an Assyrian invasion of Judah was referred to. In this case, בֵּית צִיּוֹן (*v.* 32 Kt.) may have arisen out of בֵּית-צוּר, which is mentioned in 2 Chr. xi. 5-9 among the cities fortified by Rehoboam. These cities were probably in the Negeb (see *E. Bib.* 'Rehoboam'); the original text has here also been recast.

x. 32. The confusion between נ and ג is partly responsible for the unfortunate intrusion (as it seems) of an imaginary place called 'Nob' into the geography of S. Palestine. The discussion in *E. Bib.*, 'Nob,' dispenses us from the obligation of going at length into this here. Let us note, however, that הַיּוֹם is, in accordance with parallels elsewhere, a corruption of אֱלֹהִים, and that עוֹד בְּנֵב comes from בְּגִבְעָת. At the end of *v.* 32 we find גִּבְעַת יְרוּשָׁלַם. This is probably not the original reading; the original text had (not אֱלֹהִים, as suggested in *SBOT*, p. 196), but, in accordance with Zech. xiv. 14, and other parallels, ג' יִשְׁמַעֵאל.

This appears to be a gloss on גִּבְעַת אֱלֹהִים, or rather (in accordance with parallels) גִּבְעַת יְרוּחְמָאֵל. A 'Gibeath

Elohim' is mentioned in the MT of 1 S. x. 5; a נציב ('pillar'?) of the Philistines ('Zarephathites'?) was there; the true name of this place was no doubt 'Gibeath-jerahmeel.' Whether in the original form of this narrative the same place was intended as in the original form of the poem in Isa. x. 28-32, cannot here be considered. There may, of course, very well have been several Gibeahs connected by tradition with the incursions of the Jerahmeelites or Ishmaelites. The writer, however, who manipulated or adapted the poem which underlies Isa. x. 28-32, and who wrote *הר בית-צור* for *הר ב[ית] ציון*, must surely have had in his mind some hill close to Jerusalem. The hill which he meant must have been the *מַעְלֵה הַיְּדִיתִים* ('ascent of the olives'), 2 S. xv. 30, which in *v.* 32 is defined as 'the summit where men worship Elohim.' An earlier name of the 'Mount of Olives' (a phrase only found in O.T. in Zech. xiv. 4) appears from this to have been *גבעת המשתחרים* ('hill of worshippers'). But still earlier names were probably *גבעת ירחמאלים* (whence *ג' אלהים*) and *ג' ישמעאלים* (whence perhaps, under the influence of theory, arose *ג' משתחרים*). On this, and on the further corruption *הר המשחית*, see *E. Bib.*, 'Destruction, Mount of.'

CHAP. xi. 10. A redactional insertion (Duhm, Marti). But even a redactor would not have spoken of a 'root,' or of a 'shoot from the root,' as 'standing as a pole.' What the passage contains is a further development of the idea that Mt. Zion, God's glorious resting-place, shall be free from all that offends. Read 'Yahwè shall root out (*יִשְׁרֹשׁ*) Aram, and Ishmael, and Jerahmeel, and Asshur.' In *ל, לנס עמים* and *ם* are superfluous; *נסעמי* is a very regular corruption of *ישמעאל*. *גרים*, too, stands elsewhere for *ירחמאל*, of which word *אליו* too can be a mutilated form (*ר = ו*).

xi. 11. Duhm remarks that a verb must be supplied mentally. But the required verb is hidden under *שנית*; Marti restores *שאת* (xlix. 22). The awkward *אָשַׁר* comes from *מֵאֲשֹׁר* (written twice over incorrectly). 'Asshur' is the name of a N. Arabian region (cp. on x. 5); so also are 'Mišrim' (*מִצְרַיִם*) and 'Cush.' *פתרום* is a corruption of *צִרְפַּת עֵלָם* of *ירחמאל*, *שנער* probably of *שַׁעִיר*, *מענת חמת* of *מַעְנַת חַיִּים* perhaps of *ערב-ירחמאל*. Cp. *E. Bib.*,

'Pathros.'—12. Render 'from the four corners of the land'; cp. Ezek. vii. 2.—13. Duhm observes, 'The jealousy of Ephraim, for which hardly a single fact or symptom can be produced in the whole pre-exilic period, is intelligible enough after the second temple, and especially after the foundation of the Samaritan community (cp. lxvi. 5).' But it is the southern 'Ephraim' (= 'Jerahmeel') which is meant, and those who 'oppress Judah' are not the Samaritans of the north, but the Jerahmeelites. How the disappearance of this 'jealousy' and these oppressors is to be effected, *v.* 14 shows. The second part of *v.* 13 is an incorrect gloss on the first part. In *v.* 15 **ס** presupposes **החורב**, but the **החורים** of the MT seems to be correct. **לשון ים** is like **לנח עמים** (*v.* 10); it represents **ישמעאלים** (cp. on Ps. cxx. 3), to which **מצרים** (Miṣrim) which follows may be a variant. The 'river' (**נהר**; omit the article), mentioned next, is the Ephrath, not the Euphrates. For **בעים רוחו** read **ירחמאלים** (cp. on vii. 20, viii. 7). Again a gloss.

CHAP. xiii. The prophecy is directed against the great N. Arabian power, sometimes called Asshur (Asshur). Only so can we understand the bitterness of the passage, which very naturally reminds one of our best commentators (Dillm.-Kitt., p. 125) of the painful descriptions in xxv. 10 ff., xxxiv., passages relating the one to Moab (or rather Miṣṣur), the other to Edom. The **בבל** spoken of in the heading in *v.* 19 is probably a literary corruption of some shortened form of **ירחמאל**. The name 'Jerahmeel' belonged to various branches of the same widely spread race—to the people of the kingdom of Meluḥḥa, as well as to the people of the southern border-land. It is also not improbable that the name is sometimes applied incorrectly to peoples not strictly of the old Jerahmeelite stock. No secondary questions must be allowed to divert us from the one perfectly certain point, viz. that both the people to be attacked, and the people to attack, in this and similar prophetic descriptions (see Jer. l. li.) are N. Arabian.

xiii. 2. Here and in Job xxi. 28, **נדיב** seems to mean 'tyrant.' But the **משל** (see on xiv. 5) will not stand examination. In both places read **בגד** (cp. xxxiii. 1, Hab. i. 13).

xiii. 6. נשד משדי יבוא (= Joel i. 15), 'wie Gewalt vom Allgewaltigen her kommt er' (Dillm. - Kitt.). It is difficult to give the supposed meaning of the words as briefly in English. RV, 'as destruction from the Almighty.' If שדי really comes from $\sqrt{\text{שד}}$, we might render, 'like destruction from the destructive.' Even Marti accepts this questionable derivation, but is not free from doubt as to the reference of שדי, which may mean either God or 'one of the class of mighty ones.' Certainly it does not seem *a priori* likely that the 'day of Yahwè' would be compared to 'destruction from the Almighty'; an investigation of the 'Shaddai' problem leads to the conclusion that textual corruption must inevitably be assumed. I incline to think that שדי, or perhaps here משדי (the prepositional מ having dropped out), is a corruption of ישמעאל (a synonym of ירחמאל). 'Like a desolating attack from Ishmael,' is not an impossible comparison, and the description in the sequel seems to confirm this. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shaddai.'

xiii. 16 *f.*, 19. For הויליהם read הויליהם, and for ומשנניהם תשלינה read ומשנניהם תשלינה. Cp. on 2 K. viii. 12, Hos. xiv. 1, Am. i. 13.—מדי. Taking all the references to מדי together, it is difficult not to hold that the word is a corrupt fragment of ירחמאל. In the present passage, the so-called Amalekites appear to be meant. Cp. the דם בני קדם in Ezek. xxv. 4, etc. (see note).—נשדים, as often, should be נושים. Note the reference to the Jerahmeelite story of Sodom (see *E. Bib.*, 'Sodom'), and ערבי in *v.* 20.

CHAP. xiv. 3, 4. See *SBOT*, p. 199.—5. משלים. Dillmann, Duhm, Guthe (in Kautzsch's *HS*), and most, 'tyrants'; so xlix. 7, lii. 5. In all these passages read ישמעאלים.

xiv. 12 *f.* הילל בן-שחר. The discovery that חרם in Judg. i. 35, viii. 13, cp. on Isa. xix. 18 (הרם), and (may we not add?) שחר in Ps. cxxxix. 10, represent אשחר (the N. Arabian Asshur or Asshur), and that the parallel passage, Ezek. xxviii. 13 *ff.* has a Jerahmeelite background, must surely lead to the definite solution of the Hêlêl-problem. Read ירחמאל בן-אשחר (see *E. Bib.*, 'Lucifer'), and render בירכתי צפון, in the recesses of Zaphon.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 4.

xiv. 28-32. A prophecy of an invasion of Philistia by Arabians at a time when Judah itself is safe. Note מִצְפֹּן (*v.* 31), 'from Zaphon' (N. Arabia).

CHAPS. xv., xvi. On an invasion of Moab, or rather perhaps Mišsur, by an Arabian foe. On the text see *SBOT*, pp. 119 *ff.*, 198 *f.* In xv. 9, both אֲרִיָּה and אֲדָמָה, according to precedents, represent יִרְחָמָאֵל. In xvi. 1 (where כִּי מִשַׁל־אֲרָן and מִסְלַע מִדְּבָרָה seem to correspond), we should possibly read thus—

שְׁלַחֵי מִדְּבָרָה מֵאֲרָן יִשְׁמַעְאֵל | אֶל־הַר בֵּת־צִיּוֹן :

The 'remnant of Jerahmeel' (xv. 9), *i.e.* the fugitive Mišrites, send from the frontier to invoke the hospitality of Mount Zion. The land of Ishmael (or Jerahmeel) is another name for Mišsur. In xvi. 7 for אֲשִׁישֵׁי read אֲסִיף. It is for the fruit-harvest, not for the raisin-cakes, that the people mourn (*cp.* *E. Bib.*, 'Fruit,' § 5, 2). אֲשִׁישָׁה is a doubtful word. In xvi. 13*b* read וְשָׂאֵר יִרְחָמָאֵל מֵעַט מִזֶּעַר (= לֹא כִבִּיר = 'ירח'). As to the place-names, these appear to have been remodelled to suit the view that the Moabites are the people referred to. Bethdibon = Beth-rimmon, Elealeh = Ishmael, Jahaz = Haluṣah (perhaps), Zoar = Mišsur, Eglathshelishiyah = Maaleh-ishmael, Maaleh-halluhith = Maaleh-jerahmeel, Horonaim = Haranim (perhaps), Nimrim = Rimmonim (= En-rimmon?), Eglaim = Jerahmeel, Beer-elim = Beer-jerahmeel, Sibmah = Shepham or Shiphamoth (*see E. Bib.*, *s.v.*), Kir-hareseth = Kir-asshur. On the site of Nebo, *see E. Bib.*, 'Nebo.' In xvi. 13*b*, read וְשָׂאֵר יִרְחָמָאֵל מֵעַט מִזֶּעַר.

CHAP. xvii. 1-11. In the light of newer critical results elsewhere, it is doubtful whether the ordinary critical view (*see Intr. Is.*, pp. 92 *f.*) can be maintained without considerable modifications. It seems clear that the 'Aram' (אַרָּם) spoken of is the southern or Jerahmeelite Aram, and that 'Dammesek' (דַּמְשֶׁק) is a corruption of דַּמְשֶׁם. In *v.* 1, מֵעִיר and מֵעִי both represent יִרְחָמָאֵל; read, 'Behold, Cusham-jerahmeel shall be taken away and shall become a ruin.' In *v.* 2, 'Aroer' (עֲרֹעַר) should probably be 'Aram' (אַרָּם). So Guthe (doubtfully). In *v.* 3, מֵאֲפָרִים should be מֵאַרָּם (Grätz), and כְּבוֹד is not improbably a corruption of יִרְחָמָאֵל,

written as a gloss on אַרַם; the prefixed כ seems to belong rather to בני ישראל; ישמעאל should probably be ירמאל; such an error is at any rate not unparalleled. Thus we get 'and the remnant of Aram (Jerahmeel)—like the sons of Ishmael shall they fare.' In *v.* 5, יַעֲקֹב, as in some other passages, should be ירמאל; the difficult בַּעֲמַק רַפְאִים should probably be בַּמַּעֲתֵת אֶפְרַיִם, 'in Maacath of Ephraim' (cp. Ps. lx. 8, where עַמֵּק represents מַעֲתֵת). Whether the figure of the reaper and the gleaner is not due to a misunderstanding, may be questioned. Most probably we should read in *v.* 5*b*, 'בְּמַעֲתֵת יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים בְּמֵ' א'. The allusion is to 'the smiting of Aram (= Jerahmeel) in the valley (בֵּיא) of Melah (= Jerahmeel),' 2 S. viii. 13. In *v.* 9*a* read הַפְּרָשִׁי וְהָאֲרָמִי. As Marti has pointed out, *v.* 9*a* should be followed immediately by *v.* 10*b*. On *vs.* 10 *f.*, see *SBOT*, Heb., pp. 90, 195. No completely satisfactory result, however, has been attained. It is very possible that the closing words referred to the Jerahmeelites and the Ishmaelites. Cp. on Jer. xvii. 6, Hos. iii. 1.

xvii. 12-14, xviii. There are enough traces of a possibly correct text to entice one to undertake a textual revision (cp. *SBOT*, pp. 108 *f.*, 196 *f.*, *E. Bib.*, col. 2809). Among these we must not neglect those suggested by the Jerahmeelite theory. In xviii. 1, צֹלֵץ may, in accordance with parallels, come from ישמעאל. In *v.* 2, גֹּרֵי מִמֶּשֶׁךְ וּמִרֹמֶט, גֹּרֵי נָשִׁים וְאֲרָמִים, and מִן-הָיָה וְהָלָאָה from ירמאל (twice over). If this is so, the text of chap. xviii. must have been manipulated so as to make it refer to the African Cushites. The original text of *v.* 2 must have resembled xxx. 6. There may have been originally a reference to an embassy from a N. Arabian king to Hezekiah, to negotiate an alliance against the king of the N. Arabian Asshur, *i.e.* Meluhha (x. 5).

CHAP. xix. Originally this oracle related to Mišrim. Probably *vs.* 5-10 are an interpolation, due to an editor who wished to make the oracle refer to Mišraim (Egypt). Who the 'hard lord' of *v.* 4 (where read מַכְרֹתִי, cp. Ezek. xxx. 12) may be, is uncertain. For צֶעַן (*vs.* 11, 13), we should read צַעַר (= מַצְרַר?), and for נָף (*v.* 13) perhaps נַפְתוּחַ (cp. on 'Naphtuhim,' Gen. x. 13). In *v.* 11 פֶּרַעַה may come from

פראו or פרעו, *i.e.* Pir'u, a common name of N. Arabian kings ; in *v.* 13 שבטיה should be שפטיה. In *v.* 18, 'five cities' was suggested by the five lordships of the Şarephathim (1 S. vi. 4). כנען, as often, should be קנז ; the language meant is that of Kenaz, *i.e.* N. Arabia. עיר ההרם comes from עיר אשחור, 'city of Asshur.' It is probable that ⚔, in the passage, originally had, not *ασεδεακ*, but *ασεδ*, *i.e.* חסד, which in turn may be traced to שחר, *i.e.* אשחור (see *E. Bib.*, 'Heres, City of'). Winckler's theory (*AOF*, iii. 217 *f.*) that הרם comes from הדרם, 'myrtle,' the city meant being Tahpenes = *Δάφνη*, stands in connection with theories on the 'Hadassah' of the Book of Esther and on Ps. cxxxvii. (see *AOF*, ii. 417 *f.*), which seem to the present writer to have no sound basis.

CHAP. xx. The position of chap. xx. suggests the possibility that two sieges of Ashdod may have been confounded, one conducted by the Assyrians, the other by the Asshurites of N. Arabia. That the section has been redacted, Duhm and Marti have pointed out. At any rate, Winckler (*Muṣri*, etc., ii. 1898, pp. 4 *f.*, cp. *SBOT*, p. 98) is right in holding that מצרים and נוש are the N. Arabian regions so named. The troublesome שלוש שנים in *v.* 3 is probably a corruption of ישמעאלים (נ and ל both represent the ל in 'ישמ'), which is a gloss on מצרים and נוש.

CHAP. xxi. 1-10. The key to this passage is the fact that עילם and מדי represent fragments of ירחמאל, and that בבל is also a popular corruption of the same name, as referring (here, at any rate) to the great sovereign power which was long supreme over the lesser Jerahmeel in the Negeb, and over the kingdom of Miṣṣur (*Muṣri*). As we see from Jer. l., li., late prophetic writers anticipated that the great power would be overthrown by a combination of peoples from the N. Arabian border. The editor, however, introduced a troublesome complication, partly rewriting *v.* 2 and inserting a short passage (*sv.* 3 *f.*), which presupposes that the object of attack to the Jerahmeelite warriors is Jerusalem. By this means he thought to link this prophecy to xxii. 1-14, in which a Jerahmeelite siege of Jerusalem really is described (cp. Delitzsch's remarks on the parallelism between the two prophecies, *Isaiah*, E.T., i. 376). Applying

our methods of textual emendation, which now and then, it is true, only lead to possible results, we may venture with some hesitation after repeated attempts, to restore the text thus—

משא מדבר ירחמאל ¹	Oracle of the wilderness of Jerahmeel.
כסופות בנגב ירחמאל	Like tempests in the Negeb of Jerahmeel
ממדבר בא מארץ נוראה :	It comes from the wilderness, from the terrible land.
התקשרו גלעד ואשור ²	Gilead and Asshur have banded together,
ירחמאל ומצור וצרפת :	Jerahmeel and Mišsur and Sarephath.
כי נה אמר אלי אדני ⁶ לך העמד מצפה אשר יראה יגיד :	For thus the Lord said to me, Go, station a watcher, That which he saw, let him declare.
וירא רכב מצור וצרפת ⁷	And he saw chariots of Mišsur and Sarephath,
רכב ירחמאל וקשם :	Chariots of Jerahmeel and Cusham.
ויקרא אדני על-מצפה וגו' : ⁸	And he cried O Lord, on the watchtower, etc.
והנה זה בא רכב אשור ⁹	And behold, there come chariots of Asshur ;
ויען ויאמר נפלה נפלה ירחמאל	And he began to say, Jerahmeel has fallen, has fallen,
והיכליה שבר השפיל לארץ :	Her palaces he has ruined, he has brought down to the ground.

Among the details, note that *v.* 2 has been editorially expanded. *עלי*, *אשור* from *שורד*, *גלעד*, *בוגד* comes from *מדי* and *עילם* and *ירחמאל* from *נל-אנחתה* may also ultimately be derived. (The later scribes puzzled greatly over this word, and their miswritings of it equally puzzled the editors.) *צרפת* conceals *השבת*.—*Vv.* 3, 4 are purely editorial ; *v.* 5 (like *v.* 2) is only so in this sense, that the corrupt material before him was gently manipulated by

the editor so as to express his idea of what was fitting or desirable. Underneath *v.* 5 is a list of ethnics, עֲרַב יִשְׁמַעֵאל, צִרְפַּת יִרְחַמְעֵאל יִשְׁמַעֵאל מִעַנַת אַשּׁוּרִים נֶשֶׁם יִרְחַמְעֵאל. In *v.* 8, יוֹמָם and כָּל-הַלַּיְלֹת make the verse drag, and may come from יִרְחַמְעֵאל (cp on xxvi. 9), written corruptly; for אֲרִיָּה read אֲדָנִי. In *v.* 9, מִצּוֹר צִרְפַּתִּים (which underlies צִרְפַּתִּים) may be omitted with some advantage.—*V.* 10 seems to be altogether editorial. The effect of the prophecy is heightened by its omission. Let it be added in conclusion that the phrase which opens *v.* 10 has not as yet yielded up its secret. Cp. *Crit. Rev.* xi. 18 (1901).

xxi. 11 *f.* Let the restoration speak for itself.

מִשָּׁא יִרְחַמְעֵאל וּמִצּוֹר	The oracle of Jerahmeel and Mişsur.
אָתָּה בָּגַד וַיָּנֶם יִרְחַמְעֵאל	A devastator came, and Jerahmeel fled,
עֲרַבִּים וְכֹשִׁים נִבְעָתוּ:	Arabians and Cushites were affrighted.

There must have been a good deal of repetition; the scribe, as usual, made 'bad shots' at names, and these the editor manipulated. Thus שֹׁמֵר and מִשְׁעִיר both come from מִצּוֹר. Probably דוּמָה = אֲרָם (= יִרְחַמְעֵאל). אֲלֵי קָרָא = יִרְחַמְעֵאל.

xxi. 13-17. *Vv.* 13-15 should really be the continuation of the too short oracle just given. Omit מִשָּׁא, and read (probably) thus—

בְּעֵבֶר יְאֹר תְּלִינֵי אַרְחֹזֹת דְּדָנִים:	On the other side of the stream ye must lodge, O ye caravans of Dedanites.
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In Ezek. xxvii. 20 Dedan is expressly mentioned among the peoples which trafficked with Mişsur (מִצּוֹר, rather than צוֹר). The stream must be one of the יְאֹרֵי מִצּוֹר mentioned in xxxvii. 25. In *v.* 16, קָדָר should probably be נוֹשׁ (the N. Arabian Cush). The intermediate reading would be קֶדֶשׁ. The substitution of 'Kedar' for 'Kadesh' was no doubt historically justified; after the fall of the kingdom of Muşri, the territory appears to have been occupied, first by the Salmæans, and next by the Kedarenes (Winckler). But the original writer was presumably consistent in his archaism;

we must therefore read either כּוּשׁ or כּוּשׁ (cp. on Jer. ii. 10). In *v.* 17 read וּשְׂאֵר צִרְפְּתִים [כּוּשׁ יִרְחַמָּאֵל] בְּנֵי-כּוּשׁ יִמְעֹטוּ. קֶשֶׁת has often supplanted כּוּשׁ (see on *v.* 15).

CHAP. xxii. 1-14 is usually explained of the blockade of Jerusalem by the general of Sennacherib (cp. *Proph. Is.* i. 135; Skinner, *Isaiah*, i. 163). The position of the prophecy, however, among those which distinctly require to be explained on the Jerahmeelite theory compels us to revise this view. The heading should most probably be read מִשְׁאֵל בְּנֵי כּוּשָׁן, 'Oracle of the sons of Cushan'; *v.* 5 should be corrected accordingly. יִרְחַמָּאֵל certainly underlies עֵילָם (cp. xxi. 2), יִשְׁמַעְאֵל is latent in שׁוּעַ, and it is again יִרְחַמָּאֵל which is covered over by מְקַרְקֵר קַר (*v.* 5); cp. on Ezek. xxiii. 23 (Shoa and Koa). קֶשֶׁת in *v.* 3 may represent כּוּשׁ (cp. on *v.* 17, and Ps. lxxvi. 4, lxxviii. 9; קַר, in *v.* 6, comes from some popular corruption of יִרְחַמָּאֵל (see on Am. i. 5). Very probably אִדָּם represents אֲרָם, while פְּרָשִׁים comes from צִרְפְּתִים. Cp. however, *SBOT*, pp. 112, 197.

xxii. 15-25. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shebna,' and cp. *American Journal of Theology*, 1901, pp. 433 ff. The name 'Shebna' has passed through more than one stage of corruption; its ultimate original seems to be Cushani. The person referred to was probably a N. Arabian politician whose presence in Jerusalem was occasioned by an embassy which Hezekiah had sent to Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muşri. It is very possible that he was popularly styled sometimes the Cushanite, sometimes the Zarephathite; סֹפֵר (commonly rendered 'scribe') may as well be a corruption of צִרְפִּי as סֹפֵר in Neh. can be a corruption of צִרְפַּת. In *v.* 15 read אֵל-הַקֶּשֶׁת הַזֶּה. In *v.* 17, for טַלְטְלָה בָּרָא read יִרְחַמָּאֵל (cp. Ps. lii. 3^b in *Ps.*⁽²⁾). In *v.* 18, צַנֹּף יִצְנַפֵּךְ צִנְפָּה, should be צַפְפָּה, on which the following words אֵל-אֲרָץ יִרְחַמָּאֵל (disfigured terribly) are a gloss. קַבֹּרוֹת should be מְרֻכְבוֹת; what have 'chariots' to do in this context?

CHAP. xxiii. The series of prophecies against the nations begins with the most powerful of the Jerahmeelite kingdoms—with that commonly known as בָּבֶל (but sometimes אֲשׁוּר); it closes with a less powerful but, as being much nearer to Canaan, hardly less formidable kingdom of מִצְרַיִם. The capitals of both were of much commercial im-

portance, but greater stress is laid on this characteristic in the case of the city of Miššur than in that of the city of Babel. Duhm is of opinion that wherever צר occurs in the poem, it is a corruption of צידון; the truth is, however, that צר and צידון are both corruptions of מצור. Omitting glosses and variants the poem (*vs.* 1-13) should run nearly as follows—

כי שדדה בירתכם		הלילו אמות אשור	¹
[כי] נגלה ירחמאל		עברו מארץ מענת	
סחרי מצור		דמו ישמעאל וערב	²
מעוז ירחמאל		בושי מצור כי אמר	⁴
בחורים [ר]בתולות		לא חלתי ולא ילדתי	
ישמעאל וערב		עברו אשורה הלילו	⁶
מימי-קדם קדמתה		הואת ירחמאל [ה]עליזה	⁷
מרחוק לגור		יחדלו [ממנ]ה רכליה	
המעריצה		מי-יעין ואת על-מצור	⁸
נכבדי ארץ		אשר סחריה שרים	
* * *		יהוה צבאות יעצה	⁹
כל-נכבדי ארץ		לחלל כל-צבי להקל	
אין מעוז עוד		עברי [מ]ארצך ירחמאל	¹⁰
הרגיו ממלכות		ידו נטה על-ירחמאל	¹¹
ארמנתיה		יהוה ציה אל-קנו להשמיד	
בתולת בת-מצור		לא-תוסיפי עוד לעלוז המעשקה	¹²
גם-שם לא-ינוח לך		מענת קומי עברי	
ואשור וישמעאל		הן ארץ כושם	
ארמנתיה		הקימו בחיניהם עוררו	
כי שדדה בירתכם :		הלילו אמות אשור	

As to the omissions. In *v.* 2 (end) עבר represents ערב (a correction of אי?), and both ים and מלאוך represent ירחמאל (a correction of למו?). In *v.* 3 the scribe gives a list of the ירחמאלים ערבים (virtually = מצור), viz. סחרי גוים (virtually = מצור), viz. ארץ-אשור כוש ירחמאל רחבות (רחבות is a fragment of a ditto-graphed רחבות). Cp. Ezek. xxvii. In *v.* 4, ים, הים, and לאמר all = ירחמאל.—*V.* 5 is by no means a 'prosaic interpolation'; it is a scribe's list of names of peoples, אשחור וישמעאל מצרים ירחמאל ישמעאל מצור. In *v.* 8, כנעניה comes from כנענים, and this from קננים (like כנען from קנו). In *v.* 10, בת-אשור (so read!) is a scribe's insertion; ירחמאל (underlying כיאר) is alone correct. In *v.* 12, ויאמר is

editorial. In *v.* 13, **זֶה הָעָם יִרְחָמָאֵל** (so read!) is a gloss, 'This is the people Jerahmeel.' Either **יִסְדָּה** or **לְצִיִּים** is superfluous, for both these words are miswritten for **יִשְׁמַעְאֵל**. The passage appears to state that a combination of warlike peoples, Cusham (*i.e.* Jerahmeel), Asshur and Ishmael besieged and overthrew the city of Mišsur. We have to reconcile this with the statement that Ishmaelites and Arabians (the gloss also includes Cush in the list of merchants) were among those who trafficked with Mišsur. Commerce, then as now, must have been adverse to merely destructive wars. The appendix (*vv.* 15-18) is of course later than the preceding poem. **צָר** should of course be **מָצָר**, and we can now securely explain the mysterious words **כָּל-יָמֵי מַלְכָּךְ נִימִי מֶלֶךְ אֶחָד יִרְחָמָאֵל**. Mišsur was to be under the ban for seventy years, *viz.* the whole period of the king of Jerahmeel, alluding to anticipations such as those in Jer. xxv. in its present form. In *v.* 19 **מִצְרַיִם**, and in *v.* 22 **מִצְרַיִם**, mean the same people, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Mušri, which was to be subdued by the king of **בָּבֶל**. The poverty of the appendix suggests a very late date.

CHAPS. xxiv.-xxvii. The great differences of critical opinion relative to this singular literary mosaic (for such at least we must all agree in regarding it) justifies a somewhat close inquiry into the textual basis common to all theories (*cp.* Duhm, Marti, and *SBOT*, Heb., 'Isaiah'). That a special amount of reserve is necessary, is obvious. The question is whether even here, as probably in the great apocalyptic passages in Ezekiel, Joel, and Zechariah, we must not assume that the different component parts of this work in their original form had a Jerahmeelite background, *i.e.* that the typical arch-enemy of the Jews is the N. Arabian oppressor. Certainly we may expect to find some definite references to the people among whom the writer and his companions live, even in the opening description of the decaying condition of the 'earth' or 'world,' for by the 'earth' or 'world' is meant the lands where the main body of the Jews are settled, the lands of their captivity. Such a reference we may plausibly find in xxiv. 4, **אֲמַלְלוּ מְרוֹם עַם-הָאָרֶץ**. The ordinary view is thus expressed by Skinner,

'Literally the height of the people, *i.e.* the noblest of the people. It is the only case where the word is so used, though cp. Eccles. x. 6.' But we do not expect to find the *population* of the earth referred to here. Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 48) therefore takes מרום in the sense of 'heaven' (אמלל מרום 'עם הא'); so *SBOT*, p. 64, and Marti. Gunkel finds in the passage a faint echo of the dragon-myth (see *E. Bib.*, 'Dragon'); the tyranny of the mythic dragon was exercised in heaven as well as upon earth. But is such an (unconscious) allusion to the ancient myth to be expected here? The writer is absorbed in the present; is מרום to be less vitally modern than הארץ? Try textual criticism; there are certainly cases in which מ' comes from ירחמאל (*e.g.* *Ps.*⁽²⁾ on *Ps.* viii. 8, lvi. 3). It is very possible that both אמללן and מרום represent ירחמאל, and that עם הארץ ירח' is a gloss on ישיבה in *v.* 5.

xxiv. 13. מים. Presumably, as elsewhere, מימן = מימן = מירחמאל.—15. For בארים read בארם, and for באי הים read בירחמאל, a gloss on בארם.—16. At a distance the Jews rejoice, but in the land of Judah the writer and his friends are still depressed. רוז לי. Prof. W. E. Barnes has very strangely revived the explanation 'secret' (*Dan.* ii. 18 *f.*); most explain 'leanness to me.' But surely אוי לי is a remnant of אוריאל, which is a corruption of ירחמאל (see *E. Bib.*, 'Uriel'). רוז-לי also represents this corrupt form of 'ירח'; ר = ז, so that the reading really is רז-לי = ראל. Probably אוי לי, *i.e.* ירחמאל, represents a correction of רוז-לי. Read, therefore, 'but I say, Jerahmeel, Jerahmeel!' The Holy Land is, in fact, still infested with tyrannical Arabians.—21. The ordinary view is that the prince-angels of earthly sovereignties share the punishment of the human kings, and this is thought to be confirmed by *Ps.* lviii. and lxxxii. Textual criticism, however, does not appear to favour this interpretation of the psalms, and it is in itself, though certainly possible, not very probable here. That the redactor of this part of Isaiah explained the passage in this way is, however, probable. The question is, can we detect underneath the existing words an earlier reading which gives the passage more actuality and vitality? There are in *vs.* 21 *f.* three words which are possible corruptions of names of N.

Arabian peoples; these are מרום, אדמה, אסיר, to which correspond respectively ירוחמאל, ארם, אשור. By admitting this, we escape three difficulties. (1) צבא המרום, a vague expression, which may mean either 'prince-angels' or 'star-deities' (see Dillm.-Kittel), and which in either case is not to be expected here; (2) the equally vague phrase מלכי-האדמה; and (3) the forced expression אספה אסיר or אספה האסיר. The original text seems to have had, יפקד י' על-צבא ירוחמאל ומלכי ארם ואספו אשורים על-בור.

CHAP. xxv. The occasion of the song in xxv. 1-5a has been much discussed. Duhm and Marti think of the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus; in *Intr. Is.*, p. 158, the capture and destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great is suggested. The reference to 'ancient purposes' (revealed in prophecies) favours the latter view, if Joel iv. 4-8 and Zech. ix. 2-4 refer to Tyre. But, as we shall see, צר in both passages is a corruption of מצר, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Muşri (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Mizraim,' § 2 b), and v. 10 expressly mentions מואב, which, as so often, has supplanted מצור. See on xv. 1.

xxv. 7. For הלוט we might read either הקלט or (Duhm; SBOT; Marti) הלוט. But the real difficulty remains untouched. The poet is not likely to have chosen לוט in preference to better known words. Does לוט really exist except as a proper name? The chapter, according to the true text, refers to the destruction of Mişsur and Jerahmeel. Now these peoples were traditionally the sons of Lot (מואב = מצור; עמון = ירוחמאל). Originally, vv. 7, 8 probably made a single verse, which opened thus, ובלע בני-לוט לנצה וגו'. For בני לוט, however, there was a various reading ירמות (one of the corruptions of ירוחמאל). This got into the text in a mutilated form as מות. The late redactor, who had accepted a high eschatological doctrine, read this as מות, 'death' (cp. on xxviii. 15), and the way to the reconstruction of the passage was open. Note Pasek after הלוט. That the new form is far better religiously than the old, is willingly granted.—10. For מואב read מצור.

CHAP. xxvi. 3. A very oddly expressed maxim! Read rather (in a), תצננו מקשם תצננו מישמעאל.

xxvi. 9. בלילה. Read probably בירוחמאל (cp. on Ps.

lxxvii. 3).—19. For אֲרָחָם read אֲרָחָם. ⚔, ἵαμα αὐτοῖς (cp. Isa. lviii. 8, Jer. xxx. 14, ἵαμα = אֲרָחָם).

CHAP. xxvii. 1. Probably a single power is figuratively referred to, viz. Jerahmeel. On the epithets of the sword and of the Leviathan see Winckler, *AOF*, iii. 220 *f.* אֲשֶׁר בִּים is not recognised by ⚔. Possibly it springs out of אֲשֶׁר יִרְחַמְאֵל, and the whole clause 'וְהָרַג וְגו', *i.e.* 'he shall slay the dragon Asshur Jerahmeel,' is a gloss stating that the two Leviathans are Asshur and Jerahmeel. However this may be, בְּיוֹם הַהוּא seems to come from יִרְחַמְאֵל (a correction of בִּים?). By a happy instinct the redactor has placed a song on the favour which Yahwè will one day show to his vineyard in Jerahmeel immediately after an eschatological prediction of the destruction of the old, hostile Jerahmeel. See on v. 1 *ff.* The fem. suffixes in *vs.* 2, 3 refer to the Jerahmeelite *land*.

xxvii. 11. לֹא-יִרְחַמְנוּ, perhaps an allusion to the name 'Jerahmeel.'—12. A description of the limits within which the Israelitish exiles will be gathered. Read מִשְׁמַעַל הַקָּהָר עַד-נַחַל מִצְרַיִם וְאַתֶּם תִּלְקְטוּ בִירְחַמְאֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

CHAP. xxviii. 1-4 has been greatly misunderstood. It is really a prophecy against a city in the Negeb, one of those which would bear the brunt of the expected N. Arabian invasion. Amos utters a 'Woe' against another Jerahmeelite mountain-city—Shimron (Am. vi. 1). In *v.* 1, for שְׂכָרִי read כְּוַשָּׁם. It is the Cusham spoken of in Gen. xxxiv. (corr. text); see *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem.' The words which describe its situation should be read גִּיא-יִשְׁמַעַל [יִרְחַמְאֵל]. It is probably the גִּיא מֶלַח (valley of Melah = Jerahmeel) which is meant; 'ירח' is a gloss on 'יש'. נַבֵּל is obscure. Can it be לְעֵמֶת גְּאוֹת וְלִצְבֵי תַפְאֵרֶה, 'blossom'? In *v.* 5 read לְעֵמֶת גְּאוֹת וְלִצְבֵי תַפְאֵרֶה.

xxviii. 10. Remembering צִלְצַל in xviii. 1 and קוֹעַ in Ezek. xxiii. 23, it is plausible to read 'יש' יִשְׁמַעַל יִרְחַמְאֵל. In truth, 'Jerahmeel' pervades Isaiah's prophecies. וְעִיר should probably be מִצְוֵר; the allusion is to Isaiah's warnings against a Miṣṣrite alliance.

xxviii. 15, 18. In spite of the plausible explanations in the commentaries, it appears certain that the text is wrong. For מוֹת read יִרְחַמְאֵל (ירמות); see on xxv. 8. שְׂאוֹל comes from יִשְׁמַעַל (see on Ps. cxxxix. 8). The alliance

with Mišrim seems to be referred to. The invader described in *vs.* 17-19 is the great king of Asshur.—21. 'Mount Perazim' for Baal-perazim' and 'the valley by Gibeon' for 'the valley of Rephaim' are strange. Perhaps we should read עיר פְּרִיזִים, 'city of liars,' and עַם בְּגָדִים, 'people of traitors.' So *E. Bib.*, 'Perazim, Mount.'

CHAP. xxix. 1 *f.*, 7. See *SBOT*, p. 99, where the pointing אַרְיָאֵל is adopted, 'Uriel' being assumed to be a modification of אֲרוּשָׁלַם, the old name of Jerusalem (= Uru-salim of the Amarna Tablets). It is supposed that this form was adopted to produce a paronomasia: in a year or two the slaughter will be so great that the capital will rather deserve the name Arial, 'altar-hearth.' Marti adopts this; it is at any rate plausible. But taking into account a necessary correction of 2 S. v. 8, where 'the lame and the blind' should be 'the Jerahmeelites,' and a hardly less necessary correction of 2 S. xxiii. 20, where 'Ariel' should be 'Jerahmeelites' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Snow,' 'Zion'), it is obvious that we should read יִרְחֵמָאֵל, which as a name of Jerusalem may, in the popular speech, have become אַרְיָאֵל. 'Jerahmeel' was, in fact, inevitably a name of Jerusalem, because in its origin it was Jerahmeelite, and, if one may differ from Prof. Paul Haupt (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb., p. 100, foot), the name 'Jerusalem' itself most probably came from עיר (= Uru) 'city' and יִרְחֵמָאֵל. Cp. שָׁלוֹם misread occasionally for יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (see on xxvi. 3, and Gen. xxxiii. 18 [reading נָשָׂם [עיר יִשְׁמַעְאֵל]).—In *v.* 2*b*, for לִי נֶאֱרָאֵל read לֹא יִרְחֵמָאֵל, 'and she shall become Lo-jerahmeel.' Precisely parallel to Hos. i. 6 (see note).

xxix. 22. ⚡ has εὐ ἀφώρισεν ἐξ Αβρααμ, suggesting אֲשֶׁר מִרְחָם. פָּדָה אֶתְּו מִרְחָם. This seems to be nearly right. Only מִרְחָם should be מִרְחָמָאֵל = מִרְחָם (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem'). Thus the passage becomes, 'Therefore thus saith Yahwè, the God (אֵל) of the house of Jacob, who delivered him from Jerahmeel.' The assumption is that the house of Jacob (= Israel) was delivered, not from Mišraim (Egypt), but from Mišrim (nearly = Jerahmeel) in N. Arabia. אַבְרָהָם was miswritten for מִרְחָם, *i.e.* מִרְחָם. ⚡'s text was a mixture of the true text and of that which we know from MT.

CHAP. xxx. 1-5. The passage is admittedly difficult.

It has been discussed by the present writer in *JQR*, x. 571 f. (1898), in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. (1899), p. 102, and in *E. Bib.*, 'Hanes,' § 3. If the ordinary view of Isaiah's prophecies on the embassy to מצרים is correct, and if the text of *vv.* 4, 5 requires but slight modification to produce a satisfactory sense, the summing up in *E. Bib.* (col. 1958, cp. 1956, note 2) appears to be unassailable. 'Vv. 5 and 6 thus become parallel, and within *v.* 5 itself the parallelism between צֶעַן (Zoan) and תַּחְפַּנְחָס (Tahpanhes) is as perfect as it could be [assuming Tahpanhes to be Daphnæ].' Ruben (*JQR*, xi. 448) accepts תַּחְפַּנְחָס (first suggested in 1892 by Grätz). It must, however, be pointed out that in all the passages in which ת is mentioned, the text is questionable, and the textual phenomena of *vv.* 4 f. are not such as to set the mind of a scrupulous critic at ease. Certainly this is the case here; to accept MT. as it stands is beyond the power of any textual critic. If the comparatively slight corrections proposed in *SBOT* be accepted, it will be necessary to suppose that *vv.* 4 f. are a later insertion based on *vv.* 6, 7a, which come before us as a separate even if fragmentary מִצְרַיִם, and which the author of the inserted passage supposed to refer to an embassy sent by Hezekiah into Egypt. In reality, *vv.* 6, 7a refer either to the flight of Hanunu, king of Gaza, to Pir'u, king of Muşri (cp. the description in xvi. 7), or to an embassy sent from Judah to that king (cp. on chap. xx.). Provisionally, caution dictated the forms of these explanations of *vv.* 6, 7a. But a more complete criticism favours, and indeed requires, the latter. We have no sufficient reason for assuming that *vv.* 6, 7a are a separate though fragmentary oracle. Textual criticism throws the greatest doubt upon this, and leads us to the view that the passage is a description of the journey from Judah, and the arrival in Muşri of the embassy sent by Hezekiah. Vv. 6, 7a should probably be inserted after *v.* 3. After they had been omitted in error, and restored in the wrong place, it was natural for the redactor to insert מִצְרַיִם, to account for the abrupt transition from *v.* 5 to *v.* 6. The errors of the text are greater than the present writer ventured for a long time to assume, and they can only be corrected as the result of a comparatively large acquaintance

with types of textual corruption. *Vv.* 1-7 really belong to the same prophecy. *Vv.* 1-3 present no verses of great moment. What follows should probably be written somewhat as follows—

כִּי-הִלְכוּ בְּנֶגֶב יִרְחַמָּאֵל
 בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְכוּשׁ
 יִשְׂאוּ אֶל-כִּתְּף יִרְחַמָּאֵל
 וְאֶל-צַרְפַּת אוֹצְרוֹתָם
 כִּי-חָנוּ בְּצַעַר שָׂרִי
 וּמַלְאֲכֵי מַחְנֵי יִגְעוּ
 לֹא לַעֲזוֹר וְלֹא לַהוֹעִיל
 לְבִשְׁתׁ וְגַם לְחֹרֶפֶה :

The original passage was injured partly by transposition, partly by corruption, partly by dittograms and glosses. In *v.* 4, *צַעַר* should be *צַעַר* (= *מִצְרַיִם* ?), *חָנוּ* should probably be *מַחְנֵי* (an early corruption of *יִרְחַמָּאֵל*). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hanes,' and Marti, *ad loc.* Plainly, *מִשָּׁה* should be omitted, as of the nature of a gloss, and it is hardly doubtful that *בְּהַמֹּת* comes from *יִרְחַמָּאֵל* (cp. on *Hab.* iii. 17). From *לְבִיא* to *מַעֲרֹפָה* appears to be glossatorial; *לְבִיא וְלִישׁ מַהֵם* represents *אֲפֵנָה וְשָׂרָף מַעֲרֹפָה* and each of the three words represents *צַרְפַּתִּים*. *עוֹרִים* and *חִילִיָּהֶם* both represent *יִרְחַמָּאֵל*. The non-existent word *דְּבִשְׁתׁ*, arbitrarily rendered 'hump,' probably comes from *צַרְפַּת*, on which *יִרְחַמָּאֵל* = *גַּמְלִים* is a gloss. *לֹא יוֹעִיל* may be merely an editor's amplification; but more probably it covers over a dittographed *יִרְחַמָּאֵל*; this word, together with the following *מִצְרַיִם* [ו] is glossatorial. *הִבֵּל וְרִיק* is again *יִרְחַמָּאֵל*, a gloss. *יְעוֹר* is a patch due to the same editor who, ingeniously manipulating the accretions of glosses, produced the very poor and yet fairly intelligible passage which lies before us. The closing words of *v.* 7 are regarded by Duhm, *SBOT*, and Marti as a gloss, stating that on this ground prophecy gave 'this' impotent kingdom (Egypt?) the name 'Rahab *.' These three do not agree, however, as to the form of the word which should follow 'Rahab.' No wonder. The corruption lies deeper than has been supposed. 'Rahab' is probably not the name of a mythological monster, but a corruption of *יִרְחַמָּאֵל*; *הֵם* which follows is also a fragment of this much

misunderstood group of letters. שבת, according to precedents, should be צרפת. The words rendered 'therefore I call this' are also corrupt. קראתיל has a close resemblance to יקתאל (commonly read Joktheel), which is certainly a corruption of ירחמאל. לכן and זאת may, like יעורו, be an editorial insertion. But it is possible that זאת represents צרפת. Parallels for this large accretion of glosses consisting of N. Arabian names abound elsewhere, especially in the Psalms. [It is pleasant to add that Duhm has already noticed that the phrase underlying נגב בהמות should form part of the oracle, and that Marti has suggested that רהב הם may cover over בהמות. The latter idea, it is true, is only the germ of the theory here regarded as the true one.]

xxx. 25. 'In the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall.' But where is the parallelism? How can 'towers' be slaughtered? The final ם in מגדלים implies 'מגדלי', written in error for מגדלי = מגדלי [א]ל. ירחמאל often has this origin. Read, 'when Jerahmeel falls.' It is less necessary to read ערב for רב.

xxx. 27-31. 'Beyond question disfigured by glosses, the removal of which, however, does not leave an entirely satisfactory text' (*SBOT*, p. 103). In v. 31, בשבט יכה has been found troublesome. Duhm and Marti regard it as a gloss from x. 24. But the object of such a gloss is not obvious. A better sense is produced by reading בצרפת יכה, 'in Zarephath shall he be smitten'; cp. Mic. iv. 14, which may perhaps, in the true text, have told how Ishmaelite plunderers shall be defeated at Zarephath. Both שבט and שבת elsewhere represent צרפת (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3072, note 5).—V. 32 cannot be justified as it stands. To correct it, presupposes acquaintance with the corrupt forms assumed elsewhere by names of N. Arabian peoples. The original text may have run somewhat as follows, beginning at v. 31b—

בצרפת יכה: והיה לכל-ערבים מטה ומטה בנפתחים
ובירחמאלים: כי ערף לנפתוח הוכן העמיק הרחב וגו':

That אשר יכה is a gloss, was seen by Duhm. That בנפתחים is wrong, must be clear. תנופה, which follows presently, is probably נפתוח, a place-name or ethnic, whence נפתחים (see on Gen. x. 13, and *E. Bib.*, col. 3164, note 1).

For תפים read therefore נפ'. כנרת is one of the corruptions of ירחמאל; cp. the phrase ים כנרת, apparently 'the sea of Kinnereth,' but really 'the sea of Jerahmeel.' לחם with its various prefixes and affixes is frequently a substitute for ירחמאל. ירחמאל probably comes from תפתה, ישמאל (alas for the dear old errors!) from נפתוח; both גם-הוא and למלך from לירחמאל.

CHAP. xxxi. 8b, 9a. A late insertion, according to Duhm. But the corrected text does not favour this. Read—

וישמאל ממגור יעבור | וחתו מנס שריו:

CHAP. xxxiii. 7-9. אראלם, i.e. ירחמאלם, appears to be meant, and שלום in the second line, as the parallelism shows, represents ישמעאל. But there must be other corruptions as well. מלאני may come from ירחמאל, a gloss on אראלם. But the verbs? Vv. 8 and 9 are also not free from corruption. From הפר to אנוש is an editorial production, based not improbably on corrupt ethnics (Rehoboth, Ishmael, Jerahmeel). קמל comes from כרמל (written too soon). נער (shakes off??) should be omitted as a repetition of [נער]בה.

xxxiii. 17. It is Jerusalem which is referred to; for the corrected text, see *SBOT*, p. 196, and note Marti's assent.

xxxiii. 18. See *SBOT*, p. 107; the influence of Assyrian phraseology is noteworthy.

CHAP. xxxv. 8. Read לא יעברו מענת ירחמאלים לא בה. Underneath והוא למו, והוא למו, and ואוילים are corrupt forms of ירחמאלים, which record three vain endeavours of the scribe to give this ethnic. בה (see *SBOT*) must have fallen out of the text. It is required, however, for clearness (so, too, Marti).

CHAPS. xxxvi.-xxxix. (except xxxviii. 9-20). See on 2 K. xviii. 13-xx. 19.

CHAP. xli. 1-4. Read probably—

והקהלו ירחמאלים	הקבצו אלי ערבים ¹
יחדו לשפט בקרבה	גשו או דברו
ארץ ירחמאל יקראהו	מי-העיר מפונח ערין ²
ומלכי ארץ יחריד	יתן לקניו גוים
נקש נדף כושם	ישם קעפר וקבים
ירחמאל ישב אחר	ירדף ערבים וישמעאל ³

מִרְפֵּעַל וְעָשָׂה זֹאת⁴ | קָרָא הַבְּיָאוֹת מְרֹאֵשׁ
 אֲנִי יְהוּדָה רֵאשׁוֹן | וְאֶת־אֲחֵרֵיכֶם אֲנִי הוּא :

It is doubtful whether the prominent reference generally supplied to the coast-lands of the Mediterranean is probable. In *l.* 5, *rekabim* (cp. xli. 21, xliii. 14) may be an archaizing term for 'N. Arabians.'

xli. 8-10 is the continuation. Marti seems to be wrong in excising *v.* 9^{aba} as a marginal amplification relative to Abraham. The much disputed קצרת הארץ both in xli. 5 (|| איים, *i.e.* ערבים), and in xli. 9, probably means the N. Arabian Negeb, from which, according to the early tradition, both Abraham and the Israelites appear to have come.

xli. 21. Read probably קָרְבוּ רִבְנִים (cp. xli. 2), and of course עֲצֻבוֹתֵיכֶם (see *SBOT*).—25. Read הַעִירוֹתַי מִצְפֹּן נֶשֶׁם | מִמְּוֶרָח אֶקְרָאֵהוּ נֶשֶׁם סָבְנִים (cp. on xlvi. 11), and for סָבְנִים read לְנֶשֶׁם (cp. xiv. 2, 4, liii. 11? lx. 17, Zech. ix. 8). Harith (Ḥarithath) king of the Nabatæans is perhaps referred to. See on xlv. 1, xlvi. 11. שָׁמַשׁ and בְּשָׁמִי both represent נֶשֶׁם.

CHAP. xlii. 1-4. On this and on the other passages respecting the 'Servant of Yahwè' see *E. Bib.*, 'Servant of the Lord.' That the text of xlii. 1-4 is incorrect is suggested by the want of unanimity as to the interpretation. Observation of the errors of the scribes elsewhere suggests reading thus—

הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמַדְבֹּר¹
 בְּחִירִי רֵצְתָה נִפְשִׁי
 נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו
 מִשְׁפָּט^(a) לְגוֹיִם יוֹצִיא^(b)
 יוֹנֵק רֶק לֹא יִשְׁבֵּר³
 יִשְׁבֵּט לֹא־נֶחַ לֹא יִרוּץ^(c)
 עַד־יָשִׁים בְּאָרְץ מִשְׁפָּט⁴
 וְתוֹרָתוֹ בִּירוּחַמְאֵלִים :

(a) Gloss. לעמים יוציא משפט (*v.* 3c).

(b) *V.* 2 probably contains ethnics, illustrative of גוים. לא ישא, לא יצעק, לא ישא, לא ישמיע, all come from ישמעאל; י; ישמעאל and בחון; ישמעאל and קולו are corrupt fragments of ירחמאל.

(c) Between פשתה (שבט) and ולא (לא) are various early conjectures on the misunderstood לא־נח.

xlii. 6, xlix. 8. For *לְתַפְאֶרֶת לְבְרִית עִם* read probably *לְתַפְאֶרֶת עִם* (cp. xiii. 18, xlvi. 13, lxii. 2 *f.*). Observe that *עִם*, in xlix. 8, has *εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν*. Duhm (2nd ed.) reads *פְּדוּת עִם*. But *פ'* and *אור* are not parallel, nor can *פְּדוּת* very well have a concrete sense; *עִם*, moreover, seems to be precluded by *גֵּרִים*, while *בְּרִית*, suggested by Duhm to those who prefer *עִם*, is not parallel to *אור*.

xlii. 10*b*. This consists of glosses on *a*. The persons addressed are *יְרַחֲמָאִים* (represented by *יְרֹדֵי הַיָּם* and *רַמְלָאוּ*), *עַרְבִים* (in MT. *אֲרִיִּם*), and *יִשְׁמַעְאִים* (in MT. *יִשְׁבִּיִּהִם*).

xlii. 14. For *קְעוֹלָם* read perhaps *מִיְרַחֲמָאֵל* (הַחֲשִׁיתִי), 'I have been heedless of Jerahmeel.' But cp. *SBOT*, p. 131.

xlii. 19. A collection of glosses on *v*. 18. The blind and the deaf are really the Jews; but the framers of the glosses misunderstand, and make them out to be the Jerahmeelites, otherwise called the Ishmaelites and the Arabians.

מִי עֵרַר נִי עִם-עַרְבֵי | וְחָרַשׁ נִירַחֲמָאֵלִי
מִי עֵרַר נִישְׁמַעְאֵלִי | וְחָרַשׁ פְּעַרְבֵי:

אשלה may be disregarded as a corruption of *ישמעאלי*, which presently follows (MT. *מִשְׁלָם*; cp. on xlix. 7).

xlii. 22. Read *וְהוּא בְּאָדָם בּוֹנוֹ | וְשָׁסוּי בִּירַחֲמָאִים*.

CHAP. xliii. 3 *ff.* Point *מַצְרִים*. The N. Arabian Misrites and Cushites are referred to (so xlv. 14). Then come *אָדָם* and *יְרַחֲמָאִים*.—8, 9. The 'blind people that have eyes' etc., probably = 'the idols' (cp. Ps. cxv. 5 *f.*, cxxxv. 16 *f.*), and the 'nations' and 'peoples' are those of N. Arabia. Cp. on xli. 1, 21. Read imperatives (so Kittel and *SBOT*).

xliii. 14. Read (as an approximation to the truth)—

לְמַעַנְכֶם שְׁלַחְתִּי יְרַחֲמָאֵל
וְהוֹרַדְתִּי רַבִּים בְּלָם
וְכוֹשִׁים מִנְּקִסְאוֹת הַמִּדְבָּרִים:

CHAP. xliv. 28. For *רַעִי* read *זְרַעִי*, 'mine arm'; note the improved parallelism. Cp. on ix. 19.

CHAP. xlv. 1. For *מְשִׁיחוֹ* read *חֲסִידוֹ* (similarly Ps. ii. 2, xx. 7, xxviii. 8, cv. 15, Hab. iii. 13). For *כֹּרֶשׁ* (*Κ*, *Kûros*) some other name must be substituted. That Cyrus

took any interest in the Jews, we have no documentary evidence (see *E. Bib.*, 'Cyrus,' § 6), and even putting aside some of the possible references to N. Arabians, enough remain to show that the atmosphere of the work is N. Arabian. The writer evidently expects some powerful prince to subvert the kingdom of the oppressors of Israel, and what prince is so likely to have been thought of as a chieftain or king of the Nabatæans, the people which in the first half of the second century B.C. became predominant in the territory of the former Mišrim? It is most plausible, therefore, to read, not כורש, but חורש, *i.e.* Ḥarith (= Aretas). That the king of the Nabatæans is meant, is further suggested by the most probable correction of ויאת in xli. 25 and עיט in xlvi. 11.

CHAP. xlvi. 1. Read probably בְּנֵי יִרְחַמָּאל (thus justifying the plur. suffix in עֲצִיבֵיהֶם. Cp. on xli. 21. נְבוֹ represents בני; קרם and בל both have come from fragments of יִרְחַמָּאל.

xlvi. 11. עֵיט (Θ, *πετεινόν*) is unsuitable as a description of Yahwè's anointed, whose right hand he holds (xlvi. 1), and as a parallel to אִישׁ עֲצָתִי. Like ויאת (xli. 25) it may come from נְבִיאוֹת (= Nabatæan?). See on xlvi. 16.

CHAP. xlvi. 1. Read בֵּית יִרְחַמָּאל and (so too *v.* 5) בֵּית נוֹשִׁים. These are frequent corruptions. בְּבֵל probably comes from some popular abbreviated form of יִרְחַמָּאל, which indeed the writer of chap. xlvi. may very well have given.

xlvi. 13. Great misunderstanding has been caused here. In spite of Muss-Arnolt's learned and acute attempt to explain from Assyrian, an archæological catalogue of different kinds of soothsayers seems to me improbable. The underlying text (after וישיעך) appears to be—הִבְרִי יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, to which is appended (as a gloss?) אֲדָמִים. The troublesome עֲלִיד (see Marti) and אֲשָׁר are corruptions of יִרְחַמָּאל and אֲשָׁר respectively; the latter perhaps a correction of לְחַדְשִׁים.

CHAP. xlvi. 10. Read בְּעֵלֵי נוֹשָׁם, 'in the crucible (?) of Cusham,' and בְּכֹור יִרְחַמָּאל, 'in the furnace of Jerahmeel.' יִרְחַ is represented by לְמַעַנִי (of which עֲנִי is a fragment). —14. Read יִרְחַמָּאל and נוֹשִׁים (for the rest see *SBOT* and Marti). So *v.* 20.

xlvi. 14, 16, 20. Read, instead of M.'s *v.* 14—

הִקְבְּצוּ יְרַחֲמְאִים וְשָׁמְעוּ
 מִיְּבָהֶם הַגִּיד אֶת-אֱלֹהָ
 נְבִיֹּתַי יַעֲשֶׂה הַפְּצִי
 בְּיְרַחֲמָאֵל וּבְאַרְצָן נוֹשֵׂם :

The opening words of *v.* 16 קרבו אלי שמעו-ואת (omitted, without adequate justification, in *SBOT*, after Duhm, and with the assent of Marti) are really a correction of כלכם ושמעו in *v.* 14; only קרבו אלי is a corruption of ירחמאלים. Now, as to *v.* 16. The closing words (ועתה וגו') have also been omitted upon insufficient grounds. They should be taken together with מעת היותה שם אני; both groups of words represent the same underlying original, except that יהוה (like יהוה אהבו in *v.* 14) probably represents נְבִיֹּתַי, a gloss from the margin. The words of which the traditional text (M⁶) is a corruption, probably are—וְעַתָּה וְשָׁלַחְתִּיו יְרַחֲמָאֵל. The important notice, prepared for by the summons first of the Israelites and then of the Jerahmeelites, is, that Ḥarith the Nebaiothite has been sent on his way to Jerahmeel. Then, omitting the edifying late insertion in *vv.* 17-19, comes the trumpet-call, 'Go out of Jerahmeel, flee from Cushim,'—

צֵאוּ מִיְּרַחֲמָאֵל בְּרוּחוֹ מִנוֹשִׂים :

CHAP. xlix. 1-6. Read—

¹ שָׁמְעוּ עַרְבִים אֵלַי
 וְהִקְשִׁיבוּ יְרַחֲמָאִים
 יְהוּדָה מִבְּשֵׁן קְרָאֲנִי
 מִמְּעַי אֲמִי הוֹנִיר שָׁמִי

² וַיֵּשֶׁם פִּי נִחְרַב חֲדָה
 בְּצֹל יְדוֹ הוֹחֲבִיאֲנִי
 וַיִּשְׁמַנִּי לְחֵץ בְּרוּר
 בְּאַשְׁפְּתוֹ הַסְּתִירָנִי

³ וַיֹּאמֶר לִי עֲבָדִי אֲתָה
 יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בָּךְ אֲתַפְּאֵר
 וַנִּתְתִּיךָ לְאוּר גּוֹיִם ⁶⁶
 לְדֹרוֹת וְשׁוֹעֲתֵי עַד-קֶצֶה-אַרְצָן

וְאָנֹכִי אֶמְרֵתִי לְרִיק וְגַעְתִּי
 לְתַהוֹרֵהוּ וְהִבֵּל פָּחִי כְלִיתִי
 אֲכֹן מִשְׁפָּטִי אֶת־יְהוּדָה
 וּפְעַלְתִּי אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי

וְעַתָּה אֶמַר יְהוּדָה^{5a}
 יִצְרִי מִבְּטֵן לְעֶבֶד לֹ
 לְשֹׁבֵר [אֶת־]יְרֻחַמְאֵלִים
 וְלִקְרוֹם [אֶת־]וּשְׁמַעְאֵלִים

לְהַקִּים אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי יַעֲקֹב^{6a}
 וּבְצוּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב
 לְנַחַל מַעֲנַת וְעָרֵב
 וַיְרַחֲמָאֵל יְהוָה אֶחְזוֹתִי:

xlix. 7. Read ישמעאלים לעבד וְנֹן לְמַתְעֵב וְנֹן לְעֶבֶד יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים. Cp. xlii. 19 (! מְשָׁלִים), l. 12 (צָפוֹן).

xlix. 10. MT. וְלֹא יִנָּם שָׂרֵב וְשָׁמֵשׁ. But הִנָּה does not suit שָׂרֵב. Read צָרְפַת וְכָשָׁם. The danger from N. Arabian ambushes is past. See on Ps. cxxi. 6, and for the correction נָשָׁם see on Ps. lxxii. 5.

xlix. 12. Consistently with other emendations, we should read here—

הִנָּה־אֱלֹהֵי מִירְחַמְאֵל יְבֹאוּ
 וְהִנָּה אֱלֹהֵי מַצְפֹּן
 וְאֱלֹהֵי מַעֲרָבִים [יְבֹאוּ]
 וְאֱלֹהֵי מַאֲרֵץ יִשְׁמַעְאֵל:

Plausible as the conjecture סְוֵנִים (see *SBOT*, Marti) may be, it must be rejected. 'Ishmael' is here as indispensable as 'Jerahmeel,' and also not less possible (יִשְׁמַאֲיִן = סִינִים; cp. Bethel and Bétin). $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ has ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν, where Π. = עֵלָם, another corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל.

CHAP. I. 4-6. According to Duhm, 'the Servant of Yahwè modestly calls himself not a prophet but a prophet's disciple.' Most, however, think that the Servant rather describes himself as a disciple of Yahwè (cp. liv. 13), *i.e.* as a prophet. Kittel is of opinion that the teachings which he is apparently said to receive, are not theoretical revelations, *i.e.* do not refer to the subject and the manner of his prophetic preaching, but are the unspoken lessons implied in his daily

experiences. Evidently there is a want of consecutiveness in the passage as it stands; *vs.* 5*b*-9 does not connect well with *vs.* 4-5*a*, and there is a strange obscurity in the references to the לְמוֹדִים. From a textual point of view, יעיר לי און, לעות את-יעף דבר למודים, and לשמע. On the analogy of other emendations, we may regard the following as at least possible, and inasmuch as it recognises the presence of ethnics, not altogether improbable—

לְלִצּוֹן יִרְחֶמְאֵלִים אֲדֹכֵי יְהוּדָה כְּתַנְנִי ⁴
עָרַב וִירְחֶמְאֵל לְדַעַת לְשֵׁאת אֶת-גְּדוּףָה
יִשְׁמַעְאֵל וִירְחֶמְאֵל אֲדֹכֵי יְהוּדָה פִּתְחָה-לִי ⁵⁽⁴⁾
אֲחֹרֵר לֹא נִסְוֹגְתִּי וְאֲנִי לֹא מְרִיתִי

For the expressions in *l.* 2, compare *xliv.* 17 (corr. text), but also *v.* 6 (this section), where רֶק should certainly be יִרְחֶמְאֵל, and *li.* 7.

CHAP. *li.* 4-6. Φ 's *οἱ βασιλεῖς*, implies מַלְכִים, which is a perfectly regular corruption of יִרְחֶמְאֵלִים. To correspond, read עַמִּים, or rather עַרְבִים (cp. *איים*, *xli.* 1, *xlix.* 1). עַמִּים at the end of *v.* 4 should be גַּיִם (Klo.; Φ , *ἐθνω*) as in *xlii.* 6, *xlix.* 6; עַמִּים was produced by the initial (corrupt) reading עַמִּים. אֲרָגִיעַ should be אֲגַעַר (cp. on *v.* 15), and should stand at the end of *v.* 5, where read

וְרוּעֵי עַרְבִים יִשְׁפְּטוּ | יִרְחֶמְאֵלִים אֲגַעַר :

יִיחַלֹּן and וְאֵל represent יִרְחֶמְאֵלִים. See also *xlii.* 3, end (as corrected). On *v.* 6 see *SBOT*.

li. 7. The colourless חֲרַפְתָּ אָבוֹשׁ should be ח' יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (see critical note on *Ps.* *lvi.* 2).

li. 15. = *Jer.* *xxxi.* 35. Read גַּעַר with Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 94, note 8. So also *Job* *xxvi.* 12 (otherwise Gunkel, p. 36).

CHAP. *lii.* 3-6. There may be an earlier underlying text, though even this cannot be assigned to the Second Isaiah. In *v.* 3 read perhaps תִּנְאַלִי וְלֹא בְנִשָּׁם תִּנְאַלִי, 'to Jerahmeel were ye sold, and not by Cusham will ye be released.' In *v.* 4, point of course מְצָרִים; omit the editorial insertion שֵׁם לְגוֹר שֵׁם בְּר' לְגוֹר שֵׁם, and continue עֲשֶׂקְדוּהוּ וְאֲשׁוּר וְכִנְשָׁם עֲשֶׂקְדוּהוּ. In *v.* 5, omitting corrupt dittograms of יִרְחֶמְאֵל, the variant

משלך, *i.e.* ישמעאלים (see on xlix. 7), and the patches ועָתָה and בָּאֵם יְהוּדָה, read—

וְלַעֲגוּ עַמִּי יִרְחַמְאֵלִים
וְתִמְדוּ שְׂמִי מִנְאֵין ;

lii. 11. For the unexpected מִשְׁשָׁם read מִשְׁשָׁם.

lii. 13-1iii. 12. The following is a literal translation of a text revised with the help of our key (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Servant of the Lord') :—

¹³ Behold, my Servant will have success ;¹
He will rise, be exalted, and be high.

^{14a} Edom and Asshur will be astonished,
The Jerahmeelites and the Arabians.

¹⁵ The nations will do homage unto him,
Kings will shut their mouths,
For that which has not been told them, do they see,
And that which they have not heard, do they perceive.

¹ But who believed our revelation,
And Yahwè's arm—to whom was it disclosed ?

² He grew up as a sapling before us,
As a plant sprouting from a dry ground :

No form had he that we should see him,
No sightliness that we should desire him ;

^{14ab} For his sightliness was marred by Asshur,
And his form by the sons of Edom.

³ He was despised and shamefully handled,
Ulcered from the stripes of Jerahmeel ;²
He was like a warning before us,
Despised, and we accounted him not.

⁴ But truly our sickness he bore,
Our pains—he carried them,
Whilst we accounted him stricken,
Smitten of God and afflicted.

⁵ But for our rebellious acts he was profaned,
For our guilty deeds he was crushed,
The chastisement that we merited came upon him
And through his stripes we were healed.

¹ Read יִשְׂרָאֵל ; MT. יִשְׂרָאֵל ; Budde, יִשְׂרָאֵל.

² Read קַחֲבִירוֹת יִרְחַמְאֵל.

- 6 All we, like sheep, had gone astray,
We had turned, every one to his own way,
While Yahwè made to fall upon him
The guilt of us all.
- 7 He was treated tyrannically, but as for him—he was mute,
And opened not his mouth,
As a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
And as a sheep before its shearers.
- 8 And who gave heed to his sufferings,
And as for his stripes, who reflected—
That he had been cut off out of the land of the living,
That for our rebellious acts he had been stricken to death,
- 9 And that he had freed the rebellious from sin by his stripes,
And the wicked by his wounds,
Because he had done no injustice,
And there was no deceit in his mouth?
- 10 But Yahwè had pleasure in his servant,¹
And rescued² his soul from the Asshurites,
He caused him to see light to the full,
A posterity that prolonged its life.
- 11 The oppressor of his servant was Jerahmeel,
And his tyrant was Ishmael,
- 12 Therefore should he take possession of Jerahmeel,
And Ishmael should he distribute ;
- Inasmuch as he was brought down to Deathland,
And the Asshurites smote his soul,
Whilst it was he who bore our stripes,
And interposed for the rebellious.

CHAP. lvii. 8. 'זכר; see on Ezek. xvi. 17.—In *v.* 9, for לְמִלְאָה read לִירְחֵמַאֵל. The 'high mountain,' where sacrifice was offered, may be that which seems to be referred to, Jer. ii. 34 and iii. 24, where it is not improbably called Jerahmeel.

CHAP. lix. 18. Read—

כְּלִמּוֹת יְרֵחֵמַאֵל וְיִשְׁמַעֵאֵל
לְעַרְבִים כְּלִמָּה יִשְׁלֵם :

¹ בְּעֵבְרוֹ = בְּקֵדוֹ and בְּקֵדוֹ (Marti).

² אִי־חֵשֶׁם אִשֶׁם = כְּאִשְׁוִיִּים ; יִצְלַח and יִחַלֵּי = יִחַלֵּץ.

The חמה of MT. is a fragment of ירחמאל; לצרו is a late insertion, to provide a parallel for the corrupt לאיבו.

CHAP. lx. 8 *f.* Not ships but hurrying riders; cp. Hos. xi. 11. Read, as *v.* 9—

בִּי יִרְחַמְאֵלִים יַחֲוֶי | וְאַמּוֹת אֲשׁוּר יִבְסְרוּן :

For the אמות of Ishmael see Gen. xxv. 16.

CHAP. lxiii. 1. For אָדוֹם read not improbably אָדָם (= ירחמאל). 'Armageddon' = הַר יִרְחַמְאֵל. For בצרה read מַצִּיב.

lxiii. 11 *f.* Experience elsewhere (see on Ps. xxii. 17*b*) dissuades us from simply disregarding עמו משה as a pair of glosses. Read perhaps—

וְאֶנְפֹר יָמֵי יִרְחַמְאֵלִים | וְיִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים :

The 'days of the Jerahmeelites and Ishmaelites' are deliverances such as are reported in Judg. vi., vii. ואזכר is due to Marti. In the next line מִיָּם should perhaps be מערבים (cp. מִיָּם, xxiv. 14?). המעלם, which has been wrongly corrected into המעלה, is really a corruption, the form of which was suggested by ירחמאלים in the preceding line. Parallelism is produced by reading—

אֵיזָה הַמְּשִׁיעַ מֵעֲרָבִים | אֶת-עַבְדֵי צֹאנֹו :

In *v.* 12, for זורע read עו; an arm does not walk, as Duhm humorously remarks.

lxiii. 18. Supplementing the notes in *SBOT*, pp. 170 and especially 202, and the remark in *E. Bib.*, col. 2207, and using the newly discovered key, we may indicate as the most probable form for a correction,

לְמַה מַּצִּיב וְיִשְׁמַעְאֵל | בּוֹסְסֵי מִקְדָּשְׁךָ :

In MT. מצור = מצער, on the analogy of Gen. xix. 20, xiii. 10; ירשו עם = ישמעאל, parallel to עמו משה in *v.* 11; מקדש = קדש (מ = נו); מצרים = צרינו.

lxiii. 19*a.* This represents line 4 of the stanza; it takes up and expands the statement in line 3 (*v.* 18). Those who trample Yahwè's sanctuary are Jerahmeelites, who have never acknowledged the sovereignty of Yahwè (cp. xxvi. 13).

It is an appositional and relative clause. For **היינו מעולם** read **ירחמאלים = ירחם = היינו**.

CHAP. lxv. 4. This is a good specimen of editorial ingenuity. The original text seems to have consisted of a number of corrupt forms of names of N. Arabian peoples, one of which ('Jerahmeelites') occurs again and again. The editor made a brave attempt to get sense from the corruptly written words. The names probably are — Ishmaelites, Jerahmeelites, b'ne Mišsur, Zerah.

lxv. 11. **לגד**. Read, perhaps, **לגרגל**. 'Nergal' may come from 'Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* the Baal of Jerahmeel. See on 2 K. xvii. 30.

CHAP. lxvi. 1 *f.* Read probably **ישמעאל נסאוי ופצור הים** **רגלי**, *i.e.* '(the whole of) Ishmael is my throne, and (the whole of) Mišsur is my footstool.' An allusion to a plan of building a temple to Yahwè in the Negeb—anciently the Holy Land of the Israelites. See on Ezek. xlvi. 13 *ff.* In *v.* 2, for **כל-אלה** read perhaps **כל-ירחמאל**, and for **ידהו** read **ולי הו**.

lxvi. 3. This should perhaps be attached to lxv. 5. Read probably—

שוחט השור לקמוש
זרבה לעשתר-ירחמאל
מעלה מנחה לאדון זרח (?)
מופיר לבונה למלך און:

CHAP. lxvi. 16*b.* Here as in some other places יהוה has come from **ירח = ירחמאל**. 'And many shall be the slain of Jerahmeel.'

lxvi. 17. Without the key, no perfectly satisfactory explanation was possible (see, however, *SBOT*, pp. 164 *f.*, and Marti). For **אתה אחד בתוך אחר** read **בתוך ירחמאל**; cp. on ii. 6, and on xxvii. 12. Then follow ethnics strangely disguised. **ירחמאל = אנלי** ; **זרחים = החויר**, (perhaps), **צרפת = בשר** ; **ענבר = ענבר** ; **כוש** ;

lxvi. 19. As in xi. 11, the true names are N. Arabian. **לוד** (lx. 9), **אשור = תרשיש** (so **Ⓢ**) = Perath or Zarephath, **בלעד = גלעד** (?), *i.e.* the southern Gilead, cp. on Jer. xl. 1, 5), **משכי** and **קשת = כושם**, **תובל** and **יון** are uncertain (see on Gen. x. 2), but at any rate are Arabian ethnics. **האיים**

הרחקים consists of corrupt fragments of ירחמאלים (cp. xlix. 1).

lxvi. 20. The specification of means of transport is now (Duhm, *SBOT*, Marti) assigned to a glossator. Certainly there is a gloss, but it is rather a fresh list of ethnics, as a comparison of similar passages (*e.g.* Ezek. xxiii. 5-8) will show. Omitting כרכורת, which conceals a dittographed ירחמאל, the names are Cushim, Jerahmeel, Mišrim, Šarephathim. Cp. on Zech. xiv. 15, Ezra ii. 66 *f.*

lxvi. 21. I am afraid that the 'ill-advised theory' (Duhm) that the persons who receive the privilege of priestship are non-Jews is most probably right (cp. on Ps. xcix. 6). In preference to excising the first ל in ללויים, I would now propose (taking [חם] הם and ללויים together) to read the clause thus—

וגם מירחמאלים אקח לכהנים אמר י':

lxvi. 23. For כָּל-בָּשָׂר read בְּקוֹל שֹׁפָר (see on Ps. lxv. 3).

ADDENDA

CHAP. xxvi. 1*b*. חל, as in Ob. 20, 1 K. xxi. 23, is very doubtful. Read [מירחמאל] מישמעאל.

CHAP. xxxiii. 17. Further progress can be made. In 2 S. iv. 6 ⚔'s ἐκάθαιπεν presupposes סקלת, a corruption of ישמעאל. So here, שקל represents ישמעאל, and ספר את צרפת וגלעדים should almost certainly be ירחמאל. Thus ll. 3 and 4 of stanza 11 (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb., p. 21) should run thus—

לְבַד יִהְיֶה אִימָה
יִרְחַמָּאֵל וְצַרְפַּת וְגַלְעָדִים:

I abandon with much regret the apparent Assyrian loan-word מנדידים (see *ib.*, p. 107).

xxxiii. 21-24. The passage has been recast on a large scale. It is possible that vv. 21*b* and 23 (as far as נם) may come from a poetic figurative *māshāl*, on a ship. Putting this aside, we can probably restore something like the true

text. Let it, however, be premised that in *v.* 20 ירושלם is miswritten for ישמעאל (Ishmael = the Jerahmeelite Negeb). Next to Jerusalem, the Negeb enjoyed the affections of the Israelites.

כי בישמעאל אדיר יהודה
 בירחמאל ירים ידו
 כי יהודה שפטנו
 מירחמאל הוא יושיענו
 תחלק ארץ ישמעאל
 ירחמאלים נבו
 ובל יאמר שכן
 כליתי העם בשבי:

In *v.* 21 שמ alone might, as elsewhere, represent ישמעאל; the reference to Ishmael is here required by the context, and the preceding אם seems to be another fragment of the word. לנו comes from מאל, מקום, ירחם; נהרים, יארים, and רחבי ידים (cp. on xxii. 15-19) may also be editorial modifications of fragments of ירחמאל. In *v.* 22 מחקקנו and מלכנו both, in accordance with parallels, come from מירחמאל (for the former, see on Ps. lx. 9). In *v.* 23 או and עד both come from ארץ; עד, 'spoil,' does not exist. שלל (originally שלם?) represents ישמעאל; מובה comes from ירחמאל. פסחים (cp. on 2 S. v. 6, 8) represents ירחמאלים; בוּוּ should probably be נבו. In *v.* 24 שכן refers not to the Jewish population but to the neighbours of Israel (cp. Ps. xlv. 14). The corruption of כליתי into חליתי may have suggested the transformation of the last line, which hardly needs a comment. The prophecy is partly parallel to Pss. xlv., and lxxiv., but has a strong 'Messianic' tinge. It is probably this last great conflict with Israel's arch-foe that is referred to.

CHAP. lvii. 5, 6. רענן (see on Ps. lii. 10) is probably a corruption of ירחמאל. The two clauses beginning in MT. with תחת should run, 'בתוך לצי ירח' and 'בתוך ישמעאל'. *V.* 6a is almost or entirely composed out of miswritten forms of ירחמאל. The prophecy relates to Jews who, in post-exilic times, were addicted to N. Arabian religious practices Cp. on Ezra ix. 1.

JEREMIAH

CHAP. I. 1.—Who was Jeremiah? His name is a popular distortion of **ירחמאל**, and his prophecies are filled with reference to Jerahmeel. There were half-Jerahmeelites in Israel, and full Jerahmeelites outside Israel. To the former, Jeremiah, like the prophets in general, seems to have belonged. This would not make him necessarily a dweller in Negeb, but the statement in Jer. i. 1 favours this hypothesis. For Jeremiah, son of Hilkiah (also, by the way, a Negeb name; cp. Mt. Halak), was ‘of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin.’ Where was Anathoth? There was presumably one where the modern ‘Anâta stands. But there was also one in the Negeb. The name ‘Abiezer the Anathothite’ stands among Negeb names in 2 S. xxiii. 27, 1 Chr. xxvii. 12; and one remembers that the clan Abiezer to which Gideon belonged was a southern clan (see on Judg. vi. 11). Abiathar, too, David’s priest, who is called son of Ahimelech (= Jerahmeel), and who officiated as priest at Nob (*i.e.* probably Gibeon in the Negeb), seems to have been, like David himself, a man of the Negeb; his family estate was, like Jeremiah’s, at Anathoth. We also hear (Judg. iii. 30, true text, see note) of a Shimeah ben Anathoth who smote the Zarephathites, and in 1 Chr. xxvi. 7 of a person called Othni (**עתני**), a son of Shemaiah (= a man of Shema), and one of the ‘sons’ of Obed-edom (or rather ‘Arāb-’arām?); his brothers are Rephael, Obed (‘Arāb?), and Elzabad. The ‘land of Benjamin’ spoken of was in the Negeb. **ימן** itself is a distortion of **ירחמאל**; Benjamin’s other name was Ben-oni—‘On’ is in fact a Negeb clan-name. Cp. on vi. 1.

i. 10. The 'nations' and 'kingdoms' are those of the N. Arabian borderland (see on xxv. 15-29, and xlvi.-li).

i. 14 *ff.* Duhm is very naturally puzzled by the 'kingdoms in the north.' Neither the Scythians nor the Chaldæans could be so described. ממלכות here seems to come from ירחמאל, and צפון, as in iii. 12, 18, iv. 6 (cp. on v. 15), vi. 1, 22, x. 22, xvi. 15, xxiii. 8, is the name of the N. Arabian region whence the invaders were to come. Cp. on xv. 12 and Ezek. i. 4. ❧ arbitrarily omits משפחות. As to אלהים אחרים see on vii. 18.

CHAP. ii. 6. For שוהה read חשך (|| צלמור).—10. For מענת ארבי כתיים read ערב מענת, 'Maacathite Arabia'—much more within the prophet's horizon. So in Ezek. xxvii. 6.—14. The questions as here put are unnatural. The key to the passage is Am. ix. 7. Read הערב בית ישראל [לי], 'Is the house of Israel to me [as] Arabia, or is he [as] Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* am I as indifferent to the fate of Israel as I am to that of Arabian Jerahmeel? Cp. xxii. 6. ערב and עבר are not unfrequently compounded. ילד for 'ירח, as in Gen. xiv. 14. For the metrical arrangement see Duhm; but read נתצר (so Gr.) as iv. 26.

ii. 16. Why should Memphis and Daphnæ (?) be specially mentioned? The context, as we shall see, refers to N. Arabia. Read גם בני נפתוח ירחמאל. For 'Naphtoah' see on Isa. xix. 13. פחמן = פחם; ירחמאל = פחמן; cp. אחימן. See *E. Bib.*, 'Phinehas,' § 1, and, for a confirmation, note on xlvi. 15. A N. Arabian invasion is anticipated (see v. 18). But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hanes' and 'Tahpanhes,' where W. Max Müller has done his best for an Egyptian reference.

ii. 18. The reference is not to Egypt and Assyria but to Mišrim and Ashhur. שחור cannot mean the Nile; it is a modification of אשחור. In Gen. xv. 18 we hear of a 'river of Mišrim' and a 'river of Jerahmeel, the river Ephrath.' In our passage שחור and נהר should perhaps change places; perhaps, too, נהר has supplanted the name אפרת. Cp. on 2 K. v. 12 and Mic. vii. 11-13; and see SHIHOR.

ii. 34. A reference to the law in Ex. xxii. 1 [2] is most improbable. Read לא בתרתחם תצמיתם ני על-ירחמאל, 'not by spears didst thou destroy them, but upon Jerahmeel.' תרתח = spear, javelin (*Ass. tartahu*; see on Job xli. 21, Ps.

lv. 22). The mountain shrine of Gibeath-jerahmeel (see on iii. 24) is meant, where the rite of the sacrifice of children was probably still in full force (cp. Gen. xxii. 1). That Jerahmeelite sanctuaries were frequented by Israelites, we know from Amos and Hosea. Observe that **פ**, Pesh., Vg. render אֱלֹהָ (not אֱלֹהֵ). Also, especially, that לָהֶם (*v.* 37, end) and לְאָמֵר (iii. 1, beginning) are both superfluous, and both evidently corrupt. Probably both words are attempts to read an indistinctly written יִרְחַמְאֵל, which originally stood in the margin as a correction of כָּל אֱלֹהֵ in *v.* 34.

CHAP. iii. 2. שָׁגַל, 'a verb of obscure origin' (Ges.-Bu.). Is it not miswritten for הִחְלַשׁ, 'to weaken, overthrow' = עָנָה? — 3. עֲרַבֵי, here of the predatory Arabians or Bedouins. — 12. צָפְנָה, 'towards Şaphon' (see on i. 14), because the Israelites had already been carried captive to Ashḥur or Jerahmeel. See on 2 K. xvii. 6. Hence in *v.* 18, 'they shall come together out of the land of Şaphon.'

iii. 23 *f.* The critics deal too lightly with the מ in מַגְבֵּעוֹת, and quite miss the plain original of הָרִים. The key to the passage is Zech. xii. 11 (see note). Read, transposing for a metrical reason, אָנֹכִי בַנְּבֵעַת יִרְחַמְאֵל לְשִׁקָּר יְהִימִיּוֹן, 'Truly vain is the noisy rite at Gibeath-jerahmeel.' The latter name also occurs in Judg. vii. 1, disguised as 'Gibeath-hammoreh' (see 'Moreh,' *E. Bib.*). For הַבַּשְׁתָּה read הַבַּשְׁתָּה, 'the Cushite goddess' (see on vii. 18, Hos. ix. 10); in xi. 13 || to בַּעַל, 'Baal.'

CHAP. iv. 5. Duhm deletes the opening words; metrical grounds justify this, but the supposed absurdity in calling on Jerusalemites to flee to Zion is due to transcriptional error. For בִּירוּשָׁלַם בִּיהוּדָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם read בִּירְחַמְאֵל בִּישְׁמַעֵאל. Later writers (*e.g.* psalmists) use 'Jerahmeel' and 'Ishmael' as synonyms, and the scribes now and again transform 'Ishmael' into 'Jerusalem' (cp. on vi. 1). 'The Judahites in the country parts of the Negeb exhort one another to take refuge in the fortified places (cp. vi. 1 *ff.* and xxxv. 1, 11).

iv. 11 *f.* A most improbable text. In particular, *v.* 12 *b* is deleted by Duhm as a foolish and prosaic insertion. Most probably, however, it has grown out of a corrupt form of שָׁפִים מְדַבֵּר, and this should be restored in *v.* 11 *a* (for שָׁפִים מְדַבֵּר). Read, therefore, in *v.* 11 *a*, 'רוּחַ מ' צַר', after which

we should perhaps, with Duhm, insert בָּאָה. In *v.* 12*a* for רוח מלא מאלה read רוח ירחמאל. Thus, 'a wind of the desert of the Zarephathites' is parallel to 'a wind of Jerahmeel.'

iv. 15-17. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3894. Duhm's notes again seem to show that he has hardly realised the true nature of glosses. It is clear from the psalms that glosses often consist of a string of ethnics. מֵהָר אֲפִרִים, it is true, is a more useful gloss; 'On' may not have been generally known in a later age. עַל-יְרוּשָׁלַם, הַשְּׂמִיעַ; גִּלְעָדִים = לְבוּיִם; זֹרְחִים = הַזְּנוּרִים, and (in *v.* 17) נְשִׂים = מִסְבִּיב; יִשְׁמְעָאֵלִים = נִשְׁמָרִי שְׂדֵי (in *v.* 17) מִצְרִים = נִצְרִים. Read—

כִּי קוֹל מְגִיד מִדֶּן | וּמִשְׂמִיעַ מֵאוֹן
הִנֵּה מִצְרִים בָּאִים | מֵאַרְצֵי יִרְחַמָּאֵל:

That *vs.* 17*b* and 18 are a later insertion need not, however, be questioned. (Winckler [*AOF*⁽³⁾, ii. 228] unnecessarily takes offence at קוֹלָם. The battle-cry of these foes was famous among the Israelites.)

iv. 20. 'My tent curtains are spoiled' is improbable (*x.* 20 is quite different). Read הִיכָלִי (see on Ps. xv. 1) and אֶרְמֹנָי (see on Hab. iii. 7).

iv. 29. 'Noise of the horsemen and archers'? Judg. v. 11 and 22 are corrupt. Read [נְשִׂים] יִרְחַמָּאֵל (see on Ps. lxxviii. 9). For רַמָּה קֶשֶׁת see on Ps. lxxviii. 9.

CHAP. v. 15. Duhm unintentionally shows the improbability of MT. Read—

הִנֵּנִי מְבִיא עֲלֵינִם | גּוֹי מִמְרוֹחַק
אֲשַׁפְתּוּ נִקְבֵר פְּתוּחַ | כָּלֵם גְּבוּרִים:

הוא (Ethan) and מעולם הוא (Jerahmeel) are glosses (*E. Bib.*, col. 3894); *v.* 15*b* implies that a late editor identified the people with the Chaldæans. Ⓔ marks a middle stage of textual corruption and development. 'From far' means 'from a distant part of N. Arabia.'

CHAP. vi. 1 *ff.* See *E. Bib.*, col. 3894. Duhm finds it 'not quite clear' why the prophet only suggests flight to the Benjamite element in the population of Jerusalem. Geographically, too, he does not understand how Tekoa and Beth-hakkerem come to be introduced since the Scythian invader comes from the north. But the trouble is all due

to the redactor. The invader really comes from the land of Saphon in the N. Arabian border-land, and the persons addressed are the Benjamite inhabitants of the land of Jerahmeel or Ishmael (for the change of ישמעאל into ירושלם see on iv. 5). Tekoa, or rather (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tekoa') Maacath, and Beth-haccerem (a popular distortion of Beth-jerahmeel) are places in the Negeb. It should be observed that the Benjamites did not all move northward. As their name (בנימין = בנימן) indicates, they were of Jerahmeelite origin, and they clung (like portions of other tribes) to their old home. Read thus in two-line stanzas—

העו בני בנימן		מקרב ישמעאל
במענת תקעו שופר		ועל-בית הכרם
הנודה והמעגבה ²		רמת בת-ציון
אליה יבאו ערבים		ירחמאלים
תקעו עליה נשים ³		ערו את-יסודיה
קדשו עליה מלחמה		בבית הכרם
אוי לנו כי-פנה היום ⁴		יקטו ערבים
קומו ונעלה בלילה		ונשחיתה עֲדָנֶיהָ :

The passage suffers from many accretions, some of which (*e.g.* that in *v.* 2, cp. iv. 6) are mere interpolations, others are miswritten glosses. Among the latter note אהלים for ירחמאל, and צללי for ישמעאל. The corrections (besides the two already mentioned) are דמיתי for רמת (so also Du., following 5), ועדריהם for רעים (see on xii. 10), וירחמאלים for רעים (see on xii. 10), רעו for ערו (as Ps. xii. 9, etc.), את-יסודיה, רעו for ערו, בצהרים for בבית הכרם, קדשו for קדשו, איש את-ידו, עָרַב, and ארמנותיה for אדניה (so already Du., after 5). We now obtain a plausible and, in the main, probably correct text. The first great success of the N. Arabians is the capture of Beth-haccerem, otherwise called Beth-jerahmeel, in the Negeb; it was here that they offered the sacrifices which 'consecrated' the war. The Israelitish inhabitants of the Negeb are therefore once more (see on iv. 5) summoned to take refuge in the fortified cities, and to give warning by signals to their neighbours further north. For the goal of the invaders is the comely and luxurious Jerusalem. Cp. on Hos. v. 8.

vi. 12 = viii. 10. For אחרים read ירחמאל (cp. on vii.

18), and for רנשים, or (as viii. 10 gives) לירשים, read probably לישמעאל.

vi. 25^b should run לְעַרְב יִרְחָמֵאל וְיִשְׁמַעֵאל, 'for (there is) the sword of Arabia, of Jerahmeel, of Ishmael.' Cp. xx. 3, 10, xlvi. 5, xlix. 29. Observe that ⚡ nowhere recognises מגור, which, like גמר, represents ירחמאל, and is therefore superfluous here.

vi. 26. תמרורים is suspicious (see on xxxi. 15). Nor does אבֵל יחיד מספד ת' make a satisfactory parallelism with אבֵל יחיד. A study of Zech. xii. 10 will show that יחיד is one of the possible corruptions of ירחמאל, and from Hos. x. 14 (cp. on Am. i. 13) we gather that the cruelties attendant on the capture of Beth-jerahmeel by a N. Arabian foe (see *E. Bib.*, 'Salma') were proverbial in the time of Hosea. Zech. xii. 10 also shows that מר may possibly be a fragment of ירחמאל, and the corrupt תחפנחם shows that a prefixed ת may possibly represent בית in a compound place-name. It is plausible and even, considering the atmosphere of the context, necessary to read here אבֵל ירחמאל עֲשֵׂי לָךְ מִסְפַּד בֵּית יִרְחָמֵאל, 'make for thyself a Jerahmeel mourning, a Beth-jerahmeel lamentation.' The idea in the writer's mind may be that the horrors of the famous capture of Beth-jerahmeel were about to be repeated; he expresses this poetically by summoning the people of Judah to mourn as the Beth-jerahmeelites mourned. Beth-jerahmeel has already been mentioned in vi. 1.

CHAP. vii. 18: לְמַלְכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם. Shall we point מְלָכַת? ⚡ in li. 18 ff. gives τῆ βασιλείσση τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and Pesh. in xlv. 19 *malkat š'mayya*; also in the inscription of Eshmunazar we find עֲשֵׁתֶרֶת שָׁמַם אֲדָרַם, 'Astarte of the great heavens.' The points give מְלָכַת = מְלָאכַת; cp. ⚡, τῆ στρατιᾶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. So, too, MSS. and (except in xlv. 19) Pesh. See *E. Bib.*, 'Queen of Heaven.' It has escaped notice, however, that the phrase is parallel here to אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרַיִם, under which lies אֱלֹהֵי יִרְחָמֵאל, 'the gods of Jerahmeel.' In xlv. 17 the Jews say that they and their fathers have constantly performed the rites of this divinity; and we can hardly doubt that the same deity is referred to in iii. 24 where probably the true text says that 'the Cushite [goddess] has eaten up the wealth' of the fathers of this generation. The phrase אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרַיִם occurs again in xix. 4 in connection with Baal, and in xlv.

3, 8, not indeed in the same context as here, but yet in connection with 'מלכת הש'. In i. 16, too, we should probably read 'and have sacrificed to אלהי ירח,' and in vii. 18, xlv. 17 ff. For מלכת [ה]שמים let us accordingly venture to read מלכת ישמעאל, 'the *malkah* (queen) of Ishmael,' *i.e.* either the moon or, less probably, Venus (= the Bab. Istar). See on 2 K. xxiii. 5 (מולות), Ezek. viii. 14, Zeph. i. 5; and note that Baal-zebub probably comes from Baal-ishmael (see on 2 K. i. 2-16).

CHAP. viii. 13, end. Read perhaps ואתן היכליהם לערבים (cp. v. 10).

viii. 16. The southern Dan (= Ḥaluṣah?) is meant. See *E. Bib.*, 'Micah,' 2; 'Prophecy,' § 40.

viii. 19. מארץ ירחמאל should perhaps be מארץ מרחקים. The Judahite land of Jerahmeel may be meant. The following words are inappropriate for exiles (cp. Duhm).

viii. 22. Did צרי (mastic) really grow in Gilead? Post could not find it there (Hastings, *DB*, i. 236; but cp. Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 188). And were there (cp. Duhm) friendly physicians there? Here, as often (*e.g.* xxii. 6), גלעד is a Gilead in the Negeb. The near part of the Jerahmeelite land was still occupied by the Israelites; medical help might therefore be looked for. This illustrates xlv. 11, 'Go up to Jerahmeel (MT. and ㊀) and fetch "balm," O virgin people of Miṣrim.' Cp. Gen. xxxvii. 35; the products mentioned together with צרי are certainly Arabian.

CHAP. ix. 1 ff. The passage was manipulated by a redactor after corruption had taken place. The first stanza (cp. Duhm) should close with מעצרת בגדים. For מלון ארחים ㊀ reads σταθμὸν ἔσχατου = מלון אחרון, which Giesebrecht and Cornill prefer. The word which underlies both מ' ארחים and מ' אחרון is ירחמאלים, which forms the second part of the line (verse), 'Oh that one would put me in the wilderness | of those of Jerahmeel!' Duhm's comment (with his reference to Ps. lv. 7 *f.*) now becomes unnecessary. Cp. on מלון קצו, 2 K. xix. 23, and the *v.l.* in Isa. xxxvii. 24, also on 2 S. xxi. 19.

ix. 2. Omit ל before אמונה (Duhm, after ㊀), and read stanza 2 (comparing *v.* 4a)—

וידברו את-שכניהם שקר | ולא אמונה
כי מרעה אל-דעה יצאו | ואותי לא-ידעו:

קשת is an expansion of קשת, a variant to שקר; גברו and בארץ have both grown out of ידברו. לשון is specially liable to be miswritten (see Psalms).

ix. 18. Duhm calls עובבו ארץ 'an unusually foolish interpolation.' Hardly. בעובבו clearly comes from עובבו. Owing to its partial similarity to ארמנו (= ארמנות), it has practically expelled that word. The closing words כי השליכו משכ' are a supplementer's comment on the true text, which doubtless is—

בשנו מאד כי-נעזבו | ארמנות ארץ:

ix. 24 *f.* On this singular passage Duhm comments thus, 'At a future time Yahwè will punish those peoples which perform the rite of bodily circumcision but are spiritually uncircumcised.' Like other commentators, he supposes that all the peoples mentioned do perform this rite. 'Singularly enough,' he adds, 'the Jews are placed between the Egyptians and the Edomites; did the writer live in Egypt?' N. Schmidt (*E. Bib.*, col. 2385) explains כל-מול בערלה, 'all who have the sign in their body though they fail to unite with Israel as proselytes,' and calls the 'polling the hair' of the dwellers in the desert 'a kindred custom.' Singular indeed! Experience of the ways of the scribes enables us to rectify the mischief which has evidently occurred. For על-כל-מול בערלה read על-כל-מול בערלה; then continue על-מזרים ועל-ירחמאל ועל-מזר ועל-נשים ועל-צרפתים ועל-ערבים. The remainder of *v.* 25 is an editorial expansion of a gloss consisting of two ethnics, viz. ירחמאל and ישמעאל. כל-בית ישמעאל. That ערלים is constantly substituted for ירחמאל or ירחמאלים has been already pointed out; Ezek. xlv. 7 is specially parallel. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 7, with n. 2. The religious contempt of later Jews for the uncircumcised may perhaps be seen in the substitution.

CHAP. x. 6 represents only *vv.* 1-4, 9 (in a different form), 5*b* (from נשאו), and 11-16. *Vv.* 12-16 also occur in li. 15-19. Duhm accepts, as the original kernel, *vv.* 1-3*a* (as far as הבל), 5*b*, 10, 12-16; *v.* 11 is a spell to be used against comets and the like. What Duhm has not noticed is the Jerahmeelite references. *V.* 2*b* is evidently a gloss; the scribe defends what he feels to be an uncertain reading, viz.

מִשְׁפַּט מֵאֵתוֹת הַשׁ' אֶל-תַּחְתּוֹ. Parallelism, however, requires יִשְׁמַעְאֵל אֶל-תִּקְחוּ. This has reference to the increased addiction of the Jews to the Jerahmeelite cultus referred to in vii. 18, Zeph. i. 5, etc.; cp. also on 2 K. xxiii.

x. 3. For הַעַמִּים read אַרְמִים, 'Arammites' = 'Jerahmeelites.'

x. 8. מוֹסַר הַבַּלִּים. The use of מוֹסַר, 'discipline,' as a term for 'religion,' says Duhm, suggests that the law must already have had a long period of supremacy. This is too hazardous. Read מוֹנֵא יִרְחַמְאֵל, 'the object of Jerahmeel's veneration' (cp. Isa. viii. 12 *f.*). 'ירח' = 'הב'; cp. on Ps. xxxi. 7.

CHAP. xi. 15-17 'has suffered much, and in MT. is almost untranslatable' (Duhm). For יְדִידִי we should expect יְדִידָתִי, but neither the one nor the other is really probable in this context (xii. 7 is different). In Gen. xiv. 14 (see note) יְדִידִי בֵיתוֹ comes from בֵּית יִרְחַמְאֵל. Similarly here. Comparing ii. 18, read—

מִה-לֵךְ בְּבֵית יִרְחַמְאֵל | לַעֲשׂוֹת הַמְּזֻמָּה
הַחֲבָרִים וּבֶשֶׁר-קֹדֶשׁ | יַעֲבִירוּ רַעְתָּךְ :

'What hast thou to do in the temple of Jerahmeel—to practise the crimes? Can spells and consecrated flesh remove thy wickedness?' Jerahmeel here may be either a place-name or the name of a god (cp. on ii. 34). We here omit מַעֲלִיךְ and אוֹ תַעֲלוּי as editorial adjustments of the corruptly written words יִרְחַמְאֵל יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (a note on the mis-written יְדִידִי).—In *v.* 16 each of the three opening words (לְקוֹל גְּדֻלָּה [see on ix. 25, Ezek. i. 24], and לְקוֹל גְּדֻלָּה [see on Gen. x. 12]) is a corruption of יִרְחַמְאֵל. 'Jerahmeel has kindled fire against thee' (עֲלִיךְ as Tg.). Parallels abound.

xi. 19 *f.* עֵין בְּלַחְמוֹ cannot be right. But בְּלַחְוֵי will hardly do; in Dt. xxxiv. 7 read חִילוֹ, cp. Job xxx. 2, where חִיל should be חִיל. Read אִישׁ חֲלֻמּוֹת, 'the dreamer.'—In *v.* 20, end, read אֶת-רִבִּי, בִּי אֶלֶיךָ יִחַלְתִּי is a scribe's addition (so Du.). Duhm's גַּלְתִּי will not do; the || passages are corrupt (see on Ps. xxii. 9).

CHAP. xii. 10. For וְעַיִם רְבִים read עֲרָבִים; metre and sense gain. Cp. on vi. 1 *ff.* (stanza 3 of poem, line 1). The 'Scythian shepherds' disappear.

xii. 12. For הרב ליהוה read ה' ירחמאל (vi. 25).

CHAP. xiii. 1-7. The strangeness of this narrative naturally provokes Duhm. It is not the Wady Fârah which is referred to as פרת (G explains *Εὐφράτην*), but the נְהַר אֶפְרַת = נְהַר מְצָרִים. A wady in the Negeb is meant—that which bordered the district called Ephrath (see on xlv. 2, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shihor'). The loin-cloth was to be 'hidden' there, in a 'cleft of the rock,' as a sign of the N. Arabian captivity of the Israelites. It was held to be just retribution that those who went aside to Jerahmeelite duties (in v. 10 read אלהי ירחמאל) should be chastised by Jerahmeelites. Cp. on iii. 23 f.

CHAP. xiii. 12 ff. Again Duhm is sorely tried by the childishness of the 'Midrash writer,'—Thus saith Yahwè, the God of Israel, 'Every bottle is filled with wine,' and of the public which answers, 'Do we not know that every bottle is filled with wine?' Experience justifies us in questioning this verdict on supplementers. Is not the key to vv. 12-14 supplied by vv. 18, 19, which the supplementer rightly understood to refer to the overwhelming of the Israelitish settlements in the Negeb by the Jerahmeelites or N. Arabians? Even if this be not the right solution, it is at least not unworthy to be so. Let us, then, for כָּל-הַקֶּבֶץ read כָּל-נֶבֶל. The statement then becomes, 'The whole Negeb is filled with wine.' E. H. Palmer mentions the curious fact that—

'Among the most striking characteristics of the Negeb are miles of hill-sides and valleys covered with the small stone heaps formed by sweeping together in regular swathes the flints which strew the ground; along these grapes were trained, and they still retain the name of *teleilat el-anab* or grape-mounds';¹

and it has been already pointed out² that 'Eshcol,' so famous for its grapes, was more than probably in the Negeb. If this new reading is correct, v. 13 must have been rewritten by a redactor, and in its original form must have run simply, 'Behold, I am about to fill all the inhabitants of this land with drunkenness.' The intermediate words are very characteristic of the redactors (cp. xvii. 20, xix. 3, xxii. 2).

xiii. 18 f. If it is really a complete national captivity

¹ *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 352.

² *E. Bib.*, 'Negeb,' § 7.

which is meant, why is it said, 'The cities of the Negeb are shut up'? The answer is that the Negeb was a separable part of the Judahite kingdom, and that Jeremiah, if he came from the Negeb (see on i. 1), had a special interest in its fate. If so, *i.e.* if the cities of the Negeb are referred to, not as 'the last Judahite cities,' but as the first which an invader from Zaphon would overpower, we expect to find in *v.* 18 the names of two of those cities. And 'he that seeketh, findeth.' Read אָמַר לִירְחָמֵאל וְלִכְפֻּרָה. The two cities are Kirjath-jerahmeel and Chephirah; the former, it is true, is better known under the corrupt form of name—K.-jearim, which, together with Chephirah, appears in Josh. ix. 17 (see note) among the cities leagued with Gibeon, and situated, according to the earlier tradition, in the Negeb. The 'crown' which is upon their heads refers to the battlements of the walls; if הַמַּטְטָרָה is the right reading in Isa. xxiii. 8 (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*), we are provided with a splendid parallel. This, however, is not absolutely necessary. הַשְּׁפִילוֹ reminds us of Isa. xxv. 12, where the 'humiliation' of the lofty walls of the capital of Mišṣur (for מוֹאב read מַצִּיר) is expressed by the same verb. Cp. also Isa. xlvi. 1 (רָדִי וְשָׁבִי). מַלְךְ for 'ירח' is a common corruption. [The ordinary view of xiii. 18 is opposed to the context. Nor is it clear that, without a parallel, we are justified in supposing that a prophet would have spoken in one breath of the king and the queen-mother.]

CHAP. xv. 12. To alter צִפּוֹן and נְחֹשֶׁת (Du.) is too arbitrary; both צִפּוֹן and חִילָךְ, as Winckler (*AT. Untersuch.*, 180) saw, are names of places—only not (as he supposed) of Baal-zephon and Chalcis. What 'Zaphon' is, we know (see on i. 14); חִילָךְ, as in Ezek. xxvii. 11, is a corruption of יִרְחָמֵאל. Thus the iron of Zaphon and the copper of Jerahmeel are combined. The 'land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig copper' (Dt. viii. 9) is the Negeb. Observe that Moses made a serpent of copper in the wilderness (Num. xxi. 9). [N. Schmidt (*E. Bib.*, col. 2390) omits צִפּוֹן, which word, however, is decisive for the general reference of *vs.* 12 *f.*]

CHAP. xvii. 11. The commentators with one voice suppose here a popular superstition. Against this see *E. Bib.*,

'Partridge.' The passage is || to *vv.* 5 *f.*, and should run 'אָרוּר גְּבוּר בְּלִיעַל וְגו', 'Cursed is the pernicious man who acquires riches wrongfully.'—16. The opening words are impossible, and יוֹם אָנוּשׁ is hardly less questionable (see *SBOT*, crit. note on Isa. xvii. 11). Read probably—

וְאֲנִי לֹא צוּרִי | יְרַחֲמֵאֲלִים
וְיִשְׁמַעֲלָל לֹא הַתְּאוּרִיתִי | אֶתְּהָ יִדְעַת :

It was his constantly prophesying of the Jerahmeelites that made Jeremiah so unpopular. יִשְׁמַעֲלָל often assumes such a disguise as אָנוּשׁ (see on Ps. lvi. 2, xc. 3, and cp. *E. Bib.* 'Sinai').

CHAP. xix. 2. For הַחֲרוֹטוֹת read הַשְּׁחָרִים 'the gate of the Ashhurites.' See on Isa. xix. 18, Judg. i. 34. The names of the gates of Jerusalem are often transformed ethnics. Thus, the 'horse-gate' should be the 'gate of the Cushites'; the 'fish-gate,' the 'gate of the Gadites'; the 'dung-gate,' the 'gate of the Zarephathites.' All these ethnics are, as we shall see, N. Arabian.

xix. 4. For לֵאלֹהִים אַחֲרִים read לֵאלֹהֵי יְרַחֲמָאֵל. See on vii. 18.

CHAP. xx. 1. Pashhur is a distinctly Jerahmeelite name (see, *e.g.*, 1 Chr. ix. 12), just like Zephaniah, the name of the fellow-priest of another Pashhur in xxi. 1. The 'father' of Pashhur 1 is called Immer, the father of Pashhur 2 is called 'Melchiah' (both names come from 'Jerahmeel'), while Zephaniah's father is Maaseiah (= Ishmael). A Pashhur, son of Melchiah, is referred to in 1 Chr. ix. 12 (see *E. Bib.*, 'Pashhur') with other names which are transparently N. Arabian. Another Zephaniah, father of 'Josiah' (Shemaiah?) is also mentioned in a narrative suspected of having a N. Arabian reference (see on Zech. vi. 10), and again another in a list of Kohathite names, which are as evidently N. Arabian as those in 1 Chr. ix. 10-12. The meaning of 'Zephaniah' is plain (see on Zeph. i. 1); that of 'Pashhur' is somewhat doubtful. Some of C^v 's readings (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3589) suggest as the origin Pedasshur or Pedahzur (C^v , *παδασσουρ*). If we restore 'Pedahzur' for 'Pashhur,' we get a contrast in *v.* 3 between 'God (צוּר) has redeemed' and 'Terror on every side.' מְגוּר מְסַבֵּב is certainly corrupt, but

the corruption existed as early as the time of the late writer of xx. 1-6; for the idiom see Ezek. xxi. 17, and for the true reading of the original phrase see on vi. 25. Siegfr.-Stade, following Θ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$), omit מסביר , and render 'das Hinwegziehen,' but גור can hardly mean 'umherziehen,' and 'מס' occurs in the MT. of *v.* 10.

xx. 4-10, xxi. 2, 4, etc. בבל comes from a corruption of ירחמאל ; נשדים should be נושים . Both, ordinary textual phenomena.—*Vs.* 8-10 are very far from correct. The original text had become corrupt, and was recast by the redactor. עָצָר (*v.* 9) (masc.!) may represent a dittographed 'ב[עצמ].—*V.* 10 has probably been rewritten on the basis of corrupt and dittographed ethnics. We may therefore plausibly restore thus—

ואמרת לא-אזכרנו | ולא-אדבר עוד
והיה בלבי נאש | בערת בעצמתי;

*

כי שמעתי דבת ערבים | ירחמאל ושמעאל
בְּיָרְכֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִתְפַּשׁ | ונוכלה לוֹ;

The closing words of *v.* 10, as Duhm has seen, are a gloss.

CHAP. xxi. 1. 'Pashhur,' 'Zephaniah.' See on xx. 1.

xxi. 11 *f.* See next note but one.

xxi. 13 *f.* Giesebrecht has pointed out that *vs.* 11, 12 and *vs.* 13, 14 are not consecutive, also that in *v.* 14 from יהודה to ויפקדתי is an insertion. He further doubts whether the city addressed is Jerusalem; so also does Graf, referring to xlvi. 8. Duhm rightly thinks that *v.* 13 is a quotation from some poem, and that though the person who inserted it, and who also wrote *v.* 14, applied it to Jerusalem, this was not the original meaning. Comparing xlvi. 5, xlvi. 8, 21 (corr. text), we may read (in *v.* 13)—

הנני אלֶיךָ יִשְׁבֵת יִרְחָמָאֵל וּמִצֹּר:

It is a prophecy (the work of some late writer) against the Jerahmeelites and Misrites (cp. on ix. 24 *f.*). The opening phrase הנני אלֶיךָ occurs again in l. 31, li. 25, Nah. ii. 14, iii. 5. In each case the reference seems to be to Israel's great Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian foe. For במענותינו read בארסנותינו (cp. Am. i. 4, etc.).

xxi. 11 *f.*, xxii. 1-5. Alternative introductions to the composite work, xxii. 6-30. Both, as will be presently seen, presuppose in *v.* 6 the corrupt reading בית מלך יהודה, which the writers of the introductions understand to mean 'the house of the king of Judah.' xxi. 12*a* and xxii. 4*a* are equivalent; xxi. 12*b* = iv. 4*b*; xxii. 4 nearly = xvii. 25. Evidently not of the age of Jeremiah.

CHAP. xxii. 6-30. *Vv.* 8 *f.*, as Duhm has seen, are late; they continue *v.* 14. But *vv.* 6 *f.* may be Jeremiah's. Duhm criticises the heading (in *v.* 6) as plainly incorrect; a royal house or palace cannot become 'uninhabited cities.' According to him, *vv.* 6*b*, 7 are addressed to Israel; he inserts ישראל after לי, producing this sense, 'A Gilead art thou unto me, O Israel.' But surely, from Duhm's point of view, we should sooner expect אתה לי ירושלם. We must therefore ask leave to apply our new key to this difficult passage, and by doing so we attain this result, which, however, implies results already gained by the study (in the same fresh light) of 2 K. xxiii. Shallum, son of Josiah, pursued the policy of his father, who annexed certain portions of the Jerahmeelite Negeb which had belonged to Israel. Among the most important places in this region was Beth-jerahmeel, the possession of which was specially coveted by Israelites and N. Arabians alike (cp. on Hos. x. 14). Possibly it was the place associated, as it seems, by Jeremiah (see on ii. 34) with the practice of the sacrifice of children; and if so, *vv.* 8 *f.*, which are not Jeremiah's, may have taken the place of a stanza which referred to this sinful custom. On this, however, no stress should be laid. All that it is important to hold is that בית מ' in מלך, as so often in the OT., represents ירחמאל. The heading therefore states that the following prophecy relates to a place (and district?) called Beth-melek (or Beth-jerahmeel); יהודה which follows is probably an editorial expansion of a corruptly written הדר. Read, therefore, in *v.* 16—

הדר גלעד אתה לי | ראש הלבנון:

and compare הדר הנרמל, Isa. xxxv. 2. The meaning is that though Beth-jerahmeel is recognised by Yahwè as being the pride of Gilead and the choicest part of the Lebanon-country,

yet he will make both it and its neighbour-cities a desolation. The southern Lebanon (Gebalon?) is meant; cp. on 1 K. v. 6. A supplementer, however, seems to have imagined a reference to Jerusalem (*vs.* 8, 9).

Vs. 10-12 and 13-17 belong apparently to a cycle of poems (of Jeremiah?) on kings of Judah; the former passage relates to Shallum (= Jehoahaz?), the latter to Jehoiakim. *Vs.* 13 *f.* refer to royal building operations, not, however, at Jerusalem but in the Negeb, certain places in which region needed to be fortified. Such fortifications may perhaps be referred to in 1 K. ix. 15-19 (1 Chr. viii. 4-6), 2 Chr. xi. 6-10, xxvi. 6. See *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboam,' 'Solomon.' The supposed description of a palace with its עליות (combined in *v.* 14 with מְרוֹהִים, masculine! also Pual, here only), its Hittite architecture (? חלוני), its cedar ceiling and vermilion painting, is purely imaginary. The case is similar to that of the description of 'the men portrayed upon the wall' (Ezek. xxiii. 14 *f.*). עליות is most probably from מגדלות. This gives us the key to בית מדות, and consequently to ביתו, both of which should be בִּירְנִיּוֹת (cp. 2 Chr. xvii. 12, xxvii. 4). And if our leading idea is correct we cannot help restoring in *v.* 14*b* the names of conquered places. Read, in *v.* 14, הוֹי-בְנֵה בִירְנִיּוֹת בְּלֹא-צֶדֶק, and in *v.* 15, omitting the bracketed words as glosses, הָאָמַר אֲבִנֶה-לִּי בִירְנִיּוֹת מִגְדָּלוֹת וַיִּבְקַע לוֹ יְרֵחַמָּאֵל [בְּמִשְׁוֹר] וַיִּצְמַן [בְּמִשְׁוֹר] וְנוֹשֵׁם [בְּמִשְׁוֹר]. For the idiom לוֹ בִקַּע, cp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 1, Isa. vii. 6.

V. 15 now seems to be clear. הַתְּמַלֵּךְ, 'shall thou continue to reign,' can hardly be right. The contrast is between the father, Josiah, with whom it was well, and the son, Jehoiakim, with whom (we may assume) it was not well; cp. also *v.* 30 (לֹא יִצְלַח). Read הֲתִצְלַח, and for מתחרה בארו read מתגרה במשׁר. The poet asks, 'Will going to war (הַתְּגַרָּה בְּ), Dt. ii. 5, 19) with the neighbouring kingdom of Mis̄sur (the archaic phrase was too firmly rooted to be given up) be any guarantee of thy prosperity? How unlike art thou to thy father, who led a peaceable life, and devoted all his energies to administering justice, and who was rewarded by prosperity!' It is true, Josiah did meddle with warfare at the close, but then, emphatically, it was *not* 'well with him.'

xxii. 19. Those who will may believe that Jeremiah

wrote the phrase 'with the burial of an ass.' חמור (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem,' 2) is one of the regular transformations of ירחמאל; the same word also appears as מהלאה, as in Am. v. 27. Read יקבר בישמעאל משקברו. The threat is that Jehoiakim shall die and be buried as a captive in Jerahmeel. Two words in MT., להשערי and והשלך, appear to be editorial insertions. ירושלם has grown out of ישמעאל (see on iv. 15-17).

xxii. 20. An ideal woman, personifying a community, is told to lift up her voice in Lebanon, Bashan, and Abarim. It is supposed that Abarim here denotes the E. range of mountains in its entire extent, so as to cover both Gilead and Moab, and a parallel for this is found in Ezek. xxxix. 11, where גי העברים is now generally read *gē hā-'abārīm*, 'a valley of [Mt.] Abarim' (so first Hitzig), not in the narrower but in the wider sense. The narrower sense (= the edge of the Moabite plateau) is supported by the other occurrences of the word. Such is the view endorsed by the lexicons. It urgently needs revision. The supposed double use of עברים is not in itself likely, and a wide study of the geography of the contexts of the passages shows that N. Arabia is the region referred to; in short, עברים should be ערבים (in Nu. xxxiii. 44, איי should be ערי). We have also seen evidence enough already that the gaze of Jeremiah is fixed upon the Negeb and, beyond this, upon the land of the Jerahmeelites. Read in this light the geography of xxii. 20 becomes altered. Here, as perhaps elsewhere, 'Lebanon' may come from 'Gebalon,' but of this possibility we shall not avail ourselves. At any rate, 'Bashan' is a corruption of 'Cushan.' The meaning of מאהביך is much disputed; does it mean the rulers of the people of Judah (so G, Vg., Tg.)? This is favoured by רעף (*v.* 22), for the pointing רעף is forbidden by תרעה רוח, but is opposed by usage (see ii. 36, iv. 30, Hos. ii.). Duhm's נאהביך (Nifal part.) is superficial and unsatisfactory. Read ארמנותיך. Thus the passage becomes—

עלי הלבנון וצעקי | ובכושן תני קולך
 וצעקי מערבים כִּי-נשקרו | בל-ארמנותיך :

And what is the community addressed? *V.* 23 will tell us.

xxii. 23. The imaginary woman referred to is the inhabitant of Lebanon, she who dwells among the cedars. The house is in the region whence Solomon obtained the timber for his great buildings (see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon'). It is that section of the Jewish people which has become settled in the Negeb, and which is by racial though not political connection largely Jerahmeelite, which is addressed in the little poem, *vs.* 20-23. Read in *v.* 23a—

יִשְׁבְּתִי בְּלִבְנוֹן | שִׁכְנֹתַי בְּאֲרָזִים :

The Jewish people, especially the survivors of the Jewish population, in the Negeb are to ascend the mountain heights, and there raise a dirge (1) for the nation, whose kings have gone into captivity in the more distant Jerahmeelite land (*vs.* 12, 19); (2) for the Negeb, which had become at least in part Jewish, and which contained the most venerated sanctuaries.

CHAP. xxiii. 12. For בְּהָהָרֹת read בְּחִלְקֵלְקֹרֹת.

CHAP. xxv. 9. צַפּוֹן, as usual, is the name of a region. On 'Nebuchadrezzar,' etc., see on xxvii. 6, 2 K. xxiv. 1.

xxv. 15-26, greatly misunderstood in the traditional text (6M). The list of peoples begins with Judah. Next come Miṣrim, Arabia,¹ Zarephathim, Aram, Miṣṣur, Jerahmeel, Miṣṣur (Tyre and Sidon), Arabian, Dedan, Tema, Buz, Zarephathim, Arabia, Arabia, Arabia, Cushānim, Zimri (cp. Zimran, Gen. xxv. 2), Jerahmeel (Elam and Madai), Zaphon, Cush-jerahmeel. The interpolated references to the 'Philistine' cities (*v.* 20) and to the kingdoms of the earth are here omitted. The closing words ומִלֶּךְ שֶׁשָׁךְ יִשְׁתַּה אַחֲרֵיהֶם have grown out of נוֹשׁ נוֹשׁ וּמִלֶּךְ נוֹשׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל (cp. נוֹשׁ שֶׁשָׁךְ from 1 Chr. viii. 14, 25). Much ingenious speculation now disappears. See on li. 1.

xxv. 38. All critics read חָרָב for חָרוֹן (1°). But on דְּיוֹנָה they all go wrong. See on xlv. 16.

CHAP. xxvii. Though it is possible that the Miṣrites may have made common cause with the Judahites (as in 'Sennacherib's' time, see on 2 K. xix. 9), we cannot regard this as certain. See on xli. 17 *f.*

xxvii. 3. As usual, a superfluity of tautologous ethnics.

¹ העֵץ seems to be a corruption of הָאָרֶץ, written in error.

First come אָדָם (so, for אדם) and מְצוּר (so, for מואב), then בני ירחמאל (so, for בני עמון) and מצור (so, for צר and עידון).

xxvii. 6. נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל עֲבָדֵי. The title עבדי again in (xxv. 9) xlili. 10 (not in G); cp. Ezek. xxix. 20, where the land of מצרים is promised to Nebuchadrezzar as a 'wage,' 'because they wrought for me,' in laying siege to צר. But this phrase (which destroys the rhythm and is a very late insertion) does not contain the word עבדי. In the late period to which chap. xxvii. in its present form belongs (see Duhm), the title עבדי was specially appropriated to Israel. It is not applied even to Cyrus, and we cannot easily believe that it was applied to a king who, if he really did all that is ascribed to him, gave the Jews no reason to honour him. עבד and ערב are frequently confounded; it is probable that this has been the case here. In Hos. v. 13, x. 6 the king of Jerahmeel is called מֶלֶךְ עֶרֶב (so, for מ' יָרֵב). It is probable that we should read 'ערבים, i.e. ערבים, and take this word as an early gloss on בבל. The latter word is in fact (see on Gen. x. 10) a corruption of ירחמאל. There are many other corruptions and distortions of Jerahmeel; only one of these need be mentioned here, viz. another title of 'Nebuchadrezzar,' parallel to 'king of Bābel,' מֶלֶךְ מַלְכִים, i.e. 'king of Jerahmeel' (see on Ezek. xxvi. 7). As to the name of the king, see on 2 K. xxiv. 1.

CHAP. xxix. 22 *f*. Whether the punishment spoken of is probable for these two humble Jewish prophets, we need not inquire. After the statement that the great king would slay them publicly, the writer would certainly not have spoken of their being burned nor, even if he had done so, would he have used the word קלה. The next step is to remedy the corruption in the text. The parallel description in *vs.* 30-32 shows us how to do it. The offence of the two prophets must have been described thus, יָעַן אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ בַשָּׁמַי, שֶׁקָּר. What now comes directly after יָעַן אֲשֶׁר was suggested by the corrupt phrase קָלָם בְּאֵשׁ (cp. Gen. xxxviii. 24). For that phrase we should read קָטְלָם בְּאֲשׁוּר, 'killed them in Asshur (or Ashhur),' i.e. in N. Arabia.

xxix. 24. הַנְּחֹלְמֵי. G 's *αἰλαμειτην* points to חילמי = ירחמאל. See further, *E. Bib.*, 'Shemaiah,' 2.

CHAP. xxx. 18*b*. Read על-תלה || על-מפלתו.

xxx. 21. MT. is very strange, especially ערב את-לבו. This phrase seems to Duhm to come from a writer who had seen the rise and fall of illegal high-priests—Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus. But לבו? By משלו, Duhm understands such a ruler as Simon the Maccabee—a near approach to a true priest-king. But the text is corrupt. והקרבתיו ונגש אלי comes from והקרמתי ישמעאלי, where והח is a correction of ויהח (the other part of 'והח' is absorbed in אדיריו), and ישמ' is a correction of משלו (cp. Isa. xlii. 19, xlix. 7). V. 21 should therefore run thus—

והקרמתי ירחמאלי וישמעאלי מקרבו יצא כי מי הוא-זה ערבי
וירחמאלי וישמעאלי נאם יהוה :

'And I will destroy the Jerahmeelite, and the Ishmaelite shall go forth from his midst. For who then is the Arabian and the Jerahmeelite, and the Ishmaelite, is Yahwè's saying.'

Of course, a late editor may have thought of Asmonæan priest-kings. But the original writer's longing was for the removal of his constant eye-sore, the oppressive Jerahmeelite tyrants (cp. the Psalms *passim*).

CHAP. xxxi. 7. If this is a quatrain, something must be omitted. Duhm omits ליעקב and שמחה; further, he changes הגוים into הרים. It is true, שמחה does not appear in 7. But this is because it seemed to 7 to add nothing to the sense. Duhm also holds it to be useless. But some parallel to בראש (?) הרים is wanted. Now as to Duhm's הרים. It is too indefinite; contrast Isa. xlii. 11, which Duhm rightly refers to as parallel. A closer inspection of various passages in which הגוים occurs would have shown this critic that [ה]גוים sometimes covers over ירחמאל (so, e.g. Gen. xiv. 1). This shows us what שמחה has grown out of—נשם (frequently corrupted by transposition of letters). Read, therefore, רנו ליעקב בנשם | וצהלו בראש ירחמאל.

xxxī. 8. Render 'from the land of Zaphon' (i. 14), 'from the far parts of the land.' See on iii. 12.

xxxī. 15. נהי בני תמרורים. 'ת' occurs again in vi. 26 and Hos. xii. 15, where 'bitterness' is the supposed sense, and in v. 21, where 'it is difficult to believe that the coincidence [with v. 15] is accidental' (Bennett, *Jer.* 'Exp.

Bible,' ii. 337, note 3), and yet the moderns assume an entirely different meaning. Beyond doubt בני תמרורים should be בבית-ירחמאל. See on vi. 26. Note that רחל here represents the ancestress of the 'tribe' of Joseph, which, with the other northern 'tribes' passed into exile in N. Arabia. The starting-point of the captives was Ramah in the Negeb, *i.e.* Beth-jerahmeel (see Jer. xl. 1). This famous place was doubtless near Mizpah (*i.e.* Zarephath), and therefore also not far from the southern Bethel; this will appear by comparing xl. 1, 6, xli. 5 *f.*

xxxl. 16 *f.* Read מארץ ערבי, 'from the Arabian's land.' ארבי and ערבי are confounded in the Psalter. V. 17 originally connected with שרבי in v. 21.

xxxl. 21a. Critics have been too easy-going. Gies. unsuspectingly remarks that the versions have mostly not understood the passage. But is his own rendering really intelligible? Surely the setting-up of guide-posts belongs not to the travellers, but to friendly persons who prepare the way for them. Surely the command to 'give attention to the highway' is not a natural one. Surely the phrase 'the way by which thou hast gone' is not at all clear. Then as to צינים and תמרורים. These words cannot be shown to mean 'guide-posts,' nor can תמרים, a reading which Gies. deduces from G's *τυμωρίαν*, mean anything but 'artificial palms' (as an architectural decoration). Both words have most probably arisen out of corrupt groups of letters representing respectively ישמעאלים and ירחמאלים. And looking further we see that each of the other groups of letters may easily have arisen out of one or the other of these words—note especially שמי לך and מסלה; the other developments may seem less obvious, but there are numerous parallels for them. Thus, representing 'Ishmael' by I, and 'Jerahmeel' by J, v. 21a becomes IIIJIIJ. 'Ishmaelites, Jerahmeelites,' are a gloss on ערבי, v. 16 (end). For parallels to this combination of corruptions, see on xlix. 29, l. 9, Isa. xxii. 5b.

xxxl. 22. Neither Duhm's correction, nor Schmidt's (*E. Bib.*, col. 2384, foot), nor Winckler's (*AOF*⁽³⁾, ii. 229 *f.*) is at all satisfactory. Nor could the corruption of the text be remedied until the key had been discovered. It is the *Negeb* which separates the captives from their home. The

Jews hesitate to take the troublesome journey from the further part of the land of Jerahmeel. The Second Isaiah, therefore, assures them that creative omnipotence will exalt every valley, make low every mountain and hill (Isa. xl. 4, cp. xlix. 11), and open rivers on the bare heights (xli. 18). And the Second Jeremiah (if we may fitly call him so) points in like manner to the divine creatorship, ever ready to display itself afresh. 'Yahwè will create a new thing in the land—the Negeb shall change as (into) the Arabah,' יִסְרֹב הַנֶּגֶב כַּעֲרָבָה; cp. Zech. xiv. 10, 'All the land shall change as (into) the 'Arabah, from Geba to Rimmon (= Jerahmeel), the Negeb of Ishmael' (corrected text). I see that Duhm quotes Zech. xiv. 10, but only for the idiom יִסְרֹב.

CHAP. xxxii. 35. הַבַּעַל and מֶלֶךְ are the same deity; מֶלֶךְ = יְרֻחַמָּאֵל (see on 2 K. xxiii. 10).

CHAP. xxxiv. 1. Read הַדָּבָר וְגו' וְנִבְוֹנָדָאֵשׁוּר מֶלֶךְ יְרֻחַמָּאֵל וְאֲשׁוּר וְיִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים וְאֲדָמִים מִמְּלָכּוֹת כָּל-חֵילָו and יְרֻחַ' both = 'ירח'; cp. on i. 14 ff., xxxix. 1. מִמְּשַׁלַּת, according to parallels, should come from יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים; יְדוּ and עַמִּים may represent אֲדָמִים. On the possible confusion of two distinct invasions of Judah, one Babylonian, and the other N. Arabian, see on xxxvii. 5. Similarly (with a slight difference) in *E. Bib.*, col. 3396.

xxxiv. 6. 'Lachish and Azekah'? But does not this refer to the preliminary N. Arabian invasion of the Negeb (still largely occupied by Israelites)? We meet with Azekah in the story of David and Goliath, the original scene of which was the valley of Jerahmeel ('Elah') or Arammim ('-dammim'); see 1 S. xvii. 1, corr. text. 'Lachish' may well be an error for 'Eshcol,' Num. xiii. 23; cp. on 2 K. xviii. 17.

CHAP. xxxv. 2, 11. The Rechabites are mentioned in 1 Ch. ii. 55 in proximity to Kirjath-jearim and Kirjath-sepher (see *vv.* 50, 52, 53, and [see *E. Bib.*, 'Jabez'] 55). These places are respectively K.-jerahmeel and K.-şarephath. There is no sufficient evidence that the Rechabites ever left the Negeb where these two places were situated. True, in 2 K. x. 15 ff. Jehonadab ben Rekab is mentioned as in שמרון. But in that narrative there has been a confusion between Shomëron

and Shimron (in the Negeb). The ordinary supposition (see *e.g.* Duhm on *v.* 11) that the Rechabites (a Calebite tribe, see Wi., *GI*, i. 84) had been leading a nomad life in the more northerly parts of Palestine is suggested partly by a misunderstanding of 2 K. x. 15 *ff.*, partly by the mention of the 'Chaldæans' and *Aramæans*' in Jer. xxxv. 11. But the latter passage must be read in the light of 2 K. xxiv. 2, where, however (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3460, with note 1), the 'Aramæans' are not the N. Aramæans, who might be supposed to have supplied a large contingent to the Babylonian army (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Aram,' § 7), but the S. Aramæans, *i.e.* the Jerahmeelites; 'Chaldæans' should be 'Cushites,' as also in 2 K. *l.c.*

CHAP. xxxvi. 18, 26. For *הדברים* read *בדור* (*E. Bib.*, col. 2170, top), and note that this *ירחמאל* is perhaps the same as *מלכיה* (xxxviii. 6). See *E. Bib.*, 'Hammelech.'

CHAP. xxxvii. 5. The question which meets us here is similar to that which arises in 2 K. xviii. 9. Is there here a confusion of traditions, *viz.* of a tradition relative to a Babylonian siege of Jerusalem which was interrupted by a diversion caused by an Egyptian army? Or may we suppose (cp. xxvii. 3, corrected text) that there was an alliance between the king of Judah and the kings of Aram (*i.e.* Jerahmeel in the narrower sense) and Mišsur? Whether Jeremiah's biographer was well informed on this point, we cannot tell, but, until better informed, it is most critical to adopt the second view. See xliii. 10 (as read below), 'and shall hold judgment on the traitors of Jerahmeel' (*i.e.* as *v.* 11 shows, on the land of Mišrim), and cp. on 2 K. xxiv.-xxv.

CHAP. xxxix. 1. A good specimen of editorial recasting (see *E. Bib.*, 'Nergal-sharezer'). *כל-חילו* comes from *ירחמאל*, a correction of *בבל*. See on xxxiv. 1.

xxxix. 3. Read *ירבאו כל שרי מלך ירחמאל וישבו בשער* *מענת שר ירחמאל שר סַזַר שר קָדב שר נוֹשִׁים* [עַרְב אֲשׁוּר ירחמאל עַרְב ירחמאל וגו']. For *התוך* read *מענת*; cp. on Ps. lxxii. 14.

xxxix. 4-7. See on 2 K. xxv. 4-7—9. Nebuzaradan (?). See on 2 K. xxv. 20.—13. Read *ירשלה בראדן* [עַרְב־רְחֹבִיתִים] *וְקָדְב־נְשִׁים עַרְב־אֲשׁוּר ירחמאל* [שַׁר אֲשׁוּר עַרְב־ירחמאל] וגו'.

CHAP. xl. 1, 5 *ff.* The 'Ramah' should be 'Ramath-negeb.' The 'Gedaliah' (= Gileadite) spoken of is one of the

Jerahmeelite Israelites, as his genealogical names show ;¹ he is appointed governor, not of the whole land of Judah, but of the Negeb, or rather of the 'cities of Judah' in the Negeb. His seat of government is Mizpah, *i.e.* probably Zarephath (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Misrephoth-maim'). Notice in connection with this (1) that Josiah (or rather—see on 2 K. xxi. 1—Manasseh) had annexed parts of the Negeb, (2) that Jeremiah probably belonged to that region (see on i. 1), (3) that Ishmael and the other captains (see on *v.* 7 below) who come to Gedaliah (*v.* 8) were at least half Jerahmeelites (see on xliii. 2, and on 2 K. xxv. 22 *ff.*), (4) that Cushites (*v.* 10) are expected to be constantly coming to Gedaliah, (5) that the Jews who place themselves under his rule come from neighbouring parts of N. Arabia (*v.* 11), and (6) that the pilgrims who visit the 'house of Yahwè' at 'Mizpah' (see on xli. 5) come from Cusham, Shiloh, and Shimron—places in the Negeb. Cp. on 1 K. xv. 20-22. The sacredness of Zarephath dated from ancient times. Probably שרי החילים (*v.* 7) should be ש' ירחמאל (see on xliii. 2).

xli. 11. 'Moab,' 'Ammon,' 'Edom'; correct as in xxvii. 3.—14. בעלים (like איובל) is a corruption of ישמעאל. So this 'etymological problem' (*E. Bib.*, 'Baalis') now appears to be solved.

CHAP. xli. 1. For מורע המלכה and the corrupt variant רובי המלך (cp. Duhm) read מורע ירחמאל (cp. on 2 S. xii. 26). That 'Elishama' should be 'Ishmael,' Giesebr. has seen. See on xliii. 2.

xli. 3, 5, 12. For הנשרים read הנושים (so *v.* 18), and for שכם read נָשָׁם. Point שָׁמרון. As to the situation of 'Shiloh' and 'Gibeon,' see on 1 S. ii. 3 and Josh. ix. 17, 2 S. ii. 13.

xli. 17 *f.* Read 'Gidroth-jerahmeel which is by Beth-jerahmeel.' The party aim at going into Mišrim (so read), a large region where they hope to be safe from the Cushites. Probably, however, *v.* 18 is a later insertion by one who read מצרים. Possibly, too, the story of the Jews seeking refuge in מצרים is a perverted echo of the tradition of a Mišrite captivity. In Lam. v. 6 the Jews are said to have *surrendered*

¹ גלעדי = גליל. Gilead in the Negeb is meant. Ahiqam = Jerahmeel. 'Shaphan' = Şaphon. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shaphan.'

to the Misrites and the Asshurites (see *E. Bib.*, col. 2700).

CHAP. xlii. *ff.* Throughout read מְצָרִים.

CHAP. xliii. 2. For the impossible הָאֲרָמִים read הָאֲרָמִים. If Ishmael was 'of Jerahmeelite race' (xli. 1, above), we may presume that his fellow-captains (xl. 8) were so too. Their names quite accord with this view. Note also the phrase שְׂרֵי הַחִילִים; see on xl. 1, 5 (end).

xliii. 7. See next note.—8-10. See on chap. xlv. For בְּתַחֲפָנָח read בְּבֵית יִרְחָמֵאל, 'in Beth-jerahmeel' (cp. on ii. 16, xlv. 1). The unintelligible בְּמַלְטָא and בְּמַלְבָּן have also grown out of these two words (not represented in $\text{\textcircled{S}}$) written בְּ יִרְחָמֵאל (cp. on נְמַלְטָא, 2 S. iv. 6, and on בְּמַלְבָּן, 2 S. xii. 31). בֵּית פְּרֻעָה is an attempt to make sense out of a dittographed בְּתַחֲפָנָח. For תְּמַנְתָּם and תְּמַנְתִּי read תְּמַנְתָּם, תְּמַנְתִּי. תְּמַנְתִּי (v. 10, end), as elsewhere, comes from יִרְחָמֵאל. To make this doubly sure, the scribe has given two superfluous ר in the preceding word. שְׁפִירוֹ in שְׁפִירוֹ שָׁפָר represents שְׁפָרָה, of course, should be וְנִשְׁפָּטָה. The scene may be illustrated by xxxix. 3. G. Hoffm. (*ZATW*, ii. 69) rightly explains $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις*, but does not account for the presence of בְּמַלְטָא בְּמַלְבָּן in the Hebrew. The whole passage becomes, 'And the word of Yahwè came to Jer. in Beth-jerahmeel, saying, Take into thy hand great stones, and hold them in the gateway of Beth-jerahmeel before the men of Judah, and say to them, Thus saith Yahwè . . . Behold, I will send and fetch 'Nebuchadrezzar,' king of Jerahmeel [Arabians], I will set his tribunal upon these stones which thou holdest, and he shall hold judgment upon the traitors of Jerahmeel.' עֲבָרִי = עָרְבִי, which is a gloss on בְּבַל (xxvii. 5); $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, however, omits.

xliii. 13. For 'Beth-shemesh' read 'Beth-cusham.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem,' 2.

CHAP. xlv. 'A discourse of Jer. to all Jews in Upper and Lower Egypt, threatening them with the same fate for their idolatry which overtook Jerusalem and the cities of Judah.' So Duhm, who adds that as the chapter now stands, it is a work of the supplementers, but that, especially in vv. 15-19, 24-26, 28, 'the old document is discernible.' On v. 1 he remarks, 'How Jer. can speak a divine word to all

the Jews in Lower and Upper Egypt, the author does not reveal to us.' Unless *v.* 1 has been added later, מצרים means Lower Egypt. The cities named are Migdol on the N.E., Daphnæ, and Memphis. Pathros is Upper Egypt with the capital Thebes. In the time of the writer, the Jews have already spread throughout Egypt. ⚡ has 'in the land of Egypt, and in Migdol, Daphnæ, and the land of Pathros' (Παθουρη). In accordance, however, with our results elsewhere, it is highly probable that all this is a great misunderstanding, nor has even the learning and acuteness of Prof. W. Max Müller (see special articles in *E. Bib.*) availed to make the received views more plausible. It is the N. Arabian מצרים (so long ago Beke, *Orig. Bib.*, i. 307) which is meant. מצרות = צרפת (see on Isa. xi. 11), 'Migdol' might be 'Migdal-cusham,' but the latter is not a sufficiently radical correction of 'Migdal-shechem' in Judg. ix. 46 (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem, Tower of.' As often, מגדל represents ירחמאל. If so, it is really superfluous here, for ובתהנחם, which follows, should certainly be ובבית ירחמאל (see on xliii. 8, 9) For ובנף read probably ובנפתיה (see on ii. 16).

xliv. 3, 8, 15. See on vii. 18. Baal and his consort (the Milcah of Ishmael?) are the 'deities of Jerahmeel.' In *v.* 15 'the land of מצרים' and מצרות are in apposition. Yet, according to the usual theory, מצרות is Upper Egypt. The truth is that מצרים is Mišrim, and מצרות is Zarephath in N. Arabia (including the Negeb).

xliv. 30. It is usual to infer from the form of the sentence that the enemies of 'Pharaoh Hophra' were different from those of Zedekiah, simply because Nebuchadrezzar is mentioned by name in *v.* 30*b*, but not in *v.* 30*a*. In the MT. of xlvi. 26 (cp. *v.* 25), however, it is expressly stated that 'those who seek the life' of 'Pharaoh and Egypt' are 'Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon and his servants.' It is purely arbitrary to assume that the same phrase in xliv. 30 has not the same reference. That this leads to the conclusion that Jeremiah was mistaken in his anticipation, will not disturb the historical student. Nevertheless, the conclusion is in the present case uncalled for, because the original text contained neither 'Pharaoh Hophra' nor

'Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.' All the references to 'Egypt' in Jer. arise out of a great misunderstanding of the editor (see on chap. xlvi.). As to פרעה חפרע, the second element in the name is but a corrupt dittogram of the first, and פרעה is merely פראו, the conventional name of the king of Mišsur. See next note, and observe that 'Pharaoh-hopra' is nowhere else mentioned in the traditional text.

CHAP. xlvi. According to W. Max Müller (*E. Bib.*, col. 2108), 'so much is now certain—that Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's predictions of a conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar were not fulfilled' (cp. col. 1246). How far Herodotus's statements respecting Apries (Uah-ab-ra) are to be trusted we do not yet know; but Herodotus does not say, nor must we, on the ground of suspicious readings of the text of Jer., allow ourselves to say, that he afforded an asylum to Jewish fugitives (cp. on xliv. 30). It is noteworthy that nothing is said about these refugees in Jer. xlvi., nor indeed in Ezekiel.

xlvi. 2. The original heading was למצרים. To this was added על-חיל פראו מלך מצרים אשר הנה על-נהר אפרת בקדשם, 'concerning the army of Pir'u, king of Mišrim, which was by the river of Ephrath at Kir-cusham.' Cp. below on v. 6, and 2 K. xxiii. 29, xxiv. 7, and on the 'river of Ephrath,' see note on xiii. 1-7, and *E. Bib.*, 'Shihor.' The supposed encounter between Nebuchadrezzar and 'Pharaoh-Necoh' is generally accepted (see e.g. Winckler, *GBA*, p. 310, Tiele, *BAG*, p. 425). It has, however, no other basis than a few suspicious words in a passage which the most moderate critics hesitate to receive as Jeremiah's (see Giesebrecht, *Jer.* p. 229). For another instance of the corruption of קדשם into כרכמיש see on Isa. x. 8. We might read כושם. It is, however, against this view that Herodotus (ii. 159) calls the city which ó Νεκώς took after the battle of Μάγδωλος (Migdol = the southern Gilead) Κάδυτις, i.e. Kadesh. In justification of פראו for פראו, see on 2 K. xxiii. 29.

xlvi. 5. מגור מסביב, 'terror all round,' would not be unsuitable. But we cannot take this passage apart from vi. 25, etc. Observe too that it is not connected with the context by כי. Read, therefore, ירחמאל ישמעאל (vi. 25). Cp. on xlix. 29.

xlvi. 6. Duhm very naturally wonders at the mention of the north here. But is צפונה 'in the north'? צפון is the name of a N: Arabian region (see on i. 14). פרת should be אפרת (*v.* 2).

xlvi. 9. The ethnics are כוש, פרת (פוט), צרפת (תפשי), (דרכי) רֶבֶב, (תפשי) צרפת, (לודים) גלעדים, (מגן) נחם (*E. Bib.*, 'Ben-deker'), כוש (קשת, cp. on Ps. lxxviii. 9). Marq. (*Fund*, 27) is on the right track, emending תפשי into פתוסים. Stade and Cornill wrongly read לֹוֹבִים for לֹוֹדִים. Cp. on Isa. lxvi. 19.

xlvi. 11. 'Gilead' is the 'Gilead' in the Negeb (see on viii. 22). Point מצָרִים, as usual.

xlvi. 14. See on xlv. 1. For סבִּירֶךְ read יִשְׁמְעֵאל (cp. on מסבִּיר, vi. 25).

xlvi. 15. מדוע נסחף אבִּירֶךְ. It is grievous to be an iconoclast, but it must be candidly stated that the Apis of ⚡(?) is purely imaginary. The key is furnished by נסחף = פנחם, which (see *E. Bib.*, 'Phinehas') is a current corruption of ירחמאל. The proof of this is that the correction ירחמאל (miswritten אבִּירֶךְ) follows. Indeed, פנחם (= ירח') occurs in *v.* 14 (as a part of תח'). קַעֵד מדוע should be קַעֵד. Render *v.* 15, 'Jerahmeel totters, he stands not, for Yahwè has thrust him down.' 'Jerahmeel' has just been mentioned under the disguises of Migdol and [Tah]panhes.

xlvi. 16. Read חרב היונה.—הערבים נשלו גם נפלו. Read חֶרֶב הַיָּוֹנִי, 'the sword of the Javanite' (= Jerahmeelite), cp. on היין, Hab. ii. 5. Correct xxv. 38, l. 16, Zeph. iii. 1, accordingly. Cp. ⚡, μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς, *i.e.* 'חר' יֹוֹנִי, which Schmidt adopts in l. 16.

xlvi. 17. A list of the different tribes of Arabians, such as we find occasionally in the Psalms,—ירחמאל ישמעאל צרפת. Later insertion.

xlvi. 18 should reassert the coming destruction of the Miṣrite Jerahmeel. המלך = ירחמאל, a marginal correction of נכרמל. יבוא should be the subject to ירח'. יבוא seems to be רחבות (cp. נפתור, xlvii. 4).

xlvi. 24 *f.* עם-צפון clearly = 'the folk of Zaphon.' In *v.* 25 one must again become an iconoclast. It is not the Egyptian god Amen who is referred to (unless, indeed, most improbably, we suppose the late editor to have inserted the

reference out of his own head, without any corrupt material to work upon) but עמון, one of the current corruptions of ירחמאל. אלהיד and מלכיה may also be corruptions of the same word. Render—'Behold, I will punish [Jerahmeel, and] Pir'u, and Mišrim, and Jerahmeel.' The closing words explain the reference to Jerahmeel. Not all the Jerahmeelites, but only those who hold with the king of Miššur are meant. For the invader was himself the mightiest of the kings of the Jerahmeelite race. (The writer archaïses, and assumes that the relations of the N. Arabian peoples were still as they were in the time before Esar-haddon.)

CHAP. xlvii. 1. The last clause is omitted by critics, but not on the right grounds. The oracle relates to the Zarephathites and the Mišrites, not the Philistines and the Tyrians. Now, since פראו (MT. פרעה) is the king of Miššur, he cannot be regarded as the fulfiller of the oracle. The invader comes (*v.* 2) from Zaphon in N. Arabia.

xlvii. 4 *f.* Read simply לכהכרית למצור כל שריר עור = מצר (a marginal note). See on xxv. 22, Joel iv. 4.—אי כפתר. Read ערב רחבוח, 'Rehobothite Arabia.'—ענה is possibly a title of צרפת, 'Zarephath.' Observe that ענה is mentioned beside אשכול, *i.e.* Eshcol in the Negeb (see on Num. xiii. 23). Thus three out of the five Zarephathite cities are mentioned.—שארית עמקם. ⚡, οἱ κατάλοιποι Ἐνακειμ, *i.e.* ענקים 'ש, which most (*e.g.* Bleecker and Duhm) prefer, comparing Josh. xi. 22. See *E. Bib.*, 'Anakim.' But what this late writer means is, 'the remnant of Jerahmeel,' corresponding to 'the remnant of Arab-rehoboth.' עמקם may come either from עמלקים or directly from ירחמאלים. Cp. on עמקים, xlix. 4. A 'remnant of Amalek' is spoken of in 1 Chr. iv. 43. (Note that ענקים, like עמלק, may come from ירחמאל.)

CHAP. xlviii. See on the parallel passages in Isa. xv. *f.*, Num. xxi., and Isa. xxiv.

On *v.* 1*b*, 2, see *E. Bib.*, 'Misgab,' 'Madmen.' In *v.* 7 read either במעויד ובמבצרותך or ובמב' alone (following ⚡, ἐν ὀχυρώμασί σου). Cp. on xlix. 4. Also, here and in *v.* 13, read נושם (not נמוש).

CHAP. xlix. referred originally to the b'ne Ammon in the Negeb, *i.e.* the Jerahmeelites (cp. on *vv.* 2-4, and see on Am. i. 13). The writer's complaint is that the Negeb is now

exclusively occupied by Jerahmeelites (*i.e.* probably Edomites). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Obadiah, Book of,' § 5.

xlix. 1. מְלָכִים should be ירחמאל (as Am. i. 15, Zeph. i. 5), and גָּד should possibly be גלעד (so 6); though there may have been a גד as well as a גלעד in the Negeb.

xlix. 2 *f.* For רבת read probably רְחֹבַת (cp. on 2 S. xi. 1, xii. 26).—'What Heshbon has to do with the Ammonites is unintelligible, and Ai is quite unknown,' says Duhm. Read probably הַלִּילִי כוֹשֵׁן כִּי שֹׁדְדָה עִירָךְ, and cp. Num. xxi. 28, when חֶשְׁבוֹן seems to be parallel to כְּרִית כוֹשֵׁן, and v. 30, where חֶשְׁבוֹן seems to be miswritten for כוֹשֵׁן. Possibly חֶשְׁבוֹן and רבת or רְחֹבוֹת are designations of the same place. The name Hashabiah, mentioned in genealogies in connection with Malluch, Mahli, Shemaiah, Gedaliah, and other names of the Negeb, shows that the Haṣhab clan must have been traditionally important.

xlix. 4 should run thus—מִה תַּתְּהַלְלִי בַת עַרְבַּ יִרְחַמְאֵל 'מה תתהללי בת ערב ירחמאל, הבטחה רגו', 'Why boastest thou, O people of 'Arāb-jerahmeel, that trustest in thy fortresses (saying), Who can come to me?' ערב ירחמאל = בעמקים; בת ירחמאל; ערב ירחמאל represents ערב ירחמאל; בת ירחמאל comes from בת ישמעאל (a variant to 'בת ירח'). ישמ' in שמ frequently (*e.g.* ix. 24) represents the שם in 'אר. אצר is a corruption of מצר; fem. term. as Dan. xi. 15. For 'ערב ירח' cp. ערב רְחֹבוֹת, xlvi. 4 (corr. text).

xlix. 23. לדמשק. Duhm, "Of Damascus" has only the character of a catch-word, since Damascus never had supremacy over the district here intended.' Winckler, 'If old, then before 732; but perhaps a late archaistic composition' (*AT Unters.* 116). Duhm and N. Schmidt (*E. Bib.*, col. 2392) suppose it to relate to the Seleucidæ. But the passage must be read in connection with Am. i. 3-5. Ben-hadad is a N. Arabian prince, Birdadda. The phrase in v. 27 (end) is, however, used conventionally. דמשק undoubtedly comes from כושם, 'Cusham.' For Hamath and Arpad, see on 2 K. xviii. 34, Isa. x. 9. In v. 23^b the commentators see an imitation of Isa. lvii. 20; they think the meaning is, 'there is an unrest like that of the ever-heaving ocean,' reading נִיָּם (so many MSS.). But they have not inspected the text closely enough. The passage is corrupt, and we have the key for its correction. Following

parallels elsewhere, read ערבים דאגו כוש וירחמאל, 'the Arabians despond; Cush and Jerahmeel.' דאגו; ⚔, ἐθυμώθησαν. קשת for כוש, as in xlvi. 9 (see note). The ingenuity of the editor in transforming the text is undeniable.

xlix. 25. A marginal citation from some unknown source, thinks Duhm. He reads אוי לָהּ (for אֵיךְ לָהּ). לָהּ, however, as often, is a fragment of ירחמאל, written in the margin as a correction of תהלה, which certainly comes from מְשֻׁשׁ; ירח (מְשֻׁשׁ vss. מְשֻׁשׁ) comes from כְּוָשִׁים or כְּוָשָׁם. (Again and again we find שֹׁשׁ miswritten for כְּוָשׁ).—27. See on v. 23.

xlix. 28. It makes no difference whether the traditional reading be ממלכות (MT.) or מלכת (⚔). Both are quite regular corruptions of ירחמאל.¹ קדר (followed on the first occurrence by Paseḳ) is probably miswritten for קדש (cp. on Isa. xxi. 16), and similarly חצור for מצור. Thus the title becomes, 'Of Kadesh and of the Miṣṣrite Jerahmeel, which Nebrod-asshur, king of Jerahmeel, smote.' In v. 28b 'Kedar' and 'b'ne Kēdem,' i.e. 'Kadesh' and 'b'ne Yarḥam' (b'ne Jerahmeel), are parallel. With the correction required in v. 32, we thus obtain a well-connected passage, so far as the people referred to is concerned.

xlix. 29. This verse has much exercised commentators. Duhm says, 'After the vivacious exclamation of v. 28, comes a cool announcement of what is to take place. The verse refers to the nomad tribes. Tents, sheep, tent-curtains (⚔ has 'garments'), all vessels, camels: a wonderful medley. Jeremiah's 'terror all around' gave much pleasure to later writers.' A very low opinion of the common sense of supplementers is revealed here! In reality, somewhat as in divers passages of the traditional Psalter, the ethnics [ירחמאל] and [ישמעאל] are repeated over and over again in corrupt forms. The first words to awaken suspicion are אהליהם and במליהם. אהל pretty often, and גמל occasionally, represent ירחמאל (cp. e.g. the personal names Ohel, Gemalli, Gamliel; also 1 Ch. iv. 41, 2 Ch. xiv. 14, Judg. viii. 21, 26). Putting J for Jerahmeel and I for Ishmael, the so-called verse runs thus—JIJJJJJJJJJI. The explanation is that the writer of the copy before the editor had been unable to

¹ Winckler's theory (*AOF*, ii. 245) that the reference is to a N. Arabian (cp. Zabibi and Samsi) does not produce a good sense.

make out the words **ירחמאל** and **ישמאל**, marginal glosses on **בני קדם** in *v.* 28; he therefore made a number of 'bad shots,' which the editor afterwards, with his wonted ingenuity, transformed into a sentence. Similarly, xxxi. 21*a*, l. 9, Isa. xxii. 5*b*. See on 2 Chr. xiv. 14, and next note.

xlix. 32 *f*. Again, compare 2 Chr. xiv. 14, which, in its original form, probably stated that the Jews also smote the Jerahmeelites and Kadmonites, and carried away Jerahmeelites and Ishmaelites as captives. So here. Read, as lines 1 and 2, **והיו ירחמאלים לבו | והמון קדמנים לשלל**. Then, in line 3, **כוש צרפת** should be **קצוצי פאה**, an insertion from ix. 26.—Note that 'Hazor' (Mišsur) is clearly a city.

xlix. 34. The improbability of a Jeremianic prophecy against Elam has struck all critics. Israelitish exiles in Elam are indeed (it is held) referred to in Isa. xi. 11, but this passage is plainly not the work of Isaiah. Pointing out that Susa, the chief city of Elam, was also the chief residence of the Persian kings, Schwally, N. Schmidt (*E. Bib.*, 2391), and others think that Elam may be here identified with Persia, so that the oracle would probably have been written at the approach of Alexander. A keener textual criticism does not sanction this. As elsewhere, **עילם** is a corruption of **ירחמאל**. The Jerahmeelite atmosphere of the rest of the Book of Jeremiah compels us to adopt this view.

CHAPS. 1, li. 1-58. 'A purely literary production,' says Duhm; 'for its subject, the fate of Babylon, had no actual interest for the later period.' **בבל**, however, is one of the current distortions of **ירחמאל**. The king of **בבל** is the ruler of the great Jerahmeelite empire, which included the small Jerahmeelite region known as the Negeb. The writer is indeed here archaistic, but it is probable that the N. Arabian oppression of the Jews still continued when this work was composed. On restoring it to its original form, we shall recover a fresh parallel to the Psalter.

1. 2. In the original work, not 'Bel' and 'Merodach,' but 'Baal' and 'Jerahmeel' must have been mentioned. **בעל** became **בל**; **ירחמאל** became **מרדך**. That the Jerahmeelite god was called by the Israelites Jerahmeel appears from Zeph. i. 5. The name appears sometimes in the corrupt

forms 'Molech,' and 'Milcom'; see *e.g.* 1 K. xi. 5, 7, עמון being a popular corruption of ירחמאל.

1. 3. מִצְפֵּן. The writer's idea seems to be that the Nabataeans, after establishing themselves in Zaphon (see on i. 14), will succeed in absorbing the whole of the old empire of Jerahmeel or Cusham. He represents them, however, archaistically (see on li. 11, 27) by old names, some of which are corruptions of the same widely applied ethnic, Jerahmeel.

1. 6. הרים שובבים has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is a gloss on 'all that found them' (*v.* 7); ירחמאל ישמעאל, 'Jerahmeel, Ishmael.' Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shobab.'

1. 8 *f.* כְּנָשִׁים covers over נְשָׁיִם.

1. 9. All that follows צפון is superfluous and full of difficulty (see Gies. and Duhm). It is really due to the ingenious editor, who had before him (cp. on xlix. 29) the 'bad shots' of a scribe who could not manage to read the words נְשָׁיִם, יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, יִרְחַמְאֵל, which originally were a marginal gloss on גֵּרִים גְּדֻלִים. Taking J for Jerahmeel, I for Ishmael, and C for Cushim, we may represent the state of the text thus, JIJCJIJ. והיתה in *v.* 10 connects with מארץ צפון in *v.* 9*a.* (The danger of confusing the two Jerahmeels and the two Cushams was obviated by using different corrupt forms of these names.)

1. 15 *f.* שוֹרִיתִיה should be שְׁמַשְׁתִּיה (Σ, ἐπάλαξις), and for היונה read הַיָּוָנִי '(of) the Javanite' (= Jerahmeelite). See on xlvi. 16.

1. 17. The king of אשור is here distinguished from the king of בבל. In reality, however, אשור, in the books from which the writer ultimately derives his information, must mean the same as בבל. Granted that in the historical book which he had read there may have been a confusion between the Assyrian Asshur and the N. Arabian Ashḥur, yet his ultimate source spoke of the N. Arabian Ashḥur. The writer is therefore only a witness for the continuance of N. Arabian oppression, and of the Jewish desire for vengeance.

1. 19. As to the geographical names, see on Mic. vii. 14.

1. 21. Assyriologists and Hebraists have done their best with this verse, but the result is not satisfactory. In particular, the transitive חרב (here and in *v.* 27) is most improbable; the vss. understand חָרַב (in *v.* 21). The key

being in our hands, let us follow our rules, and restore thus—
 'על־ארץ ירחמאל עלה ועל־יושבי רחבת נאם י'
 'Against the land of Jerahmeel go up, against the inhabitants of Rehoboth, saith Yahwè.' For פקוד, cp. on Ezek. xxiii. 23. For the corrupt מרתים, cp. רשעתים, Judg. iii. 8, 10 (see *E. Bib.*, 'Cushan-rishathaim'). ירשעאל might come from ירשעאל, as *e.g.* ix. 24, Zech. xii. 10, but li. 1 makes this improbable. חרב comes from [רחב]ת, a correction of פקוד; and אחריהם and והחרום are both attempts of scribes to make sense of a miswritten אחריהם; cp. וגם אחרי כן in Gen. vi. 4. Observe that if פקוד comes from רחבת, the Rehoboth meant is not the Rehoboth in the Negeb, but some other Rehoboth, just as the Jerahmeel intended is the greater Jerahmeel (Meluhḥa), not the Jerahmeelite Negeb (cp. li. 1). See on li. 13.

l. 23, 27. שָׁבַט should be פְּטִישׁ; see Isa. xiv. 5. For חרבו (Ⓢ, ἀναξηράνατε) read קרבו. Cp. on *v.* 21.

l. 36. הברים. Zimmern (*Ritualtafeln*, p. 85), Haupt, and Muss-Arnolt (*AJSL*, July 1900, p. 223) connect הברי in Isa. xlvii. 13, with Ass. *bārū*, 'a seer' (= הֹוֹה, Del.), and Haupt (*JBL*, 1900, p. 57) makes a similar suggestion for our passage. One would gladly accept these proposals. But Assyriological suggestions seem to me to be often fallacious; and this may be the case here. Read rather על־החברים, 'on the enchanters'; and cp. on Isa. xlvii. 13.

l. 37. For הָעֲרָבִים read הָעֲרָבִים.

CHAP. li. 1. יִשְׁבִי לְבַּ קָמִי. Leb-kamai is usually thought to be Kasdim (Chaldæa), written in the cypher called Athbash, just as Sheshach in *v.* 41 = Babel. Ⓢ has Χαλδαίους in *v.* 1, but does not express Sheshach in *v.* 41c (see *E. Bib.*, 'Leb-kamai,' 'Sheshach'); Tg. gives נְשָׁדִים here; בבל for 'Sheshach' in *v.* 41, xxv. 26. It appears, however, that we should rather read ירחמאל for 'Leb-kamai.' It is a gloss on ירשעאל, which word, in accordance with many parallels, may underlie ירשעאל. 'Babel' (Jerahmeel?) and 'Ishmael' seem here to be parallel.

li. 3. 'Utterly desperate,' is the verdict of Cornill, who, however, makes a gallant effort to understand it. But the textual phenomena yield up their secret to those who have the key. They are in fact exactly parallel to those of xxxi. 21a, xlix. 29, l. 9. Where *v.* 3 now stands, the

original text had a gloss consisting of the names of the peoples which the scribe took to be intended by the זרים of *v.* 2. These names were Jerahmeel, Cusham, Ishmael. Through the 'bad shots' of the scribe the verse has become JCJIJJJI. The only doubtful word is צבאה; the editor may have inserted this, but more probably it comes from a much corrupted ישמעאל. Cp. on *v.* 13*b*.

li. 11. מדי comes from ירחמאל (2 K. xvii. 6, Isa. xiii. 17, xxi. 2). 'The kings of Jerahmeel'; cp. *v.* 27, and note on *v.* 1.

li. 13*a*. Read רחבות מצור. This is apparently the second name of the capital of Jerahmeel. Observe that it had water near it, and that, as *v.* 25 shows, it was itself situated on a height.—13*b*. בנה קצף אמת בצפף. A glance at the divergent explanations of 'ב' א' will show how doubtful these two words are. The most probable explanation of the passage is suggested by 2 S. viii. 1, where אמה is a fragment of מענה (the southern Maacah), and by Ezek. vii. 6, where כוש בא probably represents an original כוש בא. Read here—באו כוש ירחמאל ישמעאל. The last word in MT (בצעך) reminds us of צבאה in *v.* 3; it most probably represents ישמעאל, *i.e.* משעל. Thus *v.* 13 prepares the way for *v.* 14.

li. 25. הר should clearly be עיר. A mountain cannot be rolled down from the rocks. Burning is the fate constantly threatened to cities (*e.g.* xxxviii. 23). Gies. and Duham remark that the description is not in accordance with the situation of *Babylon*.

li. 27 *f*. ממלכות, as in *i.* 14, seems to come from ירחמאל. The later writers delight in lists of ethnics. The peoples formerly subject to the great king of the larger Jerahmeel combine together against him. 'Jerahmeel' (in the narrower sense) heads the list; ארם (so read, as in Gen. viii. 4, etc., instead of עררט) follows; then מעון or מעונים (so read instead of מני); then either קנו or נושן (so, instead of אשכנז). ארם, of course, is a synonym of ירה, and superfluous. טפסר, according to most, is the Ass. *dupšarru*, 'tablet-writer.' This suits in Nah. iii. 17; here, however, we expect the name of a country. And since סוס which follows, occurs elsewhere miswritten for כוש, it is reasonable to hold that ט here is miswritten for צרפת. For נילק סמר ('like the rough (?)

locust'), a superfluous comparison just here, read ירחמאל
ישמעאל.

li. 28. Read את-ירחמאל את-רחבותים ואת-כל-קנזים ואת
כל-ארץ ישמעאל.

li. 59-64. See *E. Bib.*, 'Seraiah.' The impression
which this very late story produces is that the true Babylon
is meant. If so, the true background of Jeremiah's pro-
phesies had already been forgotten.

PART II

EZEKIEL AND MINOR PROPHETS

SUFFICIENT evidence has, it may be hoped, been adduced for the statements relative to the contents of the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah made in §§ 37, 40, 41, 43, 45 of 'Prophetic Literature' in *E. Bib.* The justification of the leading corrections of the text will become stronger and stronger as we proceed through the other prophetic writings, and some of the *lacunæ* which must inevitably exist will be filled up by the mind's almost mechanical inference from analogies and parallels. One of the latter may, by way of example, be added here. In re-examining 1 S. xxvii. 8, which can only be adequately explained by correcting יִשְׁבוֹת into יִשְׁמַעֵאל, I had occasion to refer to one of the many passages in which יִשְׁבִי has come by corruption out of יִשְׁמַעֵאל, and at the moment the parallel passage was Isa. x. 13, where hitherto I had seen no light (see p. 19), but where, as I now saw at once, we have to read נְאוּרִיד נְבוֹד יִשְׁמַעֵאל, 'and I brought down the glory of Ishmael.' The supreme N. Arabian king boasts of having overthrown the smaller kings of the Negeb, who had probably renounced their allegiance. 'Ishmael,' as we shall see again and again, is used synonymously with 'Jerahmeel,' so that the close of v. 13 is exactly parallel to a clause in v. 8 (p. 18), 'as I have done to Shimron and to Jerahmeel,' and we may further illustrate by comparing Hos. x. 14, where the sudden destruction of Beth-jerahmeel by an Asshurite king appears without doubt to be referred to. The force of such an

example will, of course, be heightened the more we allow the mind to work freely on the new lines. It is no superficial study to which the reader is invited, and all the elucidations that some may desire cannot here be placed before the reader. What space allowed, has been done, and if young and fresh minds should wish for more, it is open to those to seek it from the living voice of a teacher. No course could be more fruitful of good for progressive study than for such minds to be directed to new problems.

The relevant passages on Ezekiel and the 'Minor Prophets' in *E. Bib.*, 'Prophetic Literature,' should be read in connection with the following notes. Many unsought illustrations of difficult passages, similar to these just mentioned, will quite naturally suggest themselves. It may not be useless to add that no attempt is here made at a conspectus of all admissible corrections of the text. What is here offered is supplementary and original. If any one doubts whether much of it is not only original but sound, let him consult the notes on Hos. iii. and Ezek. xlvii. 10, 13, xlviii. 35, and compare what has been said on those passages by the best-known commentators. The best argument for a new method is always that it brings unforced solutions of problems long regarded as well nigh desperate.

EZEKIEL

CHAP. I. 1.—**וַיְהִי אִי בְשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה**. Ingenious as the various explanations are, there seems to be room for another. Ezekiel was (temporarily?) in the land of Jerahmeel; a synonym for 'Jerahmeel' is often 'Ishmael'; **שְׁלִישִׁים** in xxiii. 15 is a corruption of **יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים**. Winckler (*Untersuch.*, 96) would read conjecturally **וַיְהִי בְשָׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁי** (or the like). I should venture to prefer, in accordance with the gloss in *v.* 2, **וַיְהִי בְשָׁנָה הַחֲמִשִּׁי**. I conjecture that the third word became illegible, and that **בְּשָׁלְשִׁים** was transferred from its original place to fill the gap. And where was its original place? Most probably in the margin; it was a gloss on the words which underlie **בְּתוֹךְ הַגּוּלָה**. That the traditional reading is wrong is surely manifest. The phrase is not to be taken literally, say Bertholet and Kraetzschmar (because of iii. 15); 'in the district of' is Kraetzschmar's paraphrase. But most probably **הַגּוּלָה** (somewhat as **גּוּרְלִי** in Ps. xvi. 5) is a corruption of **יִרְחַמָּאֵל**, and **בְּשָׁלְשִׁים** = **בִּישְׁמַעְאֵל** is a gloss either on **יִרְחַמָּאֵל** or on some form between 'ירח' and **הַגּוּלָה**. Ezekiel himself was of a family belonging to the Negeb; for 'Buzi,' see on Gen. xxii. 21, 1 S. vii. 14 (**Ⲙ αζοβ**).

i. 1, 3; iii. 3, 15, 23; x. 15, 20, 22; xliii. 3. **עַל-קְהָר-קָבָר**. Plausibly most now identify 'Chebar' with the large canal a little to the left of Nippur (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 732, and especially Haupt, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT* (Eng.), pp. 93 *f.*, who identifies with the Shatt en-Nil, which cuts in half the mounds of Nippur. It is quite possible, however, on the analogy of **בְּרַחֵל** (see *E. Bib.*, 'Job, Book of,' § 9), that **קָבָר** may be a corruption of **יִרְחַמָּאֵל**, or perhaps more directly of **בְּרַחֵל** (whence perhaps comes the **בְּבַל** of Gen. x. 10, Mic.

iv. 10, Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 8, etc.) For favouring evidence see on 2 K. xvii. 5 *f.* ('Habor, the river of Gozan'). נשדים in v. 3 should, as often, be נשים.

i. 4. מן-הצפון. 'Jhvh [יהוה] seems to come, not from Jerusalem, but from the remote north, which is apparently thought of as the place of his abode (xxviii. 14); cp. the Babylonian conception (Isa. xiv. 13).' Toy (*SBOT*). So Stade (*Gesch.* ii. 8), 'It is a heathen idea, which Ezekiel will have learned through a Babylonian medium and probably in Babylonia.' But, as Kraetzschmar remarks, the mountain with which Yahwè was connected was in the south (Dt. xxxiii. 2, etc.); he supposes, therefore, that Ezekiel, when he received the vision, accidentally looked towards the north. The true solution of the problem surely is that מן-הצפון should be מן-הצפוני, 'from the Şephonite country,' a district which may have included the mountain of Yahwè. See on Isa. xiv. 13. צפוני as Joel ii. 20. Cp. Elzaphan, Baalzephon, Zephaniah.—חשמל, from חלמיש, on which see *E. Bib.*, 'Tarshish-stone.'

i. 24, x. 5. It is to be feared that all the manifold discussion of these passages has led to nothing. Textual criticism should have preceded this discussion. המלה occurs again only in Jer. xi. 16 (המולה). Comparing חמול (Gen. xlvi. 12), מול (Jer. ix. 25), and similar corruptions, we may, in both places, emend ירחמאל. The key to נקול שדי or (as x. 5) אל שדי is to be found in Isa. xiii. 6 (see note), where משדי comes from ישמעאל. Read in i. 24, נקול מחנה ירחמאל, נקול ישמעאל בדברו (? בריו) בלכתם, and in x. 5 נקול ישמעאל בדברו (? בריו) בלכתם. For the combination of figures ('great waters' and 'host of Jerahmeel'), cp. Isa. xvii. 1, Jer. vi. 23.

CHAP. iii. 14. ואלך מר בחמת רוחי. (1) ואלך is impossible. 'Elsewhere the רוח deprives a man of his consciousness and free-will' (Kr.). (2) מר is impossible; see the various explanations in Kr. Hitz., Corn., Toy cancel it; Kr. objects because such a peculiar expression can hardly be a gloss. (3) בחמת רוחי, an unparalleled expression; nor is the mention of Ezekiel's רוח in place here. By the combined help of ⚡ and the Jerahmeelite theory, we can at last see daylight. Where MT. gives מר, ⚡ (AQ) has μετέωρος, i.e. probably רם (cp. ⚡, 2 S. xxii. 28); now רם is one of the

many mutilated forms of ירחמאל, and in this case to make the true reading doubly sure מר or רם is preceded (M[Ⓢ]) by ואלך, *i.e.* יחאל, which exactly completes ירח'. Next, חמת is one of the recognised forms of מענת (so *e.g.* in Ps. lxxvi. 11); lastly, רוּחַ is possibly, and in this case also probably, a corrupt fragment of ירח'. Render, 'And spirit had lifted me up and taken me to Maacath of Jerahmeel'; Maacath, then, must have been a district of Jerahmeel, separate from that in which Ezekiel was, when he saw the vision.

iii. 15. Admittedly the text is in disorder. Grätz (*Monatsschr.*, 1886, p. 369) would omit ואשר (from ואשב) as a 'proleptic dittogram,' and for the rest follows the well-rounded construction of Pesh. Cornill omits אל נהר הישבים אל נהר as a gloss, and changes ואשר into אָשׁוּר, thus producing 'and I came to the exiles to Tel-abib where they dwelt.' Both courses are too easy to be right, and we have no reason to give ישב the specialised sense of 'having one's centre or chief place of abode.' The place-name Tel-abib is also suspicious. The explanation suggested by Frd. Del. (*til-abubi*; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tel-abib') is plausible, but not more so than that of נבר (i. 1, 3, etc.). Ⓢ gives μετέωρος = רם = ירחמאל. But though the equation ארם = אביב = ירחמאל is not impossible, yet it is easier to see underlying תל אביב the name תל ערב, and to suppose Ⓢ's רם to be a remnant of a variant תל ירחמאל. ישובים, הישבים, and שם are all very possible corruptions of ישמעאל, while המה is a corruption of ירח', ואשר probably = אָשׁוּר (and Tel-asshur); it corresponds to the καὶ περιήλθον = ואסוב of Ⓢ. The two Hebrew texts of v. 15—*i.e.* that of M and that underlying Ⓢ—may respectively be rendered thus—

'And I went to the company of exiles, to Tel-arab [Ishmael, by the river of Jerahmeel] and Tel-asshur [Jerahmeel, Ishmael], and there for seven days I dwelt among them astonished.'

'And I went, etc., to Tel-jerahmeel and Tel-asshur [Ishmael, by the river of Jerahmeel, Ishmael].'

That Asshur (= Geshur), Jerahmeel, Ishmael, and Arabia were practically synonymous, need not be restated. But it is important to point out that Tel-melah in Ezra ii. 59, Neh. vii. 61, and Tel-ḥarsha in Ezra ii. 59 evidently come from Tel-jerahmeel and Tel-asshur (cp. Ashhur, 1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5)

respectively. Also that in Amos we hear of נחל הערבה, which should probably be read נחל ערב (see on Am. vi. 14). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tel-abib,' 'Tel-harsha,' 'Tel-melah,' where it is further suggested that תל, wherever it occurs in compound names, may be the short for תובל (Tubal).

CHAP. iv. 6. שנית is as impossible here as in Isa. xi. 11. In both passages read ישמעאל. Here ישמ' is a variant to ישראל; the glossator thinks of Israel in the land of Ishmael or Jerahmeel (*i.e.* the Negeb). In Isa. *l.c.*, where ידו, *i.e.* ירחמאל follows, it is a gloss on אשור, etc.

CHAP. vii. 5-7. The ingenuity of the proposed corrections of this passage (see Kr.) is worthy of all praise. But how colourless are the results! 2 K. xxiv. 2—if we can read underneath MT.—suggests the remedy. The names of the peoples which were to attack Jerusalem ought to be found here. Mere possibilities, in the light of the new theory, become probabilities. Remembering the corruptions of the ethnic names in the Psalms, and omitting dittograms, we may probably restore thus—

נה אמר אדני יהודה
ירחמאל ירחמאל הנה בא
כוש ירחמאל הנה בא
בא צרפת אליך יושב-הארץ
בא מעקת קרב ירחמאל:

נה probably comes either from רמה or from רח; אחת from אחם (cp. אחד or אחת, Isa. lxvi. 17). קץ, as perhaps in Num. xiii. 25, represents כוש. אליך, like עליך in Isa. xlvii. 13 (see note), comes from ירחמאל. Notice that here as elsewhere לא represents the final אל of an ethnic; מהומה ולא = ירחמאל. Ⓢ arbitrarily (as it occurs) inserts לא before מהומה; it is right, however, in its ὀδύνην. This represents חבלים, *i.e.* certainly ירחמאל. (I do not touch קץ in *vs.* 2, 3; possibly *vs.* 1-4 is a later preface to the song. An editor has certainly been at work on *vs.* 1-10).

vii. 10 *f.* More ethnics. Read—

הנה ירחמאל הנה בא
יצא צרפת יצא מעקת
קרב מצור קשם אשור
: [ירחמאלים ונחמאלים]

See another list of peoples in xxiii. 5b, 6, and cp. similar lists in the Psalms (*e.g.* Pss. lv., lxxxiii., xciv.). צָדוֹן = זָדוֹן, one of the current corruptions of מְצוֹר (*e.g.* 1 K. xvii. 9, Joel iv. 4). חָמָס = כָּשָׁם, as 2 S. xxii. 3, 49 (Ps. xviii. 49). In the gloss (which is encumbered by dittograms) 'נחמ' may either be a corruptly dittographed 'ירח' or represent נַחְמָנִים (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Naḥam,' 'Naḥamani,' 'Nehemiah').

vii. 12. Read בא מַעֲקַת הַגֵּיעַ יִרְחַמְאֵל

vii. 21-23. Read—

וּנְתַתִּיו בִּיד־הַזְּרוּיִם לְבוֹ
 וְלַעֲרִיצֵי הָאָרֶץ לְשָׁלָל
 וְהִסְבַּתִּי פְנֵי מָדָם
 וּבָאוּ בְרוֹ צַרְפְּתִים
 וְחָלְלֵהוּ וְעִשׂוּהוּ הַרְבֹּבוֹת
 כִּי־הָאָרֶץ מְלֵאָה דַמִּים
 וְהִעִיר מְלֵאָה חָמָס :

עֲרִיצֵי = Ⓔ τοῖς λοιμοῖς (Corn., Toy). צַרְפְּתִים corresponds (1) to אֶת־צַפְרֵי = אֶת־צַפְרֵי, (2) to פְּרִיצִים, (3) to Ⓔ's ἀφυλάκτως = פְּתָאָם (suggested independently of Hitz.), and (4) to מִשְׁפַּט in v. 23, which Ⓔ's text did not contain. For the equation מִשְׁפַּט = 'צַר', cp. Ps. vii. 7, xciv. 15. 'צַר' had been put in the margin, as a correction perhaps of אֶת־צַפְרֵי, and came into the text.

CHAP. viii. 3, 5. סַמֵּל הַקְּנָאָה || סַמֵּל הַקְּנָאָה הַמְּקַנָּה. Evidently the editor had the text only in a corrupted form, and did his best to make sense. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*. 141) suggested הַקְּנָאָה הַמְּקַנָּה, *i.e.* an image of the chaos-monster Tiamat (cp. *ib.*, p. 28); he quotes Ⓔ, τοῦ κτωμένου = הַקְּנָאָה הַמְּקַנָּה, Ps. lxviii. 31. But Ⓔ simply makes a poor, superficial correction, and Ps., *l.c.*, is corrupt. If Gunkel's idea that direct Babylonian influence is to be assumed is correct, it is best to read סַמֵּל הַקְּנָאָה (or לָמָס = *lamassu* ?), as proposed in *Exp.T.*, Dec. 1898; *ZATW*, 1901, p. 201. The position indicated is such as might be given to a protecting *šedu* or *lamassu*. Manasseh's image (2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, פַּסֵּל הַסַּמֵּל) might have been one of Kaivānu. Kaimānu (= Kaivanu) is a title, not only of Saturn, but of the sun (cp. Jensen, *Kosmol.* 115). But the amount of evidence for the predominance of N. Arabian influence on

the religion of Judah has increased so much that it is now much more probable that קנאה and המקנה (cp. עָקַן, Josh. vii. 1) have both grown out of corruptions of ירחמאל, and that סמל is a distortion (cp. on עלם, xvi. 17) of ישמעאל. Cp. on Zeph. i. 5, Mal. ii. 10-16. Another name of this idol was not improbably נוֹשֵׁן (see on 2 K. xviii. 4). Render, '. . . where was the station of [Ishmael] Jerahmeel.'

viii. 5. לשער המובח. But Ⓞ, ἐπὶ τῆν πύλῃν τῆν πρὸς ἀνατολάς = לשער המורח. The same gate as that mentioned in v. 3? If so, read perhaps לשער הזרחים, '(northward) of the gate of the Zarhites.' Zerah, Cush, and Zaphon may have been used laxly as synonyms. Cp. 2 Chr. xiv. 8 (Zerah, king of Cush).

viii. 7b. Read יהנה ירחמאל בקיר. The symbol of the god Jerahmeel was on the wall. For the rest see Kraetzschmar.

viii. 10. Surely it is N. Arabian idolatry that is meant (see *E. Bib.* 'Shaphan'). Read most probably יהנה תבנית ישמעאל; בל-שקין וכל-גלולי בית ישמעאל; רחבת from בהמה (see on Jon. iv. 11); גלולי means 'Jerahmeelite idols,' i.e. גלול is a popular corruption of ירחמאל (see on 1 K. xv. 12). ישראל, as pretty often, comes from ישמעאל. Cp. on xviii. 6. מחקה על הקי comes from a dittographed 'ירח, as סביב סביב from a dittographed 'שמ' (cp. on xxiii. 14).

viii. 12. איש בחדרי משניתו. Hitzig, Cornill, and Siegfried omit these enigmatical words. Bertholet and Kraetzschmar emend, but unsuccessfully, not having the key. Read בחדרי כושים; cp. on xlv. 9a. Chambers of the Cushites were a necessity in the temple. איש is a scribe's conjecture for ישמעאלים (a gloss).

viii. 14. הנשים ישבות סבנות את-תמו. It is constantly assumed that this reading is correct. Yet nowhere else in the O.T. is Tammuz referred to, and our experience elsewhere (see *e.g.* on Am. v. 26) is not favourable to the view that Babylonian divine names became naturalised among the Israelites. What we have to look for is some ritual observance of N. Arabian origin in which the women specially took part. We need not look far. Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 15 ff. supply the rite. It is clear from these passages that the women played the chief part in the semi-sacrificial feast

referred to. The eating of the cakes was accompanied by libations and the utterance of benedictions (cp. Isa. lxvi. 3). The deity who was to be thus honoured was naturally the great N. Arabian goddess, known probably in Judah as *הַכְּשִׁית* (see on Jer. iii. 23 *f.*, Hos. ix. 10), but also as *מַלְכַת יִשְׁמַעְאֵל* (see on Jer. vii. 18), and *יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִית* (see on 2 K. xxiii. 5). In the last-mentioned passage the text has *מִזְלוֹת*. It seems that *תְּמוּז*, like *מִזְלוֹת*, has arisen out of *יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִית*, though the latest editor may have thought of the Bab. Dumuzi (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tammuz'). Read, therefore, *הַנְּשִׁים יֹשְׁבוֹת מִבְּרַכּוֹת אֶת-יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִית*, 'the women sit (at the sacred meal) and bless the Ishmaelite (= Jerahmeelite) goddess.'

viii. 17. The culminating horror is described thus—*וְהִקְּדוּם שְׁלַח אֶת-הַקֶּמֶחַ אֶל-אַפֶּיךָ*. Toy points out that *שְׁלַח* is not the right word for holding a flowering branch to the nose (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tammuz'). But no adequate correction has been proposed. It is possible that Ezekiel wrote, *וְהִקְּדוּם הַלְּשִׁים (שְׁגָלִים) אֶת-הַקֶּמֶחַ אֶל-נְאֻפֶיךָ*; cp. Dt. xxii. 23, and in general Ezek. xxii. 11. *שְׁגַל* (the verb) seems to be miswritten for *חַלַּשׁ*.

CHAP. x. 5. See on i. 24.

CHAP. xi. 24. Read *בְּרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים*, and for *בְּרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים* read *בְּרוּחַ מַאֲל* (dittogr.). This is a correct explanatory gloss. Corn., Toy, and Kr. vainly manipulate the unsatisfactory text.

CHAP. xii. 13. Read *יִרְחַמְאֵל אֶרְצָא נְשִׁים*.

CHAP. xiv. 14, 19. The three righteous men in M⁶ are Noah, Daniel, and Job. But in xxviii. 3 Daniel is represented, not as specially righteous, but as specially wise, and the person mentioned in connection with Daniel is the king (as criticism compels us to hold) of Mišsur in N. Arabia. This suggests that *דְּנִיאל* (דְּנִיאל) is probably a corruption, not of *חֲנוּךְ*, *i.e.* Enoch (as the writer, after Halévy, formerly thought), but of *יִרְחַמְאֵל*. Cp. 1 K. v. 3, where Calcol and Mahol, and 1 Chr. iii. 1, 2 S. iii. 3, where Daniel and Chileab, both come from 'Jerahmeel'; also Ezra viii. 2, where Daniel corresponds to Gamaliel (*γαμηλιος* [B], *γαμαηλ* [A]), one of the most regular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' in 3 Esd. viii. 29. It has also been already pointed out (*E. Bib.*, 'Noah,' § 1) that 'Noah' (*נֹחַ*) has probably supplanted 'Enoch' (*חֲנוּךְ*) in

the Hebrew Deluge-story, and it may now be added that 'Iyyōb (Job) probably comes from 'Arāb (cp. on וַיֵּאָבֵב, 2 S. ii. 12 *f.*), *i.e.* N. Arabia. The three righteous men thus become Enoch, Jerahmeel, and 'Arāb. One point more has to be mentioned. All these names belong to First Men. Enoch ['Noah'] is the first man of the new race after the Deluge; Jerahmeel is the first man in the Paradise-story presupposed by Ezek. xxviii., and also in that of Genesis, if *ha-adam* should, in some passages, be corrected into *yerahme'el* (see on Gen. ii. 8, 15); 'Arāb ['Job'] is shown to have been originally a first man by the denial of Eliphaz in Job xv. 7. It seems, then, that in Ezekiel's time a sort of synthesis of the three stories may have been made.

CHAP. xvi. 3. The origin of Jerusalem is here traced to the 'land of Canaan'; its 'father' was 'the Amorite,' and its mother 'a Hittite.' According to Kr. (cp. Jastrow in *E. Bib.*, col. 2096), the leading Canaanite tribes are selected as representatives; Jerusalem was, in fact, in early times, a Canaanite city. Sayce's view is different. According to him, the Jebusite population of Jerusalem was 'partly Hittite and partly Amorite' (*Races of the O.T.*, p. 111; cp. *The Hittites*, pp. 13 *f.*). It is remarkable, however, that in *v.* 29 אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן is || to כְּשָׂדִים. To render the former phrase 'a land of merchants' (so BDB and Ges.-Bu., here and in xvii. 4, comparing Zeph. i. 11, עַם כ', 'the merchant people') is partly a sign of perplexity, partly a consequence of the faulty reading עִיר רַנְלִים in xvii. 4.¹ Also that, as the text stands, the chief seats of the Hittites in the south were in the neighbourhood of the b'ne Esau (Gen. xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2); there is indeed a tradition connecting them (if the received text is right, see on Gen. xxiii. 2 *f.*) with Hebron, but none which connects them with Jerusalem. The remedy is one which applies to a large group of passages, especially in Genesis. For אֶרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִי read אֶרֶץ הַקְּנַעֲנִי, for אֶרֶץ אַמְרִי read אֶרֶץ אַרְמִי (Arammite = Jerahmeelite), and for חַתִּית read חַתְּוִתִּית (so *v.* 45). See also on 2 S. v. 6, 8 (the early population of Jerusalem,

¹ Cornill remarks, 'In a "riddle" (חִידָה), like that in xvii. 4, Chaldæa could be called אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן [assuming that this means "a land of merchants"], but not here, in a plain, simple narrative.' Following 5, Corn. omits כְּנָעַן, but then he has to keep כְּשָׂדִים, though we should rather expect כְּשָׂדִים.

Jerahmeelite), Isa. xxix. 1 (the early name of Jerusalem, Jerahmeel).

xvi. 17. צלמי זָכָר, 'images of *' ? Rather צלמי הָרִין, 'images of gold.' Similarly in Isa. lvii. 8, for זָכָרוֹנָךְ (Duhm, 'dein Phallusbild') read הָרִצוֹנָךְ. 'Thy golden thing' (contemptuously) and 'images (Ishmaels) of gold' refer, not to the worship of Yahwè under the form of a calf or steer, but to the cultus of the god Jerahmeel (צלם, as in Am. v. 26, corruption of 'ישם'). The coarseness of the traditional text is, I fear, due to the scribes and editors.

xvi. 26 ff. Read בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם. The whole atmosphere is N. Arabian. For גדלי בשר (a libel on Ezekiel's taste) read בארץ ירחמאל. Cp. the parallel distortion in xxiii. 14, and בשר for בארץ in Hos. viii. 13 (see note). For פלשתים read צַרְפָּתִים (so, too, in *v.* 57). Cp. on 2 S. i. 20. גשור is a form of אשתור = גשור. For כנען, see on *v.* 3.

xvi. 30. The context suggests מַה אֶסְלַח לְתַבְלָךְ תְּבַל. Lev. xviii. 23, xx. 12, 'confusio, i.e. contaminatio, nequitia' (Kön. ii. 1, p. 98 c). Cp. Jer. v. 7.

xvi. 46. Point שִׁמְרוֹן (Shimron in the Negeb); see on 1 K. xvi. 24, Am. iii. 9, vi. 1. סדם is derived from the tradition of 'Sodom and Gomorrah,' but the writer is conscious that 'Sodom' (? from Kidsham) was in a remote part of the Negeb. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Sodom.'

xvi. 57. בנות אָרָם. Most, with ⚭, read אָדָם. But there was a southern אָרָם, i.e. 'Jerahmeel,' and this is favoured by ארמי in *v.* 3 (see note).—פלשתים (*v.* 27).

CHAP. xvii. has been greatly misunderstood, even by the acute Winckler (*AOF*⁽³⁾ i. 141 ff.).

xvii. 3-5. אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ הִרְקָמָה, 'whose was the variegation' ? Read אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ יִרְחַמְאֵל, 'whose was Jerahmeel,' an early gloss (?).—For כנען read קָנָו, and for רנלים read ירחמאל (cp. Neh. iii. 31 f., Cant. iii. 6).—קח comes from ויקח, and צמצמה from ויצמה, both written in the wrong place. Read, 'and he took of the meaner seed,' מִזֶּרַע הַצָּעִיר. Ezekiel disparages Zedekiah.

xvii. 11-21. Read ירחמאל (בִּרְחֵאל?) for בבל, פָּרְעֵי for בעלי, and point מִצְרַיִם. In *v.* 13 for אילי read בעלי.

CHAP. xviii. 6. Read probably בֵּית יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל. Cp. on viii. 10. ⚭ *év* ροῆ = ברמן; ר' is a corruption of ירחמאל. Cp. on כדמה, xxvii. 32.

CHAP. xix. 10. For בְּדָמָהּ read ירחמאל.

CHAP. xx. 5 ff. Read perhaps מַצְרִים, and note the stress laid on the idols (גִּלְוֵי, 'Jerahmeels'; see on viii. 10) of מַצְרִים, which seems to have an application to the present circumstances of the exiles.

xx. 29. An editorial insertion, to be explained by the || passage, xxiii. 4, where Jerusalem receives the name Aholibah, which the editor must have read Aholibamah. The divine speaker is supposed to say, speaking of the land of Israel, which is like one great *bāmah*, 'What is the *bāmah* into which ye enter' (read בָּאִים); and the writer continues, 'So its name was called [Aholi]bamah unto this day.'

CHAP. xxi. 1 [xx. 45]. Awkward enough. But from our present point of view certain obvious possibilities, here and in *v.* 7, become probabilities. The king, whose invasion the land of Israel (Judah) has to apprehend, is the king of Jerahmeel, *i.e.* the most powerful of the N. Arabian kings, who appears to have conquered the Negeb. This king will approach by way of Teman; Ezekiel thereupon looks towards Teman as well as towards the region corruptly designated Babel (Barakel? = Jerahmeel). In the explanatory passage, xxi. 7, he calls it—so at least we should read—'Ishmael' (cp. Gen. xxviii. 9, Mahalath bath-Ishmael) and 'Cushim.' His prophecy specially concerns the land of Israel (xxi. 7 *f.*); but to strike the attention he does not at once call this country by its true name, but by an enigmatical title which appears in MT. as יַעַר הַשְּׂדֵה נֶגֶב or יַעַר הַנֶּגֶב. The current explanations of this phrase seem inadequate. יַעַר we can understand; but why הַשְּׂדֵה and נֶגֶב or הַנֶּגֶב? The key to the problem is provided by xvii. 3, where the king of Jerahmeel (see on *v.* 4) is likened to a great eagle which goes to (the southern) Lebanon, and takes off the top of a cedar. Let us then, for הַנֶּגֶב in xxi. 3, read הַגְּבֻלָּה (see on Josh. xiii. 5, Ps. lxxviii. 16), virtually = הַלְּבָנוֹן, and explain שְׂדֵה, as in Judg. v. 4, as 'highland.' The troublesome נֶגֶב, at the end of xxi. 2, will have come from גְּבֻלָּה, and have been meant as a gloss on הַשְּׂדֵה. For הַטָּף read הַבֵּט (Θ *ἐπίβλεψον*). Note that Θ gives Θαιμαν, Δαγων (? Δαρωμ), and Ναγεβ as proper names.

xxi. 7. Read אֶל-יִשְׁמָעֵאל and נוֹשִׁים (see last note).

xxi. 19. For חללים, חלל, and הגדול read ירחמאל (cp. on xxxii. 20).

xxi. 33. For חרפתם read צרפתים; ח and צ similar in Aramaic scripts.

xxi. 36. For בערים read ערים; cp. xxv. 4.

CHAP. xxiii. 3, 8, 19, 21 and 27. Point מצרים.

xxiii. 4. The names of the two allegorical wives of Yahwè are אהלה and אהליבה, or perhaps (see on xx. 29) אהליבמה, the one corresponding to Shimron¹ (in the Negeb; see on 1 K. xvi. 24), the other to Jerusalem. It is commonly supposed that אהל, 'tent,' necessarily enters into both names, and Smend has plausibly argued that there is a reference to the sacred tents of the *bāmōth* (cp. xvi. 16), though Stucken (*Astralmythen*, 251 *f.*) suggests a connection with Ass. *ahulâ*, *ahulâpi*, 'O that' (so at least Del.), and regards the words as designations of the Assyrian and Hebrew Penates. It is, however, important to notice (1) that the second name of Jerusalem in Is. xxix. 1 is a corrupt form of 'Jerahmeel,' (2) that the Edomite name אהליבמה (cp. on xx. 29) is a distortion of ירחמאל, and (3) that the name of Hosea's wife (who symbolises the apostate land of Israel) and that of her family are corruptions of the same name. It can scarcely be doubtful that אהליאב in Ex. xxxi. 6, etc., and these two difficult forms in our text of Ezekiel are also corruptions of ירחמאל. The idea is that of xvi. 8, 'Thy father was an Arammite' (read ארמי), *i.e.* a Jerahmeelite. Shimron and Jerusalem were Jerahmeelite by origin, and justified their connection by their impure religion and their craving for a Jerahmeelite alliance. And the tragedy is that Jerahmeel is to be ruined by Jerahmeel (cp. *v.* 22).

xxiii. 5^b-8. A list of the so-called 'lovers,' encumbered with corruption and dittography, has been turned into a curious description of young men, satraps and governors, clothed in purple blue, and riding on horses. The plainest corruptions are לבשי, בחורי, פרשים, and סוסים. Read—

אל-אשור רחבות ישמעאל ירחמאל רחבותי קנוי [רחבותי]
צרפתי [רחבותי] נושי :

¹ The pointing שרין (*v.* 4) is erroneous. See on xvi. 46.

For another such list, see note on vii. 10 *f.* The reference to the idols ('בל', 'Jerahmeels') of the Arabian Asshur is significant (cp. Isa. xxi. 9, 'all the graven images' of בבל = Jerahmeel, also note on 2 K. xix. 29-33). It is most natural to point מצרים.

xxiii. 12. Correct as in *vv.* 5 *f.*; מכלול is a fresh corruption of ירחמאל; ל is dittographed.

xxiii. 14. Kr.'s commentary is suggestive of the incorrectness of the text. 'The scene of harem-like amative-ness: she falls in love with pictures of foreign men, and sends for them to come to her. Hence the acquaintance of Judah with the Chaldæans came to pass through pictorial representations, frescoes with pictures of Chaldæan warriors (not deities; viii. 10 is different) which had been imported from Babylon, and stirred up in the Judæans the wish to form personal relations with those who were thus represented. At least so Ezekiel describes it—but in reality personal contact with the Babylonians no doubt preceded the introduction of their artistic products.' It is all the editor's imaginativeness; the same editor has already misread the same word ירח' in viii. 10 (dittographed). Cp. בשר חמורים with חקקים בשש' in *v.* 20. Read—

ותרא אנשים [ירחמאל] ישמעאלים וכושים בארץ ירחמאל :

xxiii. 15. The only genuine part seems to be ארץ מולדתם, which is in apposition to ארץ ירחמאל in *v.* 14 (end). The difficulties about חגורי and סרוחי וגר' and the odd introduction of שלישים disappear; the list of corrupt ethnics—an ignorant scribe's work—continues. Jerahmeel, Asshur, Rehoboth (במת = בתים?—cp. on בהמה, viii. 10), Jerahmeel, Ishmael, Asshur (?), Jerahmeel, Ishmael, Jerahmeel (two fragments), b'nē-'Babel' (Jerahmeel) and Cushite are successively mentioned. ם sometimes arises from the wrong assumption of an abbreviation of the plural.

xxiii. 20. No credit here to the editor. Read (comparing *v.* 14, end)—

ותעגבה על ישמעאלים אשר בארץ ירחמאל ובצרפת כושים :

xxiii. 23 *f.* פקוד ושווע וקוע. Plainly corrupt (cp. Jer. l. 21, and קובע in *v.* 24). Read רחבות וישמעאל וירחמאל.

The 'b'ne Asshur' are, of course, the Ashhurites. The rest as in *v.* 6. קרואים = ירחמאלים (cp. on 'ק', 2 S. xv. 11). In *v.* 24 'chariots and wheels, an assembly of peoples, large and small shield and helmet,' is not a natural combination. הצן, too, is an unexplained word which Corn., following C , and comparing xxvi. 7, would emend into מצפון. This would be plausible, rendering, however, 'from Şaphon,' but for the circumstance that הצן (*v.l.* חצן) seems clearly identical with צנה, which follows shortly. What we expect, however, is not צנה, but the name of a country or district. Let us now compare הצן רכב וגלגל and צנה ומגן וקובע. צנה גלגל certainly and רכב possibly come from ירחמאל; מגן seems to be קנו or קני; קובע (cp. קוע) = ירחמאל. It is noticeable that מגן is wanting in the first triplet. But, just as 'ירח' can be represented both by גלגל and by קובע, so קנו can be represented both by הצן (חצן) or צנה, and by מגן. Read, therefore, probably רבאו עליך קנו וירחמאל וישמו עליך. Or should קנו here be כושן? כושן, as often, comes from ישמעאל (a variant to 'ירח'). See on xxvi. 7, xxvii. 11, xxxviii. 4 *f.*

xxiii. 40-42. Omit the editorial patches תשלחנה and לאשר (partly with Corn.), and read (*v.* 42), omitting some corrupt dittograms, וְקוֹל הַמּוֹן וְשִׁמְעֵאֲלִים וְכוֹשִׁים מִמְדָּבָר. We have been told of the preparations for these 'lovers'; now a confused sound of their approach from the 'wilderness' of the Negeb is heard.

CHAP. xxv. 4, 10. בְּגֵי־רָקֶם is a constant error for בְּגֵי־רָקֶם, *i.e.* those Jerahmeelites (רקם = 'ירח') who had remained on the level of the so-called Amalekites.

xxv. 8. Most recent critics (after C) rightly omit ושעיר. But how came it here? שעיר is a corruption of מצור, a variant to מואב (the two names are liable to be confounded).—15 *f.* For פלשתים read צרפתים, and for הים חוף read רחוב ימן; נרתים is a popular distortion of רחבתים. Cp. on Jer. xlvii. 7.

CHAP. xxvi. One of the chapters which have been recast the most. I have sought to recover some of the underlying readings. In *v.* 2 דלתות should be רגלת.—In *v.* 3 we should read [ירחמאלים] גוי ערבים עליך גוי. The last three words of *v.* 3 are plainly fragments of 'ירח'. To change נהעלות into נעלות (Corn.) is too easy a remedy.—In

vs. 4 *f.* words have been corrupted and misplaced. צחיה סלע does not suit; it implies a wrong interpretation of עפרה, which should mean 'its rubbish' (see *v.* 12), but which the redactor took to mean 'its soil' (see xxiv. 7 *f.*). The key to the passage exists in the appended gloss, 'and it shall be a spoil for the nations,' and in the closing words of *v.* 12. Read, in *v.* 4^b, ונתתיו בתוך מים, and in *v.* 5 ישמעאל לשם מלע. למשפת ישמעאל תהיה ני אני דברתי as Judg. i. 36, etc. לצחיה and משטח both represent למשפת. לחמאל, *i.e.* ורחמאל, is a gloss on סלע or ישמ'.—In *vs.* 6, 8 שדה meant originally, not the Tyrian mainland, but the שדה מצור, 'the highland of Mišsur'; cp. on xxi. 1 (xx. 45).—In *v.* 7 the true name of the king (as in the edited prophecies in Jer.) is probably Nebrod Asshur. He is called, not 'king of kings' (מלכים), but 'king of Jerahmeel' (ירח); cp. on Dan. ii. 37, Ezra vi. 12. So, too, מצפון means 'from Zaphon,' and בכוס וגו' should be וביצופתים ובירח, 'and in vessels and in Jerahmeel'. ובעם-ערב וקהל is a fragment of a dittographed ירח, which name is already represented by רנב (cp. on xxiii. 23 *f.*).—In *v.* 11 'strong *maššēbōth*' are spoken of; we meet with them again as 'the *maššēbōth* of Beth-cusham,' Jer. xliii. 13 (see note).—In *v.* 12 מים may mean the stream near the city.—*V.* 14 is a doublet to *v.* 4 (see note).—In *vs.* 15, 16, 17, 18, אים, אים, and און represent ערבים. In *v.* 17 נושבת should be נשבת (Ew., others נשבת). According to *v.* 19 Mišsur is to be swallowed up by a flood of the subterranean waters; cp. Jer. li. 34, where Nebrod is likened to 'the dragon' (*i.e.* Tiāmat; cp. תהום).—In *v.* 20 read אל-עם אלהים and בקברות ירח (so קברות in Job iii. 14). Cp. on xxxii. 23, etc.

CHAP. xxvii. Still more editorial recasting. As Manchot, Ber., and Kr. have pointed out, there are two distinct compositions here, one of which alone is metrical, viz., the ship-song, *vs.* 1, 2, 3^b-9, 25-36 (partly recast). These the editor has put together, to the detriment of both. He also changed מצור into צר (Tyre), not knowing of the N. Arabian מצור, and supposing that only a maritime city like Tyre could be compared to a ship. It is plain, however, that this is not a necessary supposition; indeed, in Isa. xxxiii. 23 *aba* (as far as כס) we find the same figure of

the ship applied (in imitation of Ezek. xxvii.) to Jerusalem. And underneath the present text of the ship-song, we can still detect references to the geographical situation of Mišsur. Thus, in *v.* 4, *בַּיָּמִים* and *גְּבוּלִיךָ* are both corruptions of *יִרְחַמְאֵלִים*; prefixed to this is *כָּל* (M⁵ בל). So we get rid of the impossible *בְּלֵב יָמִים*. The resulting phrase, 'all the Jerahmeelites,' is a collective expression for the different Jerahmeelite populations (cp. *v.* 9*b*, below).—In *v.* 5 'Lebanon' has possibly come from 'Gebalon' (see on 1 K. v. 6); at any rate, a southern mountain range is meant, so that probably 'Senir' is an alteration of 'Sinai' (סִינַי); see on Dt. iii. 9.—In *v.* 6 'Bashan' should be 'Cushan' (as often), and since in *v.* 7 'Elishah' is mentioned, and both 'Kittim' and 'Elishah' are sons of 'Javan' (*i.e.* Jaman = Jerahmeel) in Gen. x. 4, we have solid reason for restoring *עָרַב מַעְנָת* for *אֵי כְּתִים* (as in Jer. ii. 10), and in *v.* 7 *עָרַב יִשְׁמַעֵאל* for *אֵי אֲלִישָׁה*. Maacathite and Ishmaelite merchants seem to be thus designated.—In *v.* 8 we should read probably *עָרַב וְעָרַב יִשְׁמַעֵאל מִצּוּר*, 'Ishmael, Mišsur,* and Arabia,' and *חַכְמֵי חָצוֹר*, 'the sages of Hazor' (a popular corruption of Ashhur, cp. on *צָהָר*, *v.* 18). G's *οἱ ἄρχοντες σου* = 'נְשִׂאֵי', miswritten (like *יִשְׁבֵי*) for *יִשְׁמַעֵאל*.—In *v.* 9 the Edomite Gebal is meant. It is noticeable that *v.* 9*b* and *v.* 25*a* are nearly identical. The former should run, *כָּל-אֲמֹת יִרְחַמְאֵל הָיוּ בְךָ לְעָרַב מְעַרְבָךְ*; the latter, *אֲמֹת אֲשׁוּר * * מְעַרְבָךְ*. Whether we prefer 'ירח' or 'אשור' is unimportant. Oddly enough, no one has noticed that *שׂוֹרְחִיךָ* in *v.* 25*a* comes from a dittographed *תְּרוּשֵׁיךָ*.

We now pass to a later writer's ornamental insertion, *vv.* 10-24. That it is an insertion is shown (1) by the injury to the context which it produces, (2) by its want of metre, and (3) by the fact that it is inclosed on both sides by the same line (*v.* 9*b* = *v.* 25*a*), which belongs to the ship-song. In *v.* 10*a* *פָּרַס* and *פָּרַט* are variants and corruptions of *צַרְפַּת*; *לֹד* comes from *גִּלְעָד* (the Gilead of the Negeb—see on Jer. viii. 22, xl. 1, 5). Read, therefore, *גִּלְעָד וְצַרְפַּת*. *כֹּבַע* is rightly explained is shown by *תְּלוּ-בָכֶם*, *i.e.* plainly *יִרְחַמְאֵל*. Thus the puzzle about the suspended shields disappears.—*V.* 11 should open with *בְּנֵי עָרַב יִרְחַמְאֵל*, 'the men of Jerahmeelite

Arabia.' וגמדים (*i.e.* ונמרים) can now be definitively corrected into וְשֹׁמְרֵי; note ⚡'s *φύλακες* = ושומרים. For less probable views see *E. Bib.*, 'Gammadim.' שלטיהם תלו = ישמעאלים וירח'; the whole clause is a variant to the last clause but one.—In *v.* 12 for תרשיש read אֲשׁוּר.—In *v.* 13^a the right reading is approximately וְמִן תוֹבֵל וְנָשָׂם (Gen. x. 2). For נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם ('human persons'?) read שְׁן־הַפִּירִים (1 K. x. 22). In *v.* 14 read, connecting with *v.* 13, מִבֵּית יִרְחָמָאֵל וְנוֹשִׂים, (זרופתים and פרשים both come from 'צר'.) Cp. on 1 K. iv. 26, *v.* 29, Neh. vii. 67 *f.*; see also 'Sepharad,' *E. Bib.*—In *v.* 15^a keep דָּדָן, and for רבים איים read ערבים. In *b*, read probably קְרֻנוֹת שָׁמֶן וְלִבְנָה הַשִּׁבּוֹי סַחְרִיד, in the main following Pesh. But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ebony,' § 2.

xxvii. 16. Read אָדָם (⚡S, Ew., Toy, etc., etc.); 'Aram' would mean 'Jerahmeel,' and this name, under the forms 'Javan' and 'Togarmah,' we have in *vs.* 13 *f.*, 18. The text of *v.* 16 is far from correct; notice the three textile fabrics between the precious stones. Cornill's inferences from ⚡ need revision. Read בְּנֶפֶךְ יִרְחָמָאֵל וּבִרְקָת; 'ירח' is the country of the נֶפֶךְ. The next word, according to Cornill, should be תרשיש, *i.e.* the precious stone so-called; ארגמן and בוץ, he thinks, were arbitrary insertions suggested by the corrupt reading וּרְקָמָה (or, as ⚡, וּבִרְקָמָה). It is probable, however, that וּבוֹץ is a corruption of בִּרְקָת (*dittogr.*); ארגמן has been already accounted for.

xxvii. 17. 'Judah and the land of Israel' should probably be 'Judah and the land of Ishmael' (= of Jerahmeel). ישראל and ישמעאל are confounded (as Isa. xvii. 3, Ezek. ix. 1); the former name is certainly unexpected here, especially if דמשק (*v.* 18) should be כושם.—חֲטֵי מִנִּית וּפְנֵג, 'three desperate words,' according to Cornill, who thinks that מ in מִנִּית belongs to חֲטֵי, and that נִית is a mutilation of וּנְכָאֵת, 'and storax' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Storax'). But the phrase חֲטֵים מִנְכָלָה in 1 K. v. 25, together with מִנְכָלָה in the || 2 Chr. ii. 9, suggests a better remedy. מִנְכָלָה comes from מִנְכָת (כ=נ), and מִנְכָת is a corruption of מַעֲנַת, the name of a district of the N. Arabian border-land, famous for its wheat (cp. on Ruth i. 22). See on Judg. xi. 33. Read, therefore, חֲטֵי מַעֲנַת, 'wheat of Maacath.' פנג, too, can be finally disposed of. According to Cornill,

it is a corruption of דֹּקֶב, 'wax.' Rather, it is the well-known word גֶּפֶן, with one letter transposed. Read וְדָבַשׁ גֶּפֶן, 'and grape-honey'; grape-syrup is meant, as distinguished from the date-syrup, called in the Mishna דְּבַשׁ תְּמָרִים, and from the honey of bees, called simply דְּבַשׁ (so *E. Bib.*, 'Pannag'; cp. 'Honey').

xxvii. 18 *f.* וְצֹמֵר אֲשֶׁחֻר וְדָדָן, 'and wool of Ashhur and Dedan' (these names are combined, as Tarshish and Dodanim in Gen. x. 4).¹ The N. Arabian atmosphere proves this to be right. Else we might read וְצֹמֵר חֹרֶן (so *E. Bib.*, 'Wool'). Cornill most ingeniously, but wrongly, 'wine of Helbon and Zimin and Arnaban.' This implies too much learning in the writer, and is certainly far-fetched; the same remark applies to Kraetzschmar's introduction of Izal (איזל), a famous wine-country known to the Babylonians as I-za-al-la. מִירוֹחַמָּא (v. 19) represents מִירוֹחַמָּא (cp. on Gen. x. 27); prefix it to בְּרוֹל וְגִ' Jeremiah (xv. 12; see note) speaks of iron from Zaphon and copper of Jerahmeel, which also illustrates v. 13. 'Wine of Helbon' refers, not to the wine of the Syrian Helbon (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Helbon,' 'Wine,' § 24), but to the wine of the Negeb (see on 2 K. xviii. 32, Gen. xlix. 11 *f.*). For 'Helbon' cp. on 'Helbah,' Judg. i. 31; see also on Hos. xiv. 7 *ff.*

xxvii. 20 *f.* For בְּגָדֵי חֹפֶשׁ read בְּגָדֵי סִחְיִים, 'with young suhirs' (*JQR* x. 543); cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Cloth,' note; 'Horse,' § 1 (5). For נְשֵׂאֵי read יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (cp. on v. 8).

xxvii. 22 *f.* רְכָלִי (cp. on Neh. iii. 31 *f.*) should certainly be יְרוֹחַמָּא. That different branches of Jerahmeelites are mentioned is intelligible. חָרֶן, of course, means the southern Haran (cp. 1 Chr. ii. 46). For וְרִבְנָה וְעֶדֶן read וְרִבְנָה וְעֶדֶן. So Mez (*Gesch. Harrān*, p. 34), who, however, mistakes the geography of the passage. רְכָלִי, which follows, comes from יְרוֹחַמָּא (on Eden-jerahmeel, see *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 6). שְׁבַע אֲשֹׁר may have arisen out of שְׁבַע א'. The enigmatical כְּלָמָד is not miswritten for קְדִי, 'Media' (as *E. Bib.*, 'Chilmad'), nor to be pointed כְּלָמָד (as Cornill, too mechanically), but a corruption of יְרוֹחַמָּא (letters mixed up). At

¹ It is implied here that יְרִיחַ, *i.e.* יְרִיחַ = 'Jerahmeel,' is a variant to אֲשֶׁחֻר. This may be confirmed by G's ἔρια ἐκ Μιλήτου, which presupposes a reading צֹמֵר יְרִיחַ, *i.e.* 'wool of Jerahmeel.'

first sight this may appear a gloss, but it is nothing of the kind. See next note.

xxvii. 24. *המה ונליך*, to which *ונלחתך* (*v.* 23, end) and *הם ונלחתך* (so read at end of *v.* 24) are variants, should close *v.* 24 and the whole description. The scribe wrote it too soon, and followed it with three ethnics, viz. (1) *ירחמאל*, represented by *ברומים*, *רקמה*, *בגלומי*, *במכללים*, *נלמד* (*v.* 23), and *בחבלים* (cp. on *Zech.* xi. 13)—a number of ‘bad shots’; (2) *קנו*, represented by *גנוי*; (3) *ישמעאל*, represented by *חבשים* (cp. *חבוש ל*, *Jon.* ii. 6, and *ישבה*, *1 Chr.* iv. 17) and *ארוים* (*יומאר*). The information of the writer was exhausted; he winds up with a catalogue of ‘all the populations of Jerahmeel’ (*v.* 9) or ‘of Asshur’ (*v.* 25) referred to in the poem. So the connection is restored.

xxvii. 25. See on *v.* 9. *V.* 25*a* (= *v.* 9*b*) concludes the first strophe of the *kînah*, *v.* 25*b* begins the second (so Kr.).

xxvii. 28. Cornill asks, ‘Then is it only the pilots (*חבלים*) who cry out, and not also the other drowning men?’ Also, with regard to *מגרשות*, ‘Certainly one can say, “All countries tremble,” but not, “All suburbs tremble.”’ But he has no very plausible suggestion to offer. Analogy, however, suggests that *חבלי* represents *ירחמאל*. *מגרשות* can only be explained as a ‘conflate’ word. *רשו* comes from a dittographed *ירעשו* *מג*, from a fragment of a dittographed ‘*ירח*’ (cp. *Jer.* xxxix. 3). *ירעשו* should probably be *ישערו* (*v.* 35, xxxii. 10). Read, therefore, *ירחמאלים* | *ועקתך ישערו* |

xxvii. 29, par. to xxvi. 16 (see corrected text). *אניות* should be *ארמנות* (as *Isa.* ii. 16). *תפשי משוט* has grown out of two fragments of *צרפתים* (cp. on *Jer.* xlvi. 9). *מלחים* (cp. on *v.* 9), *חבלי הים*, and possibly *יעמדו*, represent *ירחמאלים*, a gloss on ‘*ישם*’. For *אל-הארץ* the manipulating editor is responsible. Read, therefore, simply—*כל-| ירדו מארמנותיהם* | *ישמעאלים*.

xxvii. 32. The two troublesome words *בניהם* (which is metrically superfluous) and *נדמה* both represent *ירחמאל*; the former *ירחמאל* was probably a marginal correction.—*V.* 32*b* was no doubt originally a perfect pentameter, but at present the word that should close part I is wanting, having been displaced by *נדמה*, which, equally with *הים*, represents

ירחמאל. Read בתוך ירחמאל | מי נמצור * 'Who was like Miššur * | in the midst of Jerahmeel?'

xxvii. 35. For ישמעאל וערבים read ישרי האיים (see on *v.* 8). Cp. on Isa. xxiii. 2.

CHAP. xxviii. Here, as elsewhere in chaps. xxvi.-xxxii., the reference originally was to Miššur (see *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 3). The chapter is a symbolic account of the wickedness and the punishment of the prince or (*v.* 12) king of Miššur, with which Isa. xiv. 12 *ff.* (see notes) is closely parallel, except that there it is only the tyrannical power of Jerahmeel, son of Ashhur, which is poetically described. In the present case the wisdom of the prince of Miššur is as much emphasised (see *vs.* 3, 5, 7, 12) as his riches. Now Tyre was famous for its riches rather than for its wisdom, whereas the N. Arabians were famous for both riches and wisdom. The formidable strangers (*v.* 7), who are the instruments of the ruin of this wise and wealthy prince may be the Nabataeans. See *E. Bib.*, 'Cherub,' § 2; 'Paradise,' § 3, and in addition to what is there said note here that the king of Miššur is clearly represented as a kind of fallen angel (so also Cornill). The fallen angels are said in Enoch vi. 6 to have descended on the summit of Mount Hermon. More than probably the original writer, whose work is recast, meant Mount Jerahmeel. Of the eighteen names of angels there given, six are certainly corrupt forms of Jerahmeel. Cp. note on 'Influence of chaps. xxxviii. *f.*'

xxviii. 2. בָּלַב יָמִים; see on *v.* 8. So xxvii. 4, 25, 26, 27. In xxvii. 4, however, there is an error in the text. Here, too, there must be an error. Even Tyre could not be said to be 'in the heart of the ocean.' Most probably the editor evolved בָּלַב יָמִים (to suit his theory that Tyre was referred to) out of ירחמאל, which stood in the margin as a correction of דנאל (*v.* 3). Cp. the clan-name כָּלַב (from 'ירח'; cp. on 1 Chr. ii. 9).

xxviii. 3. מִדְּנֵיָאֵל Kt.; מִדְּנֵיָאֵל Kr. See on xiv. 14. Read מִיִּרְחָמָאֵל.—כָּל-סָתוּם. Ⲙ σοφοί. Cornill, most ingeniously, חֲרָטִים. Kr. keeps 'כָּל-ס', and thinks the error is in the following verb. The error, in such cases as this, lies in the whole phrase. Cornill is mistaken in assuming that the writer uses a verb עָמַם with the same sense as in

xxx. 8, viz. 'to equal.' The key to עמרוך is supplied by Θ 's $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \sigma\epsilon$, where $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\delta.$ = עמסוך (2 Chr. x. 11, Schleusner). Certainly עמסוך is wrong, but almost as certainly it represents ישמעאל, which is || to 'ירח' (דניאל). סתום probably = [חר]טמים. Read 'מכל הרשמי ישמ' 'than all the magicians of Ishmael' (ס and מ confounded).

xxviii. 8a. Cp. Isa. xiv. 15; also Ezek. xxxii. 18.—8b. Note here first בלב ימים. We should have expected בלב שואל. Smend explains (and so also in v. 2) 'where thou thinkest thyself so secure.' But this gives no parallel to לשתח, and is also not a just exposition of the Hebrew (see on v. 2). למותי חלל is explained 'as those who die by a sword-thrust often enough remain unburied' (Kr.). According to Gunkel, however (*Schöpf.*, p. 33, note 3), חלל means, not 'pierced,' but 'dishonoured,' with a suggestion of the outrages to which the unburied corpses of foes were liable. This sense is specially commended here by the expression מחלליך (see on v. 9). And yet it must be wrong. חללי-חרב (xxx. 17, and often) cannot mean 'profaned by the sword.' The remedy is suggested by v. 10. חלל, like ערל, is a corruption of a shortened form of ירחמאל. Thus we get 'ירח' twice over; the second was originally a correction of a scribe's error. The *kīnah* in vv. 12-19 is metrical (see Kr.).

xxviii. 9f. Hitz., and most recent critics, מחולקת (cp. Isa. li. 9, Job xxvi. 13). But the phrase in vv. 7 and 16 points to the reading of MT.—מותי ערלים. One might be tempted, both here and in Isa. xxxiii. 7 (אראלם), to find a reference to the Ass. *Aralū*, (1) the mountain of the gods; (2) the region of the dead (Del., *Ass. HWB* 134 a); cp. Halévy, *Rev. Crit.*, 1883, p. 162. We have seen, however (see e.g. *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 2; 'Shechem,' § 2), that ערל is very apt to be miswritten for ירחמאל, and this is certainly the case here, as also in xxx. 18, xxxii. 19, 21, 24, 25, 28. Read 'ממותי ירחמאלים,' 'the violent death of the Jerahmeelites.' See on xxxii. 18 ff.

xxviii. 12. Corn., Siegfr., Berth., Kr., Toy omit מלא חנמה as a gloss. Toy also pronounces חותם תכנית 'unintelligible in M and the versions'; Haupt and Kr., however, regard תכנית as a loan-word = Ass. *taknītu*, 'careful preparation, model.' The former produces the phrase (חתם

'ת), 'model signet-ring'; the latter, reading 'הַקֶּם ת', renders 'a sage of utmost perfection.' There are, however, parallels enough for a different view which seems to do more complete justice to the phenomena than either Haupt's or Kraetzschmar's. Both חותם and תכנית (מ = נ) represent חכמה. The scribe omitted to write מלא; he also erroneously repeated חכמה. He then corrected the former error by writing the phrase מלא חכמה correctly.

xxviii. 13. For גן-אלהים (so xxxi. 8) בעדן read perhaps בגן-עדן-ירחמאל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 6). The list of precious stones is an interpolation; see on Ex. xxviii. 17 ff.—ביום-הברואך. Two fragments of ירחמאל. The second part of the kînah-verse is ונקבדך ירחמאל. The word underlying כוננו belongs to *v.* 14.

xxviii. 14a. See *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 4. כוננו represents משכנך; ממשח; בירכתי את כרוב; כושם from כושם מש'. Read 'בירכ' כושם מש' and cp. on Isa. xiv. 13.

xxviii. 14b. הסוכך (from *a*) has to be shifted. Read בהר—וּתְגַבֶּינָהּ כְּסֶאֱדָה. (as the second half of the kînah-verse) בהר-קדש can hardly be right. בהר-קדש elsewhere means Mount Zion (Corn.). True, but קדש is sometimes miswritten for כוש, and אלהים (see on *v.* 13) for ירחמאל. The whole kînah-verse should run בהר-כוש ירח' התהלכת | מסכתך אבני אש. ⚙ gives ἐγενηθη twice over.

xxviii. 15 f. בדרכיך מיום הברואך, three representations of ירחמאל ('O Jerahmeel'), an interpolation (metre). From מתוך אש is an (incomplete) interpolation from *v.* 14. מסכתך בתוך confirms the view that בתוך represents מסכתך.

xxviii. 20-26. Another oracle against מצור (so read); surely a late addition!

CHAP. xxix. 1 f. Pir'u, king of Mišrim, is likened to a 'great dragon' lying in the midst of its streams (those mentioned in Gen. ii. 10-14; see *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 5). Not the crocodile as Kr. asserts against Gunkel. Read יארים, עשיתים (⚙, Gunkel); so *v.* 9.

xxix. 10, xxx. 6. מִמְּגְדַל שֻׁנֵם. Read probably מִיֶּרַחְמַאֵל שֻׁנֵם, 'from Jerahmeel of Shunem'; 'Migdal-shechem,' *i.e.* 'Jerahmeel of Cusham' is parallel. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem, Tower of,' and 'Shunem.'

xxix. 14. מִפְתּוֹם comes from פָּתַח, מְכוֹרֵת from יֶרַחְמַאֵל

(see *E. Bib.*, 'Pathros'). Cp. on Gen. xlix. 5. We are thus liberated from the necessity of speculating as to how Ezekiel came to represent pa-to-res as the mother-country of the Egyptians.

CHAP. xxx. 4, 5. Read מצרים, צרפת, גלעד, ערב (? גלוד), רחוב, רחובות, רחוב. These corrections (cp. on Nah. iii. 9) represent the *original* readings; partly through corruption, partly through deliberate manipulation, chap. xxx. has become (like its neighbours) a prophecy on Egypt. לב has been thought to be miswritten for לב (Ⲙ Λιβυες, Smend, Corn., etc.) or לב (Toy), but, having the key, we can hardly doubt that it is רחוב, *i.e.* the scribe began to write רחובות or רחובתי too soon. Siegf., Toy, etc., have already suggested הנרתי (for הברית); they have not, however, discovered the true form and origin of 'Cherethite,' nor have they accounted for the ארץ which, in MT., precedes הברית. Considering that ארץ sometimes represents מצר, it is possible that בני מצר ירח' comes from בני א' ירה'.

xxx. 9. Ill-tidings are sent to Cush—not from Yahwè, but from some place. For מלפני בצים read perhaps מפניאל מצור, 'from Peniel of Miššur.' Cornill omits בטח as an interpolation suggested by להחריד. But בטח = טבח (see *E. Bib.*, 'Betah'), and both come from רחובות. The messengers are sent to Cush-rehoboth. Cp. on Judg. viii. 11.

xxx. 13. והשבתי אלילים and והאבדתי גלולים are doublets. Smend observes that אלילים is not one of Ezekiel's words, but retains it. Note, however, that both אל' and גל' are probably popular distortions of ירחמאלים (cp. on viii. 10); the idols were symbols of the god Jerahmeel. נף represents נפתוח (see on Isa. xix. 13), a place in the Negeb. For נשיא read נשואות, 'images carried in procession,' Isa. xlvi. 1. For ולא תהיה עוד תִּזְנוּת לא יהיה עוד ונתתי יראה ורעה, 'and there shall no more be wicked fornication' (cp. xvi. 26). The last clause in MT. is omitted in Ⲙ (as superfluous?), but critics have to account for its existence, and, it may be, to correct it, before deciding whether to omit it.

xxx. 14-16. Read שונם (= ירחמאל), עמון, מצור, צרפת, נפתוח. It is singular that the third of these should be mentioned thrice, twice as No, and once as Hamon-No. Cp. on Jer. xlvi. 25, Nah. iii. 8.

xxx. 17 *f.* אָוֶן should be אֹיֶן (see *E. Bib.*, 'On'); פִּי-בַסָּח probably comes from בֵּית-יִשְׁמַעֵאל (cp. יבּוּס = יִשְׁמַעֵאל). תַּחְפְּנַחַס springs from בֵּית-יִרְחַמָּאל (see on Jer. ii. 16).

CHAP. xxxi. 3. The king of Miṣrim likened to a cedar. 'Since the similitude relates to Pharaoh, and not to Assyria, אֲשׁוּר must be due to textual corruption' (Kr.). But there is abundant evidence to show that אֲשׁוּר or אֲשַׁחֲוּר is the ancient name of a district in N. Arabia, near Miṣṣur and Jerahmeel, and that these three names are sometimes at least used as equivalents. The view of the versions may therefore be correct, *i.e.* that Asshur is compared to a fair cedar. This is confirmed by the occurrence (in *v.* 3) of the words חֲרוֹשׁ מִצֵּל, which *apparently* mean 'a shady thicket,' but which Corn., Toy, Kr. omit (following G^b). The words are in fact superfluous, but how are we to account for them? In this way. חֲרוֹשׁ (cp. on 1 S. xxiii. 15) comes from אֲשַׁחֲוּר (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shihor'), and מִצֵּל (cp. on צֶלֶם, xvi. 17) from יִשְׁמַעֵאל. The two words are properly a marginal note on אֲשׁוּר, to the effect that Ashhur = Ishmael (Ishmael and Jerahmeel are synonyms).—לְבַנּוֹן, if correct (see on Isa. ii. 13), is presumably the לְבַנּוֹן in the Negeb.—8 *f.* See on xxviii. 13.—10. See on *v.* 14.—11. For אֵל גּוֹיִם read יִרְחַמָּאל; cp. on xxxii. 21. MT.'s phrase is presupposed by G (*ἀρχοντος ἐθνῶν*), but is surely wrong. Nothing in the context suggests a 'ram of the nations.' Isa. xiv. 9 and Zech. x. 3 are therefore not parallel. As in so many similar cases the two parts of יִרְח' were transposed.

xxx. 14. וְלֹא יַעֲמְדוּ אֱלֹהִים בְּגִבְהָם. Toy remarks, 'These words (found in G) appear to be a gloss.' His criticism on Cornill seems just; 'even when the suspicious אֵל is omitted, יַעֲמְדוּ still seems out of place.' Equally sound is his remark on *v.* 10; 'the לְבָבוֹ mars the well-maintained allegory.' He would therefore omit the whole expression וְלֹא יַעֲמְדוּ אֱלֹהִים בְּגִבְהָם as a gloss. But why these glosses? The truth seems to be that one word (no more) in both the supposed glosses is genuine, *viz.* בְּגִבְהָם, בְּגִבְהָו. The preceding words, וְרוֹם לְבָבוֹ and וְלֹא יַעֲמְדוּ אֱלֹהִים are corruptions of יִרְחַמָּאל and יִרְחַמָּאִים (ditto-graphed) respectively. In *v.* 10 'יִרְח' was a marginal correction of אֵל גּוֹיִם; in *v.* 14 the plur. 'יִרְח' is a gloss on בְּנֵי אָרָם, which occurs in the true text near the end of the verse.

(The awkwardness of the double use of ירחמאל for the great king of Meluhha and for the king of Muṣri was unavoidable.) A parallel gloss underlies the singular and very improbable phrase כל-שתי מים (vs. 14, 16) which comes from כל-ישמעאלים. The words to be explained by the gloss are כל עצי מים (where מים, as in 2 S. xii. 27, represents ירחמאל) and כל-עצי-עדן.— בני אדם should of course be בני אָרָם (= Ishmaelites = Jerahmeelites).

xxx. 17 f. For גוים and ערלים (see on xxviii. 10) read ירחמאלים. Both corruptions frequently occur. For גוים Ⓢ has τῆς ζῶης αὐτῶν ἀπώλouto, i.e. חייהם אבדו, which the editor made up on the basis of a corruptly written ירחמאלים.

CHAP. xxxii. 1-16. Pir'u is once more likened to a dragon. The *kīnah* begins with a monostich containing the theme, ירחמאל אַיך בְּדַמִּית, 'O Jerahmeel! how art thou undone!' A similar address in v. 6. Cp. xxviii. 3, where the prince of Miṣṣur is called ironically, 'wiser than Jerahmeel.' Both כפיר גוים and גוים are corrupt fragments of 'ירח'. Gunkel's attempt (*Schöpfung*. 72) to improve MT. is hardly satisfactory.—In v. 6 read ירחמאל ירָפָת מְדַמֶּךָ ירחמאל. See above.

xxxii. 17-32. Pir'u's descent to Sheol. In v. 21 Ⓢ gives the better text, taking in v. 19—

דברו-לו ירחמאלים | מִירְכַתִּי בור
מִפִּי נַעֲמָה יְרָדָה | וּשְׁנָבָה אֶת-יִרְחַמְאֵל :

ירחמאלים = אלי גבורים (cp. on xxxi. 11); it is a clever editorial coinage. מִירְכַתִּי may be a corruption of מִירְכַתִּי; Ⓢ, ἐν βάθει βόθρου γίνου, where γίνου (הָיָה) is an editorial insertion. עוריו possibly comes from אריל—all that remained of ירחמאל. חרב חללי חרב has grown out of ירחמאל (ditto-graphed).—In v. 22 begins a specification and description of other peoples which have descended before the Miṣrim into Sheol. These are—Asshur (= Ashḥur), Elam (= Jerahmeel), Meshech (= Cusham), Tubal, Edom, Zaphon. See *E. Bib.*, 'Meshech,' 'Tubal,' 'Zaphon.' The 'Zidonians' are not to be added (v. 30). The combination of two ethnic names in v. 26a was dictated by usage. For צדני Ⓢ read some word which could be rendered στρατηγοὶ [*Assoupe*]. One MS. de R. (primo) reads סרני. Either this, or רוני (which is probably the true reading in Judg. for סרני), should be

restored. All these six peoples, together with the Mišrim, may be regarded as sections of the Jerahmeelite race.

xxxii. 27. נפלים מערלים. The Nephilim are meant. But Cornill, who first saw this, did not notice that מערלים = ירחמאלים. It is a question, however, whether Ezekiel wrote נפלים (Nephilim). The word is more probably a (correct) gloss, limiting and defining ירחמאלים. See *E. Bib.*, 'Nephilim.' עונותם should of course be צנזותם (Cornill).

CHAP. xxxv. 10. 'Two nations,' etc. See on xxxvii. 22.

CHAP. xxxvii. 22. By 'Joseph' (cp. on Am. vi. 6) is meant specially Israel in the Negeb. Here, too, there was an Ephraim.

CHAP. xxxviii. Another prophecy of a Jerahmeelite invasion. The older prophecies obscurely referred to in *v.* 17, xxxix. 8 are especially those of Jeremiah (see *e.g.* Jer. vi. 22 *f.*). The leader of the invasion is called גוג, 'Gog.' Who can this be? It is a first step towards a complete answer to identify גוג with אגג (Agag) or עוג ('Og'). That Agag (Nu. xxiv. 7) is called $\gamma\omega\gamma$ in $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{BAL}}$ and Sam., and that 'Og (Dt. iii. 1, 13, iv. 27) becomes $\gamma\omega\gamma$ in \mathfrak{S}^{B} iii. 1, 13 is pointed out in *E. Bib.* Agag is traditionally a king of the Amalekites (= Jerahmeelites), and 'Og a king of Cushan (miswritten 'Bashan'). But we must go farther. It is obvious that 'Og,' 'Agag,' and 'Gog' are much-worn names. Are we helped by the occurrence of המגוג in Ezek. xxxviii. 2 and of מגוג in xxxix. 6 (where, however, \mathfrak{S}^{B} reads $\gamma\omega\gamma$)? We are, if we supplement these passages by xxxix. 11, 15, 16. In *v.* 11 the very strange words מקום-שם have baffled the commentators. From the point of view, however, established by a wide induction, מקום must = ירחמאל (cp. on Gen. xii. 6, Isa. xxviii. 8), and שם must = ישמעאל (as, *e.g.* Isa. lii. 11). These two ethnics are very early glosses on גוג, and suggest, by the way, the true origin of the late Jewish antichrist, Armilos¹ (= Jerahmeel). At the end of *v.* 11 we find ואת-כל-המונה and (so also *v.* 15) גיה המון גוג. Here המון is certainly wrong. The name 'Valley of Gog's multitude' is inconceivable, and not less impossible is the name of a city in *v.* 16, 'Multitude (?)' or, altering a point, 'His multitude.'

¹ Similarly Sammael, the name of a spirit hardly distinguishable from Satan, may come from 'Ishmael.'

Change ה into ח, however, and all becomes plain. חמון is a place-name in Josh. xix. 28, which forms part of a passage with names evidently derived from the Negeb; וחמון = רחמון = ירחמאל.¹ In thus accounting for חמון, we have also accounted for מגור and המגור. The common origin of all these forms is מחרון, *i.e.* ירחמאל; the initial ה in המגור probably enough has grown out of ר.

In truth, no name is so suitable for the great N. Arabian conqueror as 'Jerahmeel'; and Ezekiel has already used it for the king of Mišsur in xxxii. 2, 6. He is the impersonation of his people, just as in Isa. x. 5 the dreaded N. Arabian king is called Asshur or Ashhur. But in the mouth of the people this name was probably worn down into various shorter forms, among which were Migron and probably Hermon. מגור (Magog), however, can scarcely be a popular form; it has sprung by a scribe's error from מג[ר]ון, Migron (cp. μαργων for μαγεδων in G^B , 1 S. xiv. 2). As evidently, ערג and אגב have sprung from גאן, *i.e.* מגראן. The result is that ארץ מגור in *v.* 1 may in all sobriety be emended into ארץ מגרון, 'land of Migron,' which is partly a correction, partly an explanation of גרג. It belongs to the margin. מגרון should also be substituted for מגור in Gen. x. 2.

Gog, or, as we should now say, Migron (Jerahmeel), is described in a gloss inserted in *v.* 2 and in xxxix. 1 (the || passage) as 'prince of Asshur (or Ashhur), Cusham, and Tubal'; so beyond doubt the text should be emended (cp. on xxvii. 13). And his home is represented as in 'the recesses of Zaphon' (cp. Isa. xiv. 13, same phrase; Jer. vi. 22, xxv. 32, xxxi. 8, l. 41 ירנתי-ארץ, 'the recesses of the land'). From סוסים (*v.* 4) onwards we have a long list of partly corrupt ethnics. Following the || passages, xxiii. 24, Jer. xlvi. 3, we should read וְצִפְתִּים וְיִשְׁמְעֵאלִים וְיִרְחֻמְאֵלִים וְקִנְיִם [יִשְׁמ' וִירח']. These ethnics, however, are interpolated. The true, original list is probably very short—צִפְתִּים וְנֹשִׂים—נָלָם יִרְחֻמְאֵל וְכַל-אֲגַפְיָה יִרְחֻמְאֵל וְנֹשִׂים (see on xxvii. 10). צִפְתִּים springs from חים the termination of צִפְתִּים. G^A adds לָרָד, *i.e.* גלעד (in Negeb). On מגן וכובע, see on xxiii. 24. מגר and תגורמה have come in under the influence of Gen. x. 3; both spring from ירחמאל,

¹ Indeed חם (Ham) itself is more than probably a fragment of ירחמאל.

which is probably the original reading. וְ[את]-כָּל-אֲנָפִיר is superfluous.

xxxviii. 13. וְכָל-אֲשַׁחֲרוּר as usual represents תְּרֻשָׁה, 'and all its young lions!' Cornill, כְּנַעֲנִיָּה; Toy, כְּנַעֲנִיָּה; Kr., כְּפָרִים, 'Cyprians (?)'. Rather יְרַחֲמָאִים or יְרַחֲבָתַיִם.—20. הַמְּדַרְגּוֹת should be הַמְּגִדְלוֹת (so already Grätz).

CHAP. xxxix. 2. צָפוֹן, of course, is not 'the north' but a district.—6. לְבַטָּח בְּמִגְרוֹן וּבְיִשְׁבֵי הָאֲיִים לְבַטָּח is odd. There were surely not many of the men left behind. הָאֲיִים is also unexpected; few words are so untrustworthy as אֲיִים! יִשְׁבֵי, too, frequently represents a well-known N. Arabian ethnic. Read [יְרַחֲמָאִים] וּבִמְגִרוֹן וּבְיִשְׁבֵי הָאֲיִים.—9. וּבִקְחֵי יְרַחֲמָאִים should be וּבִקְחֵי יְרַחֲמָאִים. The bow of Jerahmeel was proverbial (Hos. ii. 20).

xxxix. 11. Note Paseḳ after לְבַטָּח. On 'מ' 'ש', see above. יִשְׂרָאֵל should obviously be יְרַחֲמָאִים. Even if we keep the text of the following words, 'surely will not do (cp. xlvi. 18). The possible confusion of 'Israel' and 'Ishmael' must always be borne in mind.—For גֵּי הָעֲרָבִים קִדְמַת הַיָּם read גֵּי הָעֲרָבִים [יְרַחֲמָאִים], 'the valley of the Arabians,' with a gloss 'Jerahmeel.' Migron's destined burial-place was in the valley miscalled the 'Valley of Salt' (הַמֶּלַח is a corruption of יְרַחֲמָאִים). קִדְמַת is constantly miswritten for קִדְמַת = יְרַח' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem'; 'Paradise,' § 6). Then follows a further gloss absurdly miswritten in MT. (see AV's rendering!). Read certainly וְיִשְׂרָאֵל הִיא אֶל-הָעֲרָבִים, 'and (= in fact) it adjoins Arabia' (cp. xxiv. 2). The name 'Valley of Jerahmeel' will now acquire a new shade of meaning. It will mean, not 'valley where the Jerahmeelites dwell,' but 'valley where they are buried.' Read simply גֵּי מְגִרוֹן (= 'גֵּי יְרַח'); see above.

xxxix. 14. Read of course אֶת-הָעֲרָבִים.—16. The initial הַ in הַמְּדַרְגּוֹת represents הַ, the final הַ. Read שָׁם עִיר יְרַחֲמָאִים, 'there, too, is the city of Jerahmeel,' the closing part of the marginal gloss which has intruded into v. 11 (see above). Cp. on xlvi. 35.

INFLUENCE OF CHAPS. xxxviii. *f.* It is not at all improbable that the famous *αρχαγγελος* of Rev. xvi. 16 was suggested by a reading מְגִרוֹן אֶרֶץ in Ezek. xxxviii. 2; cp. *G's* *μαγγελος* for מְגִרוֹן in Isa. x. 28 and perhaps 1 S. xiv. 2.

Just as the fallen angels came to earth on Mount Jerahmeel ('Hermon' in Enoch vi. 6—see on chap. xxviii.), so on Armageddon, *i.e.* the mountains of Jerahmeel, the 'unclean spirits' gather together to contend with the Almighty in Rev. xvi. 16. The authority from whom the Enochian writer drew, knew that the Nephilim of Gen. vi. 4 were Jerahmeelites (cp. on Ezek. xxxii. 27); the authority from whom the Johannine writer drew, knew that the mustering of the opponents of Israel's God was to take place on the Jerahmeelite mountains. The explanation given in *E. Bib.*, col. 1748 *f.*, note 4, is on the right track (cp. col. 3881, note 1), though it has not reached the goal.

CHAP. xl. 1, 2. Corn., Toy, Berth., Kr. omit שמה and הבריאה, which were not in \mathfrak{S} 's text. But they do not explain how these words came in. The truth is that, as in xlvi. 35, שמה represents ישמע, *i.e.* in the present case ישמעאל. This was originally a correction of ישראל. It was, in fact, on 'one of the mountains' of Jerahmeel that Ezekiel in his vision stood. The prophet recognises the Negeb as the holiest part of the land, and plans the erection of a new temple and a new holy city. Cp. on xlvi. 13, Isa. xlvi. 1 *f.* Ezekiel's permanent residence, then, cannot have been in the Negeb (cp. on i. 1).

CHAP. xliii. 26 *f.* Omit ומלאו יד[ו] את, and also ויכלו את הימים. The former phrase can be used only of priests, the latter is here superfluous. Both phrases represent editorial efforts to make sense of a corruptly written ירחמאלים. The 'Jerahmeelites' spoken of were of course members of the Israelite community, and not in a religious sense Jerahmeelites (see next note).

CHAP. xliv. 7a. בְּנֵי-נָכָר עָרְלֵי לֵב וְעָרְלֵי בָשָׂר. Most improbable. The mistake closely resembles that in Jer. ix. 25. Read בְּנֵי-נָכָר וְיָרְחָמָאִים וְאַשְׁרִים (see *Amer. J. of Theol.* v. 437 [July 1901]). Cp. on Zeph. i. 8 *f.*, and note the Jerahmeelite cultus described in Ezek. viii. Similarly in v. 9.

CHAP. xlvii. 8. Read, for הירחמאלית, הקדמונה, or at any rate הירחמאלית (ירחם = רקם). Then continue ויידו אל-עַרְב וּבאו אל-הַיָּם הַיְרֵחָמָאֵלִי וְנִרְפָּאוּ. The original name of the Dead Sea was 'Sea of Jerahmeel' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Mediterranean'). After-

wards ירחמאל became (1) מלח, (2) קדמוני.—In *v.* 18 Ezek. is made to use the second of the later forms. Here, however, underlying a corruption, we can detect the earlier form. Cp. on Joel ii. 20, Zech. xiv. 8.

xlvii. 10. Read מעין קדש ועד-עין ירחמאל, 'from En-kadesh to En-jerahmeel. See *E. Bib.*, 'Kadesh,' i., § 3, end. Not only the healing of the Dead Sea but the restoration of the paradisaical fertility of the central district of Jerahmeel was at Ezekiel's heart. See *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' §§ 6, 9.—All the middle part of *v.* 10 is omitted by Cornill as not original. But neither he nor any other critic has accounted for its existence. From our point of view, however, the problem is solved with certainty. Read מסנות ירחמאל מעין ירחמאל, 'from Succoth-jerahmeel, from En-jerahmeel.' Both לחרמים (cp. on xxvi. 5) and ידור ל represent ירחמאל.

xlvii. 13. Here begins the sketch of the boundaries of the new Holy Land. But where is that Holy Land? The boundaries are these laid down in Nu. xxxiv. Here, however, underlying the present text, we find the assignment, not of the land of Canaan, but of that of Kenaz, *i.e.* the Negeb, to the tribes of Israel. Was Ezekiel's idea that Canaan had been too much defiled to be the centre of Yahwè's kingdom in the future? or had the original text underlying Nu. xxxiv. already been transformed, and did Ezekiel blindly take it over? The latter supposition seems rather improbable. If Paradise were restored, why should not the Israelites (that is, all who could) dwell in its neighbourhood? Perhaps two writers have been concerned in the text. See on Nu. xxxiv., and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hethlon,' 'Riblah,' 'Shepham,' 'Sibram,' 'Tamar,' 'Zedad,' 'Ziphron.'—*V.* 13b. יוסף חבלי, 'a gloss pointing out that, Levi being omitted, the number twelve is gained by counting Joseph as two' (Toy). This involves pointing חבלי. But ח did not so understand the words (πρόσθεσις σχοιώσματος). חבל, 'lot,' is also strange (Cornill). Read perhaps צרפת ירחמאל, *i.e.* the land to be divided is Zarephath or Jerahmeel. חבלי is miswritten for ירח' in Ps. xvi. 6.

xlvii. 16. The right names are probably Maacath, Rehoboth, Zarephath, Cusham, Ashhur-maacath (a correction of the preceding Hamath?), Haran. To read 'Hagar-enon'

(or -enan), with Smend, Corn., Toy, Kr., for 'H.-hattikon' is harmless but unnecessary. 'Hazar-enon' probably comes from 'Hazar-,' or perhaps 'Ashhur-jerahmeel,' and 'Hazar-hattikon' from 'Hazar-,' or perhaps 'Ashhur-maacath.' Cp. *tīkōn* with 'Joktan.'

CHAP. xlvi. 1. Cornill, Toy, Kr. change the first אל יד into מן-הים (cp. xlvi. 15). But the first step is to correct Nu. xxxiv. 8 *f.* (see note); then we can proceed to correct Ezek. xlvi. 1 thus—מקצה צפונה עד-ירחמאל תתארון לבוא-המת—35. It is usual to translate מיום 'from this time forth,' comparing Isa. xliii. 13 (מיום), xlvi. 7 (לפני-יום). But both these passages are probably corrupt (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah'), and יום is frequently a corruption of some longer word. יהודה שמה, too, is improbable. שם is often a mere fragment of ישמעאל. Probably we should read ושם העיר [אלהים] יהודה ישמע, 'and the name of the city shall be [elohim] Yahwè hears.' It is a play on the name of the capital of the Negeb, which should be Ishmael (cp. on xlvi. 13, and on xxxix. 16), but which Ezekiel converts into Elohim-yishma', or Yahwè-yishma'. Cp. on Yahwè-yir'eh, Gen. xxii. 14; Yahwè-shalom, Judg. vi. 24. Does not all this strange description in chaps. xl.-xlvi. throw some light on that enigmatical passage, Isa. lxvi. 1, 2 (see note)? Cp. on xl. 1, 2.

HOSEA

CHAP. I. 3-5.—The latest writer (Riedel, *Alttest. Untersuch.*, 1902, pp. 10 *ff.*) confesses that the name 'Gomer' is unintelligible; 'bath diblaim,' however, can suitably be explained as 'daughter of cakes,' *i.e.* one addicted to offering cakes to the Baals. Surely this is altogether unnatural. 'Gomer' (like Gomer in Gen. x. 2; cp. Ḥamor in Gen. xxxiv.) and Diblaim (= Riblaim, cp. Diblathaim = Riblathaim) must, if the proper methods be applied, reveal themselves as old corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' which had acquired an independent existence. Hosea's wife then was a Jerahmeelite. See on iii. 2. He himself, as the evidence tends to show, was an Israelite residing in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' § 36). This N. Arabian matrimonial connection was a symbol of the fact that Israel had addicted itself to the impure religion of the Jerahmeelites (cp. on Jer. ii. 18). There is an allusion to the name 'Jerahmeel' in Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi[el] in *vv.* 6, 9; for Lo-ruḥamah cp. Isa. xxix. 2*b* (Lo-jerahmeel; see note). It was the southern Jezreel after which the elder son of Hosea was named. Jehu's bloody deed at Jezreel (cp. 2 K. x. 11) was to be avenged in Maacath-yizreel (read מענת-יזרעאל; cp. on עמק, Ps. lx. 8). See *E. Bib.*, col. 3861, note 4. There the 'bow of Israel' was to be broken, *i.e.* the Israelites were to sustain a crushing defeat by the N. Arabians.

i. 7. וּבַחֶרֶב וּבַמִּלְחָמָה. Can חֶרֶב וּמִלְחָמָה really mean 'all the other unnamed weapons'? Read וּבַחֶרֶב יְרוּחַמָּאֵל. See on ii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 4. The 'Jerahmeel-sword' and the 'Jerahmeel-bow' were the most destructive (cp. on Jer. vi. 25, xii. 12, Ezek. xxxix. 9).

CHAP. ii. 1-3 [i. 10-ii. 1]. In Jezreel itself cause shall be given for calling 'Lo-ammi' 'Ammi,' and 'Lo-ruhamah' 'Ruhamah,' and the people of Israel shall be called 'B'ne Jerahmeel' (read, not בני אל חי, but בני ירחמאל, cp. on Gen. iii. 20*b*). Indeed, the B'ne Jerahmeel of the older stock (for בני יהודה read בני ירחמאל—for the correction see on 1 S. xxx. 9 *ff.*, 26—and the B'ne Israel shall, under a common head, enter Canaan on a second and greater day of Jezreel). במקום (so much disputed over) comes from בירחמאל; Jezreel was in the Jerahmeelite Negeb. For the correction see on Gen. xii. 6, Isa. xxviii. 8, Ezek. xxxviii.

ii. 17, 20. *V.* 17*a* describes a territory to be given to restored Israel. Read את-ירחמאל [ישמעאל] ואת-מענת-ענור לנפתוח ולתקוע. For 'Achor,' see on Josh. xv. 7, and on 'Tekoa' *E. Bib.*, 'Tekoa.'—Read וחרב ירחמאל. The bow and sword of Jerahmeel were proverbial (see on i. 7).—שם and משם often represent 'שמ' (here a gloss on 'Jerahmeel'); see Isa. lii. 11, Ezek. xxxix. 11.

CHAP. iii. 1. אל-אלהים אחרים. A great want of definiteness. Read אל-אלהי ירחמאל; see on Jer. i. 16, vii. 6.—אשישי ענבים, 'pressed grape-cakes?' It is plausible to compare Jer. vii. 18 (xliv. 17), where the 'cakes' for the 'queen of heaven (?)' and the libations offered to the אלהים אחרים are mentioned together. At the same time the word אהב more properly refers to the mutual connection between gods and their worshippers. The existence, moreover, of the word אשישה, 'fruit-cake,' has in the other places where it occurs (see, *e.g.*, on 2 S. vi. 19, Isa. xvi. 7) been questioned, and even were אשישי possible, ענבים, 'grapes,' would be superfluous. Grätz suggests אשורים וחקנים. Better, perhaps, עשתרת ונעמן. עשתרת is a title of Baal; cp. Isa. xvii. 10. But parallelism favours ערבים, 'Ashtor of Arabia' (see on Dt. iii. 17). Cp. Judg. ii. 13, 'They forsook Yahwè, and served Baal and the Ashtaroth.'

iii. 2. וחקר שערים לתד שערים. These words, so difficult to make sense of here, appear to be corruptions of the name and description of Hosea's wife, *i.e.* of מצור-ירחמאל [בת] חמר, 'Hāmōr (?), a woman of Mišsur-jerahmeel.' שערים may come from מצור, לתד (cp. למד) from ירחמאל. Ⓢ has γομορ κριθῶν καὶ νεβελ οἴνου, = חמר שערים ונבל יין, which, equally

with MT.'s text, may represent *מְצוּר־יְרַחְמָאֵל* [בת] חמר (בת) *מְצוּר־יְרַחְמָאֵל* (רבליון = נבליון). A measure called לתך is surely non-existent in the O.T.

iii. 4. ואין אפור ותרפים. *οὐδὲ ἰερατείας οὐδὲ δῆλων.* Perhaps *ἰερατείας* may be best viewed as a corruption of *ιατρείας*, i.e. מרפא (2 Chr. xxi. 18), which in turn may be a corruption of אפור, facilitated by the ם in תרפים. *δῆλων* represents תמים (as Dt. xxxiii. 8), which Grätz adopts.

CHAP. iv. 12. That rhabdomancy should be referred to so prominently, seems unlikely. מקלו is surely from ירחמאל (cp. on יד מקל, Ezek. xxxix. 9); both Hosea and Amos vehemently denounce the practice of frequenting Jerahmeelite sanctuaries. This makes another correction probable, which otherwise would be only possible,—בישמעאל for [ב]בעצו. Originally, elsewhere, בצע and צבע do appear to be corrupt fragments of 'ישם'. Probably, too, the mutilation of 'ישם' was facilitated by the fact that the next group of letters is ישאל. 'Ishmael' and 'Jerahmeel' may be either the deified patriarchs so called, or substituted for the true name of the god of the Ishmaelites or Jerahmeelites (Yarḥam?).

iv. 14b, 15. וְעַם לֹא-יָבִין יִלְבַּט. The preceding עם (*bis*) suggests וְעַם. The proper name יבין is probably a corruption of ירחמאל, and as if to confirm our application of this parallel the text prefixes לא (= אל). Read probably יתבוללו (cp. תבל). There is no theoretic necessity to obelise the words referring to Judah (see on v. 10 *f.*), though the text may nevertheless be wrong. The place-names appear to be generally misunderstood. הגלגל is an early corruption of גלעד or of ירחמאל. The least radical correction that is possible for בֵּית-אֶזְרָא is to read בֵּית אֶזְרָא. But the textual phenomena of Am. i. 5 suggest that און is really a corruption of עֶדֶן, which is certainly the name of a Jerahmeelite district. The intermediate form אדן occurs in the personal name אדניה, and the place-name אדן (Ezra ii. 59). 'Jerahmeel' may be the place which turns out to be rightly called 'Cusham-jerahmeel' (cp. on Gen. xxxiv.—For חִי-יְהוּדָה read חִי-יְרַחְמָאֵל (see on Zeph. i. 5, Am. viii. 14). Cp. Paul Ruben, *ad loc.* (for a different view).

CHAP. v. 1. בית ישראל being a phrase for 'Israelites,'

we are bound to infer that בית-המלך and הנהנים also represent names of peoples. מלך and המלך are so often corruptions of ירחמאל (see *E. Bib.*, 'Hammelech') that we can hardly hesitate to read בית ירחמאל, which indeed suits the context admirably. הנהנים should probably be הקינים, 'ye Kenites.' Is בית ישראל correct? בית ישמעאל is certainly more probable. The divine punishment belongs, first of all, to those who ensnared Israel, *i.e.* to the Ishmaelites or Jerahmeelites of the Negeb. 'Ye have been a snare at Mizpah.' The place meant is probably that called in Judg. xi. 29, 'Mizpeh of Gilead' (there was a southern Gilead in the Negeb), and elsewhere called Şarephath and possibly Mişrephath (see *E. Bib.*, 'Misrephoth maim'). Hosea continues, 'and a net spread on Tabor.' No southern 'Tabor' (תבור) is known. Probably we should read רהבות (see on Ps. lxxxix. 13b). 'Rehoboth' was a spot hallowed by the patriarchal story.

v. 2. Read וְאֵנִי מִיִּסְרָאֵל לְכָל־עַמִּי. וְשַׁחַת תְּרוֹשְׁמִים הֶעֱמִיקוּ | חרט is suggested by the hardly doubtful correction of סתום in Ezek. xxviii. 3. שטים is a corruption of סטים, and this of סתים [חרטמים]. The 'magicians' of Mişrim were famous (Gen. xli. 8). Cp. on סטים, Ps. ci. 3. Note Ⓞ's παιδευτής.

v. 7 f. הודש. Read חסיל; Ⓞ, ἐρυσίβη.—8. אחריו. Wellh. יחרירו. Rather, perhaps, ירחמאל. 'Jerahmeel' (see on iv. 15) is sometimes a place-name, *i.e.* it is the short for Beth-jerahmeel. בְּנֵי־מִיָּן, which follows, may be the chief centre of the Benjamites in the Negeb (see on Jer. vi. 1).

v. 10 f. Neither here, nor in vs. 12, 13, 14, vi. 4, 11, xii. 3 need we alter 'Judah' into 'Israel.' Both Israel and Judah appear to have had territory in the Negeb, and consequently to have been seduced by the Jerahmeelite cult.—כִּי הוֹאִיל הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי־צוֹ. That צו is a shortened form of מצודה, or the name of a god (Hommel), is very difficult to make probable, nor is שו (= שוא) an adequate correction. The right solution is suggested by a study of Isa. xxx. 6 (see note), which shows that הועיל may be a corruption of ירחמאל, and by Isa. xxviii. 10, which probably shows that צו may be a corruption of ישמעאל. In fact, הועיל and צו represent respectively the variants 'Jerahmeel' and 'Ishmael.' The threat in v. 11a is explained by the offence of Ephraim

in worshipping the Jerahmeelite or Ishmaelite deity (see on iv. 15).

v. 12 (x. 6). אֶל-מֶלֶךְ יִרְבּ. Independently, in 1897, the writer and Prof. W. Max Müller explained מֶלֶךְ יִרְב as 'the great king' (either reading יִרְב מֶלֶךְ, or [WMM] treating מַלְכִירִיב as a proper name. Winckler (*Musri*, etc., 1898, p. 22) suggests אֶל-מֶלֶךְ יִתְרָב, 'to the king of Jathrib (= Medina).' The 'Great King' theory had already been proposed by M'Curdy, *HPM* i. (1894), pp. 415 *f.*; it is also suggested by Riedel (without reference to predecessors) *Alttest. Untersuch.* (1902), p. 18. But the N. Arabian interest of Hosea is so manifest that we cannot doubt that יִרְב is miswritten for עֵרַב or עֵרְבִי; עֵרַב in Palestine, like Aribu(bi) in Assyria, was already in use as a term for N. Arabia. So *E. Bib.* ii. (1901), col. 2331. Independent support is given to this view by Otto Weber (*Arabien vor dem Islam*, 1901, p. 24). By the 'king of Arabia' the Hebrew prophet may mean the king of Meluhha, the suzerain of the smaller N. Arabian kings.

CHAP. vi. 7 *ff.* For בְּאֲדָם it now becomes obvious to read בְּאֲדָם (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Adam'). Wellhausen, at any rate, sees that a locality must be referred to. שָׁם, as elsewhere, may be a fragment of יִשְׁמַעֲלָל; prefix ב. Thus, 'in Aram' is parallel (as it ought to be) to 'in Ishmael.' For גִּלְגָּל we might read גִּלְגָּל (γαλγαλα, some MSS. of G); Nowack, too, wavers; for 'Gilgal' see iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 12. If we take בִּי from v. 7, and read 'בִּי, *i.e.* בֵּית, we get 'Beth-gilgal' (on which see *E. Bib.*, 'Gilgal,' § 6) or Beth-gilead (perhaps = Jabesh-gilead). In either case, Beth-jerahmeel may be meant. This is not improbably the Gibeath-jerahmeel, where noisy rites and sacrifices of children seem to have been in vogue (see on v. 10). There is some reason to think that the seat of Saul's clan was at a place called Beth-Jerahmeel, and that this was situated in the southern Gilead (see on 2 S. ii. 8 *f.*, where it is shown that Saul's 'Jerahmeel' was at any rate near Beth-gilead). Hosea may therefore have had two reasons for denouncing Beth-gilead or Beth-jerahmeel or Gibeath-jerahmeel, viz. (1) the offensive rites there practised, and (2) the rise of the kingly government. For the impossible מְדָם עֵקֶבָה read either

מְרַעִים (so *E. Bib.*, 'Gilead,' 2) or ג' ירחמאל. The latter is preferable. But if so, either a few words have dropped out, or 'ג' ירח' is a variant to the place-name (Beth-gilead?) in *v. 8a*.—The difficulties of MT. and of \mathfrak{S} in *v. 9* are well-known (see Now., and Ruben, *Crit. Remarks*, p. 12). For an attempt to meet them see *E. Bib.*, col. 1729. With a surer clue, however, we can detect ארץ גלעדִים underneath איש גדודים, קינים under כהנים (cp. on *v. 1*), and נְשָׁמָה under שכמה (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem,' 2).—In *v. 10* for בבית ישראל read בבית ישמעאל ('יש' and 'שמ' are sometimes confounded). For the 'horrible' rites of Beth-ishmael (= B.-jerahmeel) see on Jer. ii. 34.—In *v. 11* and vii. 1 note that בשוּבִי (cp. יבְסִי) probably comes from בישמעאל, כרפאי ל from ירחמאל, and לישראל from לישמעאל. Originally something more was said of the practices in Ishmael or Jerahmeel; יהודה לך שאת קציר conceals something quite different which has not been recovered.

CHAP. vii. 1. The verse, as Wellh. has seen, should probably begin at נגלה (without ו). Point שְׁמֹרֶן.

vii. 11. מְצָרִים (so point) and אֲשֹׁר are the N. Arabian regions so called.

vii. 14 *f.* For על-נְסִיָּהֶם read על-משל' (Joel i. 9), and for בי יסורו read בית-ישמעאל (see next note). Cancel יסרתי, as a repetition of יסורו; wanting in \mathfrak{S} . So Ruben.

vii. 16. 'Unintelligible and mostly corrupt' (Wellh.). Note Pasek. Both ישובו and לא על come from ישמעאל (dittographed), a correction of בי יסורו (*v. 14*). For the two errors, cp. יבְסִי = ישמעאלי, and אל על in xi. 7. The verse should therefore begin with the next words, הוּוּ נְקַשְׁתָּ, or rather הוּוּ נְקַשְׁם ירחמאל, 'they are become like (= as indifferent to me as) Cusham-jerahmeel; for the idea cp. Am. ix. 7, and for the error Ps. lxxviii. 57. Continue, בחרב יפלו, שרידם בארץ מצרים, מועם, לשונם, and לו לעגם all appear to come from corrupt forms of ישמעאלים (a gloss on מצרים?).

CHAP. viii. 1. MT., אֶל-חֶקֶךָ, which, as Wellh. sees, is corrupt. \mathfrak{S} , εἰς κόλπον αὐτῶν = אֶל-חֶיקָם, a corruption of ירחמאל. This may either be a gloss on מצרים (see on viii. 16), or the subject of a verb such as יַעֲלֶה (see Jer. xlix. 22) which would easily fall out after מאל שפר, as Grätz pointed out (*Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 375), is probably

a dittographed נשר.—6. It is hard to defend והוא and שבבים (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Spider'). Most probably, *v. 6b*, when corrected, should stand before 'חרש עשהו וגו' מישראל and שבבים both represent מישמעאל; והוא and יהוה both come from ירחמאל, a variant to ישמעאל. Read—

כי מירחמאל עגל שמרון | חרש עשהו ולא אלהים הוא :

The phrase 'the calf of Shimron' probably indicates that 'Beth-el' or 'Beth-on' was near Shimron.—9. פרא בודד לו is quite unsuitable in this context. Read ערב ירחמאל, a regular geographical phrase (see on Dt. i. 1); this is a gloss on 'Asshur'.—12. Read אקוט בירחמאל | תולתי כמרזר נחשבו Israel's God 'loathes' Jerahmeel, because his own religious statutes are despised in the sanctuaries of the Negeb.

viii. 13 should begin thus, זבחים הרבו בארץ ירחמאל. The insertion of יזבחו became necessary after הרבו had been corrupted into הבהבי. G's *θυσιασθήρια τὰ ἡγαπημένα* implies a derivation of הבהבי from אהב. Most explain 'offerings' (√הב', 'to give'), בשר here, as in Ezek. xvi. 26 and elsewhere, represents בארץ, and ויאכלו represents ירחמאל (cp. *אכלי* in Isa. lxvi. 17).

CHAP. ix. 6. מף תקבום. Usually taken as a Hebrew corruption of Eg. Men-nōfer (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3432). The evidence, however, for the preponderant influence of Mišrim is so strong that we are obliged to distrust 'Moph' not less than 'Noph.' In particular, it is plain from vii. 11 and ix. 3 that אשור and מצרים are virtually synonymous. Now the only theory which explains how this can be the case is the theory that N. Arabian districts are referred to. The truth is, that this very passage (ix. 6) shows that N. Arabia is the region intended. The opening words in MT. are כִּי-הִנֵּה הִלְכֵנוּ מִשָּׂד. It is clear that משד must represent the name of a country. It cannot be a corruption of מצור = מצרים, because מצרים, which follows, is required as the subject of תקבצם. It must, therefore, be a distortion of כושם = כשדים. מף presumably = כף; the initial מ may be due to the preceding ם. כף probably represents נפתוח, the name of a district on the N. Arabian border (see on Isa. xix. 13, Jer. ii. 16). כושם ביהיליהם should be באהליהם. Cp. on Ps. xix. 5. Read מחמדי נ' (Wellh.).

ix. 10, 13. לְבַשָּׁת. Probably לְכַשִּׁית. See on Jer. iii. 23 *f.* —*V.* 13 is composed of two parts, each beginning with אֲפַרְיִם. The second part (omitting וְאֲפַרְיִם) appears to be a variant to the latter portion of the first, *i.e.* לְצוּר corresponds to לְהוֹצִיא אֶל, שְׂתוּלָה to הוֹרֵג, and בְּנוֹה to בְּנֵי. לְצוּר (whence לְהוֹצִיא אֶל) comes from יִשְׁמַעֵאל (cp. צו, v. 11, Isa. xxviii. 10, 13), and שְׂתוּלָה must be a corruption of some synonym of יְהָרֵג. בְּנֵי יְהָרֵג may be retained. Thus line 2 becomes יִשְׁמַעֵאל יְהָרֵג בְּנֵי. We can now perhaps penetrate the secret of line 1, which should probably run thus—אֲפַרְיִם אֲשַׁחֲרֵי יְרַעְהוּ. Render the restored passage, ‘As for Ephraim, Ashhur shall break him to pieces; Ishmael shall slay his sons.’

CHAP. x. 3. It is strange that the weakness of Israel should be accounted for in this way. Hence Marti and Nowack suspect an interpolation. More probably אֵין מֶלֶךְ and הַמֶּלֶךְ represent יְרוּחַמֵּאל; in this case read אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ‘Then will they say, Jerahmeel is our God, for we do not fear Yahwè; and Jerahmeel—what will he do for us?’ Cp. Isa. viii. 21.

x. 5-8. Read לְעַבְלָת, and cp. on viii. 5.—יָרַב; see on v. 13.—*V.* 7 is very hard; but cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 2125, note.—In *v.* 8 point אֵין (see on iv. 15), and omit חַטָּאת יִשְׂרָאֵל (rather מַעֲנֵת יִשְׁמַעֵאל) as a gloss.

x. 14 *f.* וְקָאֵם שְׂאוֹן בְּעַמִּידָה. Three improbabilities, (1) קָאֵם for קָם, (2) שְׂאוֹן for ‘war-cry’ (Now.), and (3) בְּעַמִּידָה, parallel to מִבְּצִירִיד. The third of these has been corrected by Wellh.; read בְּעַרְיָה. The second, on the analogy of Am. ii. 2, is removed by reading כּוֹשֵׁן. The first (cp. קָרַע, Ezek. xxiii. 23) by the correction יְרוּחַמֵּאל. This involves supposing that וְשִׁלְחָתָי, or the like, has fallen out, owing to the misreading וְקָאֵם.—Read קָשָׁד שְׁלֵמָן בֵּית יְרוּחַמֵּאל. Cp. on Am. i. 3. Winckler’s suggestion, that the barbarities of the Arabian tribe called Šalmah are referred to, is plausible (see *E. Bib.*, ‘Salmah’). But having found out so much relative to the invasions of the Negeb by Cushites, Misrites, and Asshurites, we can hardly hesitate to retain שְׁלֵמָן, and to accept this as the name of one of the N. Arabian tribes who invaded the Negeb. That Salamanu was the name of a Moabite prince in Tiglath-pileser’s time we know (see Schr., *KAT*,⁽²⁾ p. 441); it is very possible that the king of Asshur also bore this

name. אַרְבַּאל (cp. יַרְבֵּעַל) is a perfectly regular corruption of יַרְחֻמְאֵל. יַרְחֻמְאֵל בֵּית יִרְחָ is a corruption of 'בֵּית יִרְחָ' dittographed. See on Nah. iii. 8.—For the impossible בְּשֹׁחַר read בְּאַשְׁחֹר. The meaning is that the king of Israel shall be destroyed by the inexorable king of the N. Arabian Asshur.

CHAP. xi. There are many difficulties here. Pioneering work has been done already. The emendations of *sv.* 1-4*a* in *E. Bib.*, col. 2826, produce a much-improved sense, but are inadequate, as soon as we realise how much Hosea is preoccupied by the danger from N. Arabia. Let us now go over the work again. In *sv.* 1-3 read לוֹ בְּנִי (I called him my son), Pesh., Theod.; נְקֹרְאִי, 𐤏; מִפְּנֵי, cp. 𐤏; אֶקְחֵם, 𐤏; וְרֵעֵתִי. So Ruben, and partly Wi. (*AT Unt.*, 182), Wellh. נְהַלְתִּי, Pesh., Gr.; פְּדִיתִים, Gr. To this, however, add in *v.* 1 מְצֹרִים (cp. on *v.* 5), and in *v.* 4*a* מִחֲבֵלֵי אָרָם (for 'בְּחָ אָדָם') and יַרְחֻמְאֵל (for אֶהְבֵּה). Render, 'out of the cords of Aram [the southern Aram = Jerahmeel] I drew them, out of the bands of Jerahmeel.' The complex of words which follows is probably based on a series of an ignorant scribe's attempts to write יַרְחֻמְאֵל, which the editor, with his usual ingenuity, converted into a sentence. מְרִימִי reminds us of מְרֹמֹת (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Meremoth'), and of יְרוֹמָם (*v.* 7). For אֵט, see on Isa. viii. 6. The לֹא which opens *v.* 5 in MT. belongs to this Jerahmeel-passage.—*V.* 5 should therefore run, 'He shall return to the land of Miṣṣir (cp. on *v.* 1), and Asshur [the southern Asshur or Ashḥur] shall be his king,' etc.

xi. 7-10. For וְאֵל-עַל read לִישְׁמְעָאֵל; see on vii. 16. יַרְחֻמְאֵל and לֹא יְרוֹמָם both represent the variant יַרְחֻמְאֵל. On אֶדְמָה and צַבְאִים see *E. Bib.*, 'Sodom and Gomorrah.'—מִיָּם from מִיָּמֶן. See on Isa. xxiv. 14.

CHAP. xii. 1*b*. Probably עַם-אֵל should be יַרְחֻמְאֵל, and קְדוּשִׁים comes from נְוָשִׁים. The verbs are more difficult to restore. Read, perhaps, וְיִהְיֶה דָרֶשׁ [אֶת-יַרְחֻמְאֵל וְעַם-נְוָשִׁים] יַעֲבֹר. Cp. Isa. ii. 6.

xii. 10. 'I will cause thee to dwell in tents?' Read בֵּית יַרְחֻמְאֵל (cp. on ii. 17, 20), and for מוֹעֵד read, with Nowack, עוֹלָם. The exile seems to be presupposed (cp. Mic. vii. 14).

xii. 15. Read אֶת-בֵּית-יַרְחֻמְאֵל. 'Beth-jerahmeel' is the Gilgal of iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 2. תְּמֹרוֹת is suspicious; see on Jer. vi. 26, xxxi. 15, 21.

CHAP. xiii. 2*b*. 'Zu dem reden sie, opfernde Menschen küssen Kalber' (Wellh.) can hardly be right. It is the image of Jerahmeel that is kissed. Read, probably—

אֱלֹהִים לָהֶם הֵם אֹמְרִים בְּזִבְחֵי אֲרָם יִרְחַמְאֵל יִשְׁקֶן :

CHAP. xiv. 7 *f*. For לבנון (*bis*) read (1) לבונה, (2) חלבון (Ezek. xxvii. 18). In *v*. 8 read also כגפן אשתור; cp. Isa. xvi. 7, where 'Kir-hareseth' should be 'Kir-ashhur.' Cp. Wellhausen's and G. A. Smith's notes; the former at any rate sees the problems more clearly.

xiv. 9. 'We are struck by the perfect beside the imperfect, by the want of a suffix עניתי, and by the suffix of the third person beside that of the second' (Nowack). Probably we should read, אני עניתך אני [כתאשור] כברוש רענן. ואשורנו seems to be a conflation of תאשור and רענן; ת' is a variant to ברוש.

JOEL

JOEL was a favourite S. Israelitish name, as shown in *E. Bib.*, col. 3686. Bethuel (so we should probably read with **ב** for 'Pethuel') is also a place-name of the Negeb; very possibly, indeed, **בְּתוּאֵל** is a corruption of **תּוּבַל**, 'Tubal,' the name of a N. Arabian district (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tubal'). It is, however, most unlikely that the name of the author of such a literary and artificial prophecy as 'Joel' should have been preserved. We may presume that in some late historical midrash a prophet called 'Joel b. Bethuel' was mentioned. The connection between prophecy and the Negeb is undeniable (see *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' §§ 6 f.); the name proposed was therefore credible. Elijah and Elisha were men of the Negeb; but of course, in the post-exilic period, a prophet of the type of 'Joel' coming from the Negeb would be inconceivable.

CHAP. i. 4, ii. 20. Great obscurity hangs around the description of the locusts in chap. i. and over the prophecy in chap. ii. Is chap. i. 4-19 descriptive of a calamity from which the land of Judah was actually suffering, or predictive of one still future? And are the locusts in chaps. i. and ii.—or at least in chap. ii.—symbolic of hostile peoples? How can a swarm of locusts be called 'the northern one' (ii. 20)? And what is the meaning of the statement in i. 4 that what the *gāzām*, the *arbeh*, the *yelek* respectively have left, the *arbeh*, the *yelek*, the *hāsīl* respectively have eaten? The most different answers are given (see, e.g. Merx, Wünsche, Nowack, Driver on the passages). Can we be content with this uncertainty? Surely the key to chaps. i. and ii. is the phrase **הַצְפוֹנִי**. Having discovered that **צְפוֹן** is the name of a N. Arabian region bordering on the Negeb (see, e.g. Jer. i. 13 f.,

Ezek. i. 4), and that the 'Gog' of Ezekiel's prophecy is the personification of the Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian peoples (see on Ezek. xxxviii. 1 *f.*, 6), we see that the first and most probable meaning of Şephōnī is 'Zaphonite.' The locusts in chaps. i., ii. are symbolic of the N. Arabians, who, in a short time, will verify Ezekiel's prophecy by invading the Holy Land of Palestine, and who will be driven by Yahwè into the desert. The invaders, however, do but repeat what they have done continuously for an indefinite period on a smaller scale. Hence Yahwè promises (ii. 25) to compensate the Jews for the 'years' which the locusts have eaten. In calling these symbolic locusts Yahwè's 'army' (ii. 11, 25), the writer deviates from Ezekiel. His idea is that the calamities brought on the Jews by the N. Arabians are designed to bring the people to repentance. When the pious, though very imperfect, Jewish community, turns heartily to Yahwè, he will, without any effort, remove the troublesome foe. The reason why, in i. 4 and ii. 25, four different names of locusts are used is, that the writer wishes (perhaps following Amos) to suggest the names of four N. Arabian peoples. This is very clear in the case of ארבה and ילק, which at once suggest עָרָב and עַמְלֶק. What names underlie גּוֹם and חֲסִיל we cannot venture to say. Cp. on Am. vii. 1*b*, and on ii. 20, *E. Bib.*, col. 2496, note 1.—On the singular phrases 'הַיָּם הַקֶּדְמִי and 'הַיָּם הַאֲחֵרִי, see *E. Bib.*, 'Mediterranean.' The two novel terms 'front sea' and 'back sea' were a consequence of the recasting of Dt. xi. 24 (see note).

i. 15. See on Isa. xiii. 6*b*.

CHAP. iii. 1. עַל-כֵּל-בְּשָׂר. 'Naturally this can include neither the animal world nor even the heathen' (Nowack). Yet the expression ought to include at any rate the latter. Since, in Isa. lxxv. 22, Ps. lxxv. 3, the phrase is equally liable to suspicion, let us look out for some suitable and possible correction. בָּשָׂר must have arisen through the drawing together of fragments of two words, or of an abbreviated word and a corrupt fragment of a word. Cp. Merx, *Hiob*, Introd. p. lv. Read, probably, עַל-כֵּל-בֵּית-יִשְׂרָאֵל.

CHAP. iv. 2, 12. עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט. 'Valley of judgment' (הַמִּשְׁפָּט) would no doubt suit the context (*E. Bib.*, col. 2353), but does not the corruption lie deeper? Driver (*Joel and*

Amos, p. 69) thinks that nothing turns upon the identification of the spot named, the symbolism of the name being alone significant. But the interest of the later writers in the Negeb—the scene of patriarchal narratives in the remote past, and (see ii. 20, *Ezek.* xxxviii. *f.*) of great expected events in the not distant future—entitles us to expect a reference to some part of this region. עמק repeatedly (*e.g.* *Ps.* lx. 8) represents an original מעַנְתָּ צַפַּת; and שַׁפְּט, as a name, certainly comes from צַפַּת = צַרְפַּת. In 2 Chr. xiv. 9 we hear of a גֵּיא צַפְתָּה; it is not likely that the valley near Zephath or Zarephath was called עַמְק. Read, therefore, מַעַנְתָּ צַפַּת, *i.e.* the Zarephathite Maacath (in contradistinction to a northern Maacath). The bare possibility, however, remains that יהוּ in יהושַׁפַּט comes from ירח, the short for ירחמאל. Cp. 'Armageddon' (*Rev.* xvi. 16) = Har-jerahmeel. Note also that in *v.* 4 Miššur and Zarephath are mentioned, and it is very possible that the 'Shittim' of *v.* 18 ultimately goes back to Zarephathim (see note).

iv. 4, 6. מַצִּיר צַר וְצִדּוֹן represents מצור; the passage has been manipulated. צַרְפַּת פִּלְשֶׁת represents צַרְפַּת. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3164, note 3. הַיּוֹנִים represents ירחמאל (ב, as often, comes from ל). יָוֵן itself originally was יָמִין = יָמִין = ירחמאל. A distant 'Jerahmeel' is meant. The phrase itself is archaistic in such a late book.

iv. [G iii.] 11. עוֹשׂוּ וְנִקְבְּצוּ are both difficult. For the former G has *συναθροίζεσθε*, but this does not consist very well with 'נקב' afterwards. שָׁמָּה is also unexpected, for the place of meeting is only mentioned in *v.* 12. הַנְּחָת is also unexpected; the Hiphil of נָחַת is not used elsewhere. Possibly both עוֹשׂוּ and שָׁמָּה represent ישמעאלים (for שָׁמָּה cp. on *Ezek.* xlvi. 35), and וְנִקְבְּצוּ from יִקְבְּצוּם. Read 'ישמ' וקב' omitting כל-הגוים מסביב as an editorial insertion from *v.* 12. For הַנְּחָת it is obvious to read תִּנְחָת. 'Let the Ishmaelites and the Kenizzites come; lead thou, O Yahwè, thy heroes!'

iv. 14. עַמְק הַחֲרוֹץ. If עמק יהו' represented an original עַמְק הַמִּשְׁפָּט, it would be plausible to emend עמק הח' into עַמְק הַצֶּדֶק. A preferable correction of עמק יהו' has, however, suggested itself to us (see above), and this enforces the reconsideration of עמק החרוץ. A place-name of the Negeb

is required, and we can hardly hesitate to make a slight transposition of the letters of *חורין*, reading *חצור*. For 'ח' cp. Josh. xv. 23, 25. *חצור* is probably a modification of *שחור* = *אשחור*.

iv. 18. Wellh. remarks that the 'valley of Shittim' cannot mean the *אבל השטים* beyond the Jordan, because it has to start from Jerusalem. But '*נחל הש'* is most probably a corruption of *נ' שפטים* (see on Num. xxv. 1), and the other places mentioned, except Jerusalem, are in the N. Arabian borderland. Zarephath was apparently near the limit of the Negeb, and therefore also of the expanded land of Israel (cp. on Zech. xiv. 10). It had been dignified by the presence of the divine judge of the nations (*vs.* 2, 12); why, then, should it not partake in the beneficent effects of the stream prophesied originally by Ezekiel, which, as that prophet most probably states, was appointed to go to 'the Jerahmeelite region' (*גלילה*; cp. Joel iv. 4), and to flow down to Arabia (read *ערב*)?

AMOS

CHAP. I. 1.—The skilful presentment of his theory by Budde (Kohut, *Semitic Studies*, 106 ff.) led the present writer for a time to follow him in rendering, ‘Amos, who had been among the sheep-breeders, (a man) of Tekoa,’ and to suppose that the words אשר היה בנקדים were a gloss inserted from the margin in the wrong place; *i.e.* before, instead of after, מתקוע. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 147. It must be confessed, however, (1) that no one before Budde had thought of separating בנקדים from מתקוע, and (2) that if the object of the supposed gloss were to distinguish the prophet Amos more precisely from other persons of the same name, it is strange that the gloss-maker should not have used the word suggested by the authoritative statement in vii. 14, viz בנקרים [ב]. The second of these objections is the more important. It is true, Budde thinks it possible that בנקדים may be only a gloss upon the ambiguous word used in vii. 14 (בוקר), and Wellhausen and Nowack, following Oort, (*Theol. Tydschr.*, 1880, p. 127), thinks בוקר in vii. 14 a corruption of נוקד. This is plausible. Oort supports it by G’s αἰπόλος (vii. 14), but note that in 2 K. iii. 4 G has νωκηθ (νωκηδ), and that none of the Gk. versions there gives αἴπολος, besides which, in the very passage before us, the first part of v. 1 is thus rendered in G, λόγοι Αμωσ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ακκαρειμ ἐν [so B, but A ἐκ] Θεκουε. Ακκαρειμ, of course, should be Νακκαρειμ; the initial ν dropped out because of the preceding ἐν. What, then, is νακκαρειμ, according to G? A place-name. Nor is this to be hastily dismissed. There is strong reason to doubt the correctness of נקד in 2 K. iii. 4, and though

we can hardly venture to accept the reading *ἐν Καριαθιαρειμ* found in Am. i. 1 in Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and many MSS., yet, as a conjecture, the reading is very suggestive, for we can now safely say that the original of the popular corruption Kirjath-jearim almost certainly is Kirjath-jerahmeel. Now there was certainly a city of Jerahmeel in the Negeb, and considering the many plausible points of contact between the prophets and the Negeb, it is worth seeing whether Am. i. 1 will not yield up its secret, if we apply the theory that Amos was a child of the Negeb. Let us look more closely at the Hebrew words בנקדים מתקוע. That there was a Tekoa in the Negeb, we have seen in studying Jer. vi. 1; we cannot wonder at this, for the most plausible explanation of the name (on the analogy of יקחאל and קוע) is ירחמאל. בנקדים should be בנקרים (cp. ακκαρειμ), and this comes from בן-רחים, 'son of Rahîm,' i.e. of Jerahmeel (cp. רחום and רקם). The sum-total is that Amos was a Jerahmeelite, a citizen of the Tekoa in the Negeb (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet, § 35, note).¹ The words אשר היה appear superfluous. Possibly they come from אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה, written too soon, and (as in many similar cases) not cancelled. This result throws light on the true text of vii. 14 f.—and not less important and only slightly less certain correction still waits to be made, MT. has לְפָנֵי הָרָעַשׁ, with which \mathfrak{S} agrees. The Rabbis (but not Ibn Ezra) and the earlier Christian interpreters have tried to fix the period of this earthquake. To defend the historical character of the earthquake is difficult (see *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 4), and from the point of view suggested by the previous note, we may venture to look underneath the present text for some further reference to the Negeb. Read most probably לְפָנֵי הַקָּהֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר הוּרָה, 'before Asshur was rooted out, i.e. before the events described in 2 K. xiv. 28, 'how he recovered Cusham and Maacath of Jerahmeel for Israel.' In the region referred to there was probably a place called Kir-or Kiryath-asshur (cp. on 2 K. iii. 25), the Jerahmeelite population of which was expelled or exterminated. Cp. on Zech. xiv. 5.

¹ Cp. the remark of Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Text), 1886, p. 15, note 1.

i. 2. Surely a later insertion (see *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 8).—*V. 2a* reminds us of Joel iv. 16. In *v. 2b* הרעים seems to come from ירחמאל; probably, too, הנרמל means a Mt. Carmel in the Negeb (*E. Bib.*, col. 3861, end of note 6). See on ix. 3. Whenever this passage was prefixed, the Jerahmeelite references in Amos were still visible.

i. 4. 'Hazael' is a N. Arabian name; 'Ben-hadad' comes from 'Bir-dadda,' which is another. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3861, note 3.

i. 5. For הרב נושם בריח דמשק read הרב נושם (cp. Hos. i. 20, 'I will break . . . the sword of Jerahmeel'). גלעד is right, but it is the southern Gilead. The 'threshing with iron sledges,' however, is certainly wrong (cp. the errors in 2 S. viii. 2, xii. 31. Read probably מְבַצְרוֹת יִשְׁמַעֵאל על-שְׂדוֹדָם [את-גלעד]. Cp. on ברולי, 2 S. xvii. 27. See on Hos. x. 14. 'Ishmael,' like 'Jerahmeel' and perhaps 'Gilead,' means the Negeb. The Aram-wars, which have been much misunderstood, will be treated under 1 and 2 Kings.

The problems of Bik'ath-aven, Beth-eden, and Kir need to be taken up again from the point of view of textual criticism. 'Aven' we have met with already in Hos. (iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, 8); it is the 'On' of the Negeb, if this name itself has not arisen by corruption. The most conservative correction which is provisionally possible is to read Bik'ath-on (cp. 'Bik'ath-ono,' in the MT. of Neh. vi. 2). But the existence of a בקעה in the Jerahmeelite Negeb appears to be doubtful; and it is safer, both here and in Zech. xii. 11 and in other passages (see on Dt. xxxiv. 3) to read מענת (the southern Maacath). It is also safest to correct און, both here and in Hos., into עֶדֶן. For this reason. תומך שבט is generally taken as a descriptive title of an independent prince. But (1) a principality of Beth-eden is unknown to us in the Negeb, and (2) יושב and 'ת' ש' are not parallel. Can 'ת' ש' be right? תומך may very well be a corruption of מענת; corruptions based on transpositions are common. שבט (as in Mic. iv. 14) may come from צרפת = צפת. It now becomes very plausible to correct מִבֵּית עֶדֶן into ממענת עֶדֶן (intermediate stage, 'ע' מבקעת). Thus we get three variants (or four if we add 6's χαππα) agreeing as to מענת, but differing as to the second part

of the compound name. We have to choose between 'Maacath-on,' 'Maacath-zephath,' and 'Maacath-eden.' The last-named form is to be preferred, because it enables us to account for the growth of the form און. There actually exists an intermediate form און, represented by אדניה and the place-name און. For 'Eden,' see on 2 K. xix. 12. 'Eden' was the site of the Jerahmeelite Paradise (see *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' §§ 7, 9). We now pass on to 'Kir.' This, as Nowack remarks, 'has not yet been discovered. It was hardly in Media, for according to Am. ix. 7 the Aramæans came from Kir.' From our present point of view, since it is the king of Asshur (= Meluhha) who is the conqueror of Cusham, we cannot doubt that 'Kir' lies beyond Cusham towards the centre of the great N. Arabian kingdom. Like 'Koa' (קוע, Ezek. xxvii. 33) קיר probably comes from one of the popular corruptions of ירחמאל. The name 'Jerahmeel' under various corrupt forms existed in all the various districts where Jerahmeelites resided. Cp. on ix. 7.

i. 6. עצה seems to be the name of some strong Jerahmeelite city, such as 'Zarephath.' In 1 Chr. vii. 28, a part of a passage which originally referred to the southern Ephraim, we find mentioned next to Shechem (*i.e.* Cusham), a place (with dependent towns) called עצה. Many of these cities, probably, changed masters from time to time, and Amos speaks of a time when 'Azzah belonged to the Jerahmeelites. It is possible, however (see on v. 9) that Mišsur may be intended. What, then, was the great offence of 'Azzah? It was apparently that its people captured the Israelites or Judahites who had settled in the district called Gilead-ishmael (for גלות שלמה read גלעד ישמעאל, cp. on Ob. 20) to a more distant branch of the Jerahmeelite race, called here אדם (so read for אדרם), and in Joel iv. 6 called the בני היינים.

i. 8. A late insertion, made when the text of v. 5 had been already corrupted. Whether the writer put אשדוד or אשוד (cp. on iii. 9), אשקלון or אשכל, אשקון or אשקל, אשקלון or אשקל, may be left uncertain. At any rate, the Zarephathites were not reduced to a mere 'remnant' in the time of Amos.

i. 9. צר should of course be מצר, the capital of Mušri

(as Winckler first pointed out). The offence of Mišsur being identical with that of 'Azzah, the question arises whether 'Azzah may not be the name of the capital of Mušri, and *v.* 6 a variant to *v.* 9. The 'covenant of brothers' refers to the kinship between Israel and Jerahmeel, and alludes to the period during which the Israelites dwelt among the Jerahmeelites (see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' §§ 4 ff.).

i. 13 ff. The 'Ammonites' are a branch of the Jerahmeelites. Their offence was 'conquering the cities of Gilead, to enlarge their territory.' Read, for קריות, הורות. See on Isa. xiii. 16.—רָבָה should perhaps be רָחֲבֹה; cp. on 2 S. xi. 1, xii. 26, Jer. xlix. 2.—מִלְכָם is a distortion of יִרְחַמָּאֵל, itself an incorrect form of the name of the deity of the Jerahmeelites. Insert כַּהֲנִי (⊕, Jer. xlix. 3). So Nowack.

CHAP. ii. 1 f. For שִׁיד read דָּשֵׁן. Cp. ⊕ *κουλία*, though elsewhere דשן is *πιότης*.—וּמַת בְּשֹׂאֵן מִוֶּאֵב. Most improbable. Cp. Winckler, *AT Unters.* 184, who corrects בְּשֹׂאֵן into בָּשֵׁן. The original is more probably כְּוֶשֶׁן (cp. on Nu. xxiv. 17). הַקְרִיֹת possibly comes from a corrupted מַעֲנַת, and so also וּמַת; כְּוֶשֶׁן and מִוֶּאֵב may be variants to מַעֲנַת. This leads up to the supposition that here, as so often, מִוֶּאֵב may be miswritten for מַצֹּר. If so, we have three sections of the oracle devoted to Mišsur.—*V.* 2 now becomes, 'and I will send fire upon Mišsur, and it shall devour the castles of Maacath [Cushan, Mišsur] with battle-cry and sound of horn.' Cp. on שֹׂאֵן, Hos. x. 14.

ii. 6, viii. 6. 'The pair of shoes' (נַעֲלִים) is an endless subject for misapplied learning (see *Exp. T.*, xii. 377 f. [1901]). Read שְׁלֹמִים. See on 1 S. xii. 3, and *E. Bib.*, 'Shoe.'

ii. 10. For בְּמַדְבַּר אַרְבָּעִים read בְּמַדְבַּר עַרְבִים; similarly in *v.* 25. שְׁנָה is a gloss. 'Forty' for 'Arabians' is an example of a not uncommon type of corruption. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3212 (top), and cp. on 2 K. iii. 4.

CHAP. iii. 8 f. For יִרְבָּא read יִרְחַב. For בְּאַשְׁדֹּד read בְּאַשֻּׁר (Wi.) or בְּאַשְׁחֹר; cp. on i. 8. ⊕, *ἐν Ἀσσυρίους*. It is a N. Arabian Asshur (or rather Ashhur) which is meant. Note the ||, מְצִרִים (so point). Point שְׁמֶרוֹן. Of Shōmērōn

(Samaria) a native of a southern city is not likely to have had any exact information. 'Shimron' in the Negeb, as a careful study of the prophets and of 1 and 2 Kings shows, was a place of historical importance. So in *v.* 14, it is the southern Beth-el.

iii. 12. Few passages in Amos have been more misunderstood. Read probably [צָרְפָּתִים] בְּשִׁמְרוֹן היִשְׁבִּים (צ' and א' are geographical glosses); for another view suggested by *vi.* 4, see *Expositor*, 4th series, *vi.* 366. — 15. Marti's correction, בְּתֵי הַבְּנִים, is excellent.

CHAP. iv. 1, 3. פְּרוּת is strange in a personal invective; Arabic quotations hardly help us. הַבְּשֵׁן, as elsewhere, should be כְּנִשָּׁן. Possibly פְּרֹת (= אִפְרוּת) is a variant to כְּנִשָּׁן. In this case either שְׂרוּת (princesses) or בְּנוּת must have dropped out. The passage has been edited from a false point of view.—הַחֲרוֹמוֹנָה has not yet been explained (cp., however, *E. Bib.*, 'Harmon'). From our present point of view, however, the original is clear; it is יְרוּחַמְאֵלָה, 'to Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* to captivity in some part of the great N. Arabian dominion. See on *v.* 27. Before, read וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּן, 'and ye shall be driven.'

CHAP. v. 25-27. In *E. Bib.*, 'Amos,' § 13, the conclusion is reached that *v.* 26 is a later insertion (cp. Wellh., Nowack), which took the place of a passage which had become illegible, and the case of *Isa.* x. 4*a* is adduced as parallel. We have, however, been able with much probability to restore the original text of *Isa.* x. 4*a*, and by applying the same methods we ought to be able to restore that of *Am.* v. 26. סְנוֹת and נִיוֹן, מֶלֶךְ, צֶלֶם, and אֱלֹהִים are groups of letters which may often arise by corruption out of other groups, and כֹּנֵב in one well-known passage (*Judg.* v. 20) is suspected to have arisen similarly. And the very passage (*Ezek.* viii. 3, 5) which has not unplausibly been adduced (see *E. Bib.*, col. 749) to confirm the view that נִיוֹן is the name of an adopted Assyrian deity, can also quite regularly be restored without having recourse to Assyriology. Referring the reader, therefore, to the books and articles mentioned in *E. Bib.*, col. 153, and adding *Muss.-Arnolt*, *Exp.*⁽⁶⁾ ii. 414-428; *Amer. J. of Phil.* viii. 270; and *Driver*, *Joel and Amos* (Cambr. Bible), 189 *f.*, we may

venture with the fullest confidence to propose this as a near approximation to the original text—

הובחים ומנחה הגשתם-לי במסעדי ערבים בית ישראל:
ונשאו אתכם מענת וירחמאל וקן וישמעאל: והגלתי אתכם
ירחמאלה אמר יהוה וגו':

'Do ye offer to me sacrifices and offerings in the festivals of Arabia? Then Maacath and Jerahmeel and Kain and Ishmael shall take you away; and I will carry you into exile to Jerahmeel.' Cp. *E. Bib.*, cols. 3211 *f.*, and 3860, note 3. The confusion between 'forty' and 'Arabia' has here been fatal to exegesis (see on iii. 10). The sacrifices referred to are those offered in the sanctuaries of the Negeb, where the ritual was either wholly or in part Jerahmeelite. Bethel, Gilgal, Beersheba, Dan, Shimron were the chief of these sanctuaries, and the 'festivals' (cp. *vs.* 21, 23) there celebrated must have been of a splendid order. The natural punishment was that the Israelites should be carried into exile to the very centre of Jerahmeelite life, far from the purer cultus maintained in Canaan. Cp. especially iv. 3. י מעדי for מדבר and ע, י and ר confounded. מענת = סנות, as Ps. lx. 8, etc. מלך and אלהי[ם] = ירחמאל, as very often. קן = כיון (Ezek. xxiii. 14, Ps. lxxiii. 20). ירחמאל = כוכב (Judg. v. 20, Nah. iii. 16, see notes). אשר = עשיתת לנם, a gloss. ירחמאלה = מהלאה (cp. Jer. xxii. 19).

CHAP. vi. 1. בציון. Nowack candidly expresses a doubt of this word. His reason, however, is not quite sound. There was nothing to hinder a prophet of the Negeb (and such Amos is) from referring to Judah as well as Israel, because both sections of the race of Israel occupied parts of the Negeb. The difficulty is in the combination in || lines of Zion and שמרון, for, as elsewhere, we are bound to point שמרון. From our point of view it is plain that ציון must cover over some place-name of the Negeb. It might represent צידון, which (like צור) is a common disguise of מציר. But Mišsur was not in the hands either of Israel or of Judah. Like צאן (see on vii. 15), צאנן (Mic. i. 11), צען (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43), and צין (see *E. Bib.*, 'Zin'), the ציון of Am. vi. 1 most probably comes from ישמעאל, which, as by this time the reader will have discovered, is used as a synonym

of ירחמאל, *i.e.* the Jerahmeelite Negeb. See parallel in Ob. 21.—נְקָבֵי רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם, 'the illustrious of the first of the nations'? A strained expression! Read probably (comparing Isa. xlvi. 1) הַג' הַנְּקָרָאִים. There may perhaps be an allusion to Num. xxiv. 20, where 'Amalek,' or rather 'Jerahmeel,' is expressly called רֵאשִׁית גּוֹיִם. The people here called הַג' הַנְּקָרָאִים are the Israelites in Jerahmeel, who have intermarried with the Jerahmeelites, and may not unfairly (like Jerusalem in Isa. xxix. 1) be themselves called 'Jerahmeel' (cp. on Judg. xx. 2). This leads on to a plausible correction of the phrase which even Nowack sees to be corrupt—וּבְנֵי לָהֶם. This may be (cp. ירחמאל = אלהים), and surely ought to be, ירחמאלים; continue מְבֵית יִשׂ. Thus we get, 'that call yourselves the first of the nations, Jerahmeelites of the house of Israel.'

vi. 2. The difficulties of this verse have been fully set forth by Nowack, Driver, and G. A. Smith. They are diminished by admitting that Shimron in the Negeb, not Shōmērōn or Samaria, is referred to in *v.* 1. The historical difficulties arising out of the history of the Assyrian conquests then disappear, for it is the conquest of city after city in the Negeb by the Asshurites (of Meluhḥa) in one of the Asshurite invasions that is referred to. Also the difficulty that both Israel and Judah were greater than any of the cities mentioned in *v.* 2 disappears, for it is Ishmael and Shimron, not Zion and Shōmērōn, that are mentioned in *v.* 1. Still the passage does somewhat interrupt the flow of the discourse, and seems to be a later insertion suggested by Isa. x. 9-11. For חַמַּת רֶבֶה read probably עָרֵב ה'; חַמַּת is really a popular corruption of מַעֲנֵת (vi. 13 *f.*). כָּלְנוּ = כָּלְנָה in Isa. x. 9 (*i.e.* 'Jerahmeel').

vi. 3. מְנַדְּרִים and שְׁבַת חָמָם are clearly wrong, nor is רַע to be expected in this context. ה' ש' reminds us of the נִסָּא הָיָה of Ps. xciv. 20, which conceals a reference to the Cushites. Elsewhere ש' and ה' represent צַרְפַּת and נָשָׁם respectively; רַע לִירֵם would be a perfectly regular corruption of ירחמאל. The most difficult word is הַמְנַדְּרִים. G's εὐχόμενοι suggests מְנַדְּרִים. If this were right, we should have 'ye that vow [to] Jerahmeel.' More suitable would be הַמְתַּגְּרִים; then בִּירְח', and in *b* נָשָׁם בְּצַרְפַּת.

That is, 'Ye that go to war with Jerahmeel, and oppress Zarephath-Cusham.' In *v.* 13 two other cities recently taken by the Israelites are mentioned by name.

vi. 5 *f.* The impossible פרושים should probably be מוֹמְרִים; ט and פ may both represent מ, ו fell out. For וַיִּשְׁמְחוּ לָהֶם לְקוֹל שִׁיר ב' read על-תף ונבל; and in *δ* שיר לקול להם. Cp. *v.* 23, Isa. *v.* 12, Job *xxi.* 12. קול miswritten became [כדוד]. 'But they are not sick (at heart) for the ruin of Joseph.' The context rather suggests 'Ishmael' (see above, on *v.* 1), *i.e.* יוסף (יסף) probably springs from 'ישמ', the abbreviation of ישמעאל. So in 1 K. *xi.* 28 (Jeroboam), Ps. *lxxvii.* 16 (see notes).

vi. 13 *f.* Grätz, Wellh., etc. read לא דבר and קרנים, two names of cities (cp. *E. Bib.*, cols. 2810, 4314, note 5). But 'Lodebar' is a very odd name; probably it comes from Beth-gilead (לא דבר from גילעד), see on 2 S. *ix.* 5. A place in the southern Gilead is meant. In Josh. *xiii.* 26 we find 'Lidebir.' The same place is meant; in its original form Josh. *xiii.* 25-27 appears to have referred to the Negeb. 'Karnaim,' like 'Mahanaim' (the same place perhaps), seems to be one of the popular distortions of 'Jerahmeel' (cp. on Gen. *xiv.* 5). Possibly the same place is referred to in *v.* 2 (see note).—מענת חמת means מענת (v. 2), and the נחל referred to is very possibly the נחל ערב, a stream regarded as the boundary of non-Israelitish Arabia. Cp. on 2 K. *xiv.* 25, 28.

CHAP. vii. 1*c.* The supplementary definition of time is surely superfluous; every Israelite would know when the ש grew (Now.). Hence Now. would assign *v.* 1*c* to a glossator, and N. Schm. (*E. Bib.*, 'Scythians,' § 4) holds that the original form of the gloss had, not גוי המלך, but מלך גוי or גוי המלך; cp. *Θ*, καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς γαγγ ὁ βασιλεύς. The former of these alternatives has MT. against it; גוי המלך can be defended, but hardly מלך גוי. 'Gog the king' might have originated in a reminiscence of a corrupt form of the text of Ezek. *xxxviii.* 2. It is more likely, however, that גוי המלך arose out of גוי המלך [גוי] than that the reverse process took place. It is also one result of the present researches that the number of glosses in the traditional text has been much exaggerated. The probability is that some-

thing more was said about the גּוֹבִי. The true reading may be יהִהְיֶה יֶלֶק וְאַרְבָּה וְגֹם וְחָסִיל (ה and ב, מ and ס may be confounded). The four names of locusts correspond symbolically to four N. Arabian ethnics (see on Joel i. 4, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Locust,' § 3). The glossator's view was not at all absurd; the so-called 'Gog' was really 'Jerahmeel,' and the Jerahmeelite invasion anticipated in Ezek. xxxviii. *f.* was merely the closing invasion of a series. The fear of Jerahmeel may almost be said to dominate most periods of Israel's history.

vii. 9 *f.* 'The *bāmoth* of Isaac,' a very suggestive phrase; Isaac, whose name (יִשְׁחָק, *vs.* 9, 16) may come from Ashhur (אַשְׁחֹר), was the patriarch of Beer-lahai-roi (Beer-jerahmeel) and Beersheba. These are, at any rate, among the 'sanctuaries of Israel.' The name of Israel reminds us specially of Shechem and Bethel (see *E. Bib.*, 'Jacob,' § 6). Now 'Shechem' comes from 'Cusham,' and 'Bethel' is the southern place of that name. So, too, throughout Amos the southern Bethel is meant. The 'house of Israel' (*v.* 10) means the Israel in the Negeb (cp. on vi. 14*b*). It is from its territory in the Negeb that Israel is to be led away captive (vii. 11). Apparently Jeroboam, king of Israel, was at this time at Shimron, which (see on Hos. viii. 6) was probably not far from Beth-el or Beth-on; Shimron was frequently resorted to by the kings of Israel. Of Bethel, Amaziah says that it was 'a royal sanctuary' (מִקְדַּשׁ-מֶלֶךְ הוּא). 'A royal sanctuary' (Wellh., Now., etc.) is of course grammatically possible, but we shall perhaps see (on 1 K. xii. 29 *f.*) that Jeroboam really made only one 'calf of gold,' and placed it at Beth-el or Dan. Amaziah adds, וּבֵית מַמְלַכָּה הוּא. This can hardly be a mere paraphrase of מִקְדַּשׁ מֶלֶךְ הוּא. In 1 S. xxvii. 5 עִיר הַמְּלִיכָה, and in 2 S. xii. 26 עִיר הַמְּלִיכָה are rendered by German translators, 'die Hauptstadt,' or 'die Residenzstadt.' But in the former passage הַמְּלִיכָה and in the latter הַמְּלִיכָה seem to be corruptions of יְרוּחַמָּל (see notes). And so here. 'בֵּית מַמְ' adds something fresh to מִקְדַּשׁ מֶלֶךְ, viz. that Beth-el is 'the house of Jerahmeel.' (This confirms the theory [*E. Bib.*, col. 2619] that 'Bethel' is a broken-down form of 'Beth-jerahmeel.') That the worship of יְרוּחַם (Yarham, *i.e.* יְרוּחַ 'moon,' with

mimmation) was practised at the southern Beth-el, is altogether probable. Ahab built a 'house of Baal' in Shimron (1 K. xvi. 32, see note), which Jehu is said to have destroyed (2 K. x. 27). But is this statement historical? At any rate, we learn from another record (in 2 K. x. 29) that Jehu clung to the cultus reinstated at Beth-el by the first Jeroboam, so that, even if Ahab's sanctuary at Shimron was destroyed, the older temple at Beth-el remained, and the deity worshipped in both temples was the same. The Baal of Ahab was not even foreign to Canaan; still less was it foreign to the Negeb. The popular cultus of Baal-jerahmeel could not therefore be destroyed. It had, of course, its own prophets, and Amos, the prophet of Yahwè, was, from Amaziah's point of view, superfluous there. Let him flee to the land where Yahwè was (theoretically) the sole acknowledged deity, and ply his trade there!

vii. 14 f. בוקר and בולם are both difficulties. Can בוקר really mean 'herdsman' (see Ges.-Bu., s.v.)? And is it likely that a herdsman would also be 'one who nips the fruit of the sycomore?' Or that Amos would mention these details to Amaziah? Or indeed that the fine poet whose works lie before us in Amos was either one or the other? It is a very slight palliative to emend בוקר into נוקד (see on i. 1), though the suggestion is natural, for the words do resemble each other, and have a common origin, both being corruptions of [בן-רחמים]. (Now we see whence the author of the heading in i. 1 derived his information.) בולם שקמים can be similarly accounted for. Read בן-ישמעאל מנושם, a gloss on בן-רחמים.—'Yahwè took me from behind the flock'—like David. But, as in 1 S. xvi. 11, 19, xvii. 34 and elsewhere, צאן is a corruption of ישמעאל (cp. on ציון, vi. 1), and אחרי, as very often, of ירחמאל (cp. on Ps. lxxviii. 71). The two words (ירח' and 'ישמ') are competing variants. Read, therefore, ויקחני יהוה [מישמעאל] מירחמאל, 'and Yahwè took me from Jerahmeel' (i.e. from a place so called). The passage does not deny that Amos was an Israelite, but states that before the great national religious interest absorbed him, he had shared the common life of Israelites in the city of Jerahmeel.

CHAP. viii. 8, ix. 5. Nowhere is the confusion between

מִצָּרִים and מִצָּרִים more fatal than here. The passage is really a prophecy of captivity (like iv. 3, v. 26 *f.*); there is therefore no temptation to deny that Amos wrote it. Read (comparing יהוֹטָלִי in Jer. xxii. 28 and the erroneous נִיאר in Isa. xxiii. 10), יהוֹטָלִי ירחמאלה וְנִגְרָשׁוּ נוֹשָׁן וּמִצָּרִים. The scribe had a very ill-timed recollection of Jer. xlvi. 7 *f.* ix. 5, of course, is a mere repetition.

viii. 9. יום אור is unparalleled. Read יום בְּעוֹד יום (cp. Jer. xv. 9).

viii. 10. אֶבֶל יְחִיד. אֶבֶל יְחִיד, as in Zech. xii. 10 (see note), should be ירחמאל. The reference seems to be to some great religious function at the sanctuary of Beth-el or Beth-jerahmeel. Then follows in MT. וְאַחֲרֵיהָ יוֹם מָר. Here יום מר reminds us of יום אָנוּשׁ in Jer. xvii. 16, which = ישמעאלים. Both 'מ' 'ל' and אחריתה evidently come, partly by corruption, partly by manipulation, from ירחמאל. Read, therefore, simply ירחמאל נאבל ושמחיה נאבל.

viii. 14. בְּאַשְׁמַת שִׁמְרוֹן. 'Amos never attacks the golden calf, nor indeed any detail of worship. He will have used some harmless name for the Yahwè of Bethel, which was afterwards corrected' (Wellh.). So much, at least, must be true, that Amos used some divine title which was manipulated by a later editor, and in searching for this title we may take a suggestion from 2 K. xvii. 30, where the men of Bābel (Jerahmeel) worship Succoth [Benoth], *i.e.* Cushith; those of Cuth (Cush) worship Nergal, *i.e.* Jerahmeel; and those of Hamath (Maacath) worship Ashima, *i.e.* presumably, Išmeelith. The first and the third of these deities are the great Cushite or Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite goddess of whom we seem to hear wherever the MT. brings before us בשת as the title of a heathen deity, and when Jeremiah is made to speak of a popular deity called the 'queen of heaven' (see on Jer. iii. 24, vii. 18). Read, therefore, בישמעאלית שִׁמְרוֹן, 'by the Ishmaelite goddess of Shimron.' For דרך, Winckler suggests דִּדְךָ (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 157). In illustration of the reference to Shimron and other holy cities cp. Isa. xxviii. 7 *f.*, the true text of which must run nearly thus—

וְבִשְׁמֵרוֹן תָּעוּ		וְגַם בִּירַחְמָאֵל שָׁגוּ
כְּבָלְעוּ בְיָמֵינוּ		פָּהוּ וְנִבְיָא שָׁגוּ בְשִׁמְרוֹן
: בְּכָל־לְשׁוֹנוֹת יִרְחַמְאֵל		תָּעוּ בְשִׁמְרוֹן שָׁגוּ

'They even commit error in Jerahmeel, they go astray in Shimron. Priest and prophet commit error in Shimron, they go to ruin in Jaman. They go astray in Shimron, they commit error in all the temple-halls of Jerahmeel. (מלאו, קיא, and לי מקום = ירחמאל; ישמעאל = צאה. Cp. מקום = 'ירח, Gen. xii. 8, 2 K. vi. 8, Hos. ii. 1. צו and קו = יש and 'ירח' respectively, Isa. xxviii. 10.)

CHAP. ix. 7. 'Degenerate Israel is no more in Yahwè's eyes than the despised Ethiopians.' But were the Ethiopians despised? At any rate, the presumption is that the nearer Cushites—those of N. Arabia—are meant. That the 'Philistines' came from 'Caphtor' is not proved by Jer. xlvi. 4, and that 'Aram' came from 'Kir' certainly does not harmonise very well with the statement in i. 5. And does not the statement that Yahwè has directed the history of other nations just as much as he has directed that of Israel conflict with the assurance given by Yahwè in iii. 2, 'You alone have I known of all the families of the earth'? Must we not correct thus—חלוא את ישראל הגליתי מארצם וצרפתים מרחבות וארם מירחמאל. The verse thus becomes, 'Are ye more to me than the Cushites, saith Yahwè? Surely I will cause Israel to go into exile from their land, and the Zarephathites from Rehoboth, and Aram from Jerahmeel.' For 'Caphtor,' see on Gen. x. 14; for 'Kir,' see on i. 5.

OBADIAH

IT is hoped that the origin and significance of both parts of Obadiah have been correctly set forth in *E. Bib.*, 'Obadiah (Book).' Part 1 consists of *vs.* 1-14 and 15*b*; part 2 of *vs.* 15*a* and 16-21. Some further light, however, can be thrown on the textual difficulties.—*V.* 5. אִם-שׁוֹדְדֵי לַיְלָה אֵיךְ (not in Jer.) is clearly superfluous. How shall we account for it? The explanation has been suggested by a wider experience of MT.'s errors. For שׁוֹדְדֵי, see note on Ps. v. 9 (שׁוֹרְדֵי); for לַיְלָה, notes on Ps. lxxiv. 16, xci. 5. אִם-שׁ has come from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; יִשְׁמַעְאֵל לַיְלָה אֵיךְ from יִדְחַמְאֵל; נְדַמְיָתָה also from 'יִרְח' (נ, as often, stands for the final ל). 'Asshur, Ishmael, Jerahmeel,' are a scribe's gloss on גְּנָבִים, and should be relegated to the margin.

V. 6. נַחֲפָשׁוּ (as *E. Bib.*) comes from מְחַשְׁבוֹתֶיהָ עָשׂוּ; not from נִשְׁבְּרוּ, but from נִשְׁאָו (Isa. xix. 13). נִבְעוּ מִצַּ' (as *E. Bib.*) probably represents תְּבִינְתֶיהָ נְבִיעָה.—*V.* 7. עַד-הַגְּבוּל. No doubt some place-name or ethnic lies hidden here, probably עִיר יִדְחַמְאֵל, a gloss on 'כָּל אֲנָשֵׁי בֵר' שְׁלַחֲוֹךְ should be סַנְלֹךְ (|| הַשִּׁיאוֹךְ). כָּל יִנְלֹ לֹךְ represents כָּל (twice over).—*V.* 7*b*, according to Wellh., Nowack, and Selbie (*Hastings, DB*), is hopelessly corrupt. Not so. ⚡'s εὐεδρα (מִצּוֹר or מִצְרוּהָ, Selbie) should have put the critics on the scent. Read יִדְחַמְאֵל יִשְׁמַעְאֵל מִצְוֹר וְחֻבּוֹת, again a gloss (as *E. Bib.*). The scribe pleases himself with enumerating the friends and allies of Edom. Note that ⚡ does not represent לַחֲמֹךְ; in fact 'יִש' and 'יִד' are synonyms. *V.* 7 ends with אֵין תְּבוּנָה בּוֹ. Most probably the editor wished to provide a link with *v.* 8, but tried to use up some corrupt material; underneath אֵינְתְּבוּנֹךְ may lie יִדְחַמְאֵל, but we cannot be so sure of this as of the correction of אֵיךְ לַיְלָה (*v.* 5) and of הַגְּבוּל (*v.* 7).

In *vs.* 8 *f.* again the hand of the editor is visible; description has been converted into prediction. Here, too, however, old material may have been used up, and strange as it may seem to those unacquainted with the phenomena of scribal error, it is perfectly possible that the opening words of *v.* 8 are an expansion of two miswritten ירחמאל. Plainly the scribes knew nothing of the doings of the N. Arabians; the interest of the Jews was not in history but in religion. After this editorial recast had been made it was natural to alter אבדו (which was probably the original reading) into האבדתי. One may, however, perhaps ask whether אבדה הנמה should not be restored, following the suggestion of Jer. xlix. 7. מִקְטֵל at the end of the verse is not a gloss on מַחֲמָס; such superfluous glosses are not to be thought of. Grätz (*Gesch.* ii. 66) would read מִיִּקְתָּאֵל, 'from Joktheel'; see 2 K. xiv. 7, where Grätz supposes the city of Petra to be referred to. The identification of 'Joktheel' with Petra is an error (see *E. Bib.*, 'Joktheel'), but the correction shows insight. There is the strongest probability that both יק' in 2 K. and קטל here are corruptions of ירחמאל. A scribe wrote מירחמאל as a gloss on מהר עשו. In his own time the old Mount Jerahmeel had become the 'mount of Esau'; cp. the gloss 'mount of Esau' for 'Negeb' in *v.* 19*a.*

Vs. 10 *f.* לעולם may perhaps, as elsewhere, represent ירחמאל. ביום comes from עֲרָבִים; on its second occurrence follows, *i.e.* ישמעאל מצור ירחמאל, 'Ishmael, Mišsur, Jerahmeel'; this is a gloss on ערבים. Read, therefore, ערבים עמדו מנגד. The || line should probably be וירחמאלים יבוסו עריך. On MT.'s נכרים, see on Isa. ii. 6. בוא and בוס can be confounded (Isa. xli. 25); besides, the ש in שערו may represent ס. The next line should be, ועליך ישמעאלים ילעיגו. ישמ' and יר' are now and then confounded (*e.g.* Zech. xii. 11); on ילעיגו גורל, see on Ps. xxii. 19. כאחד מהם presupposes a false view of *v.* 11, which describes the calamity briefly referred to in וְנִכְרַתָּ (v. 10). כאחד מהם is an editorial insertion (from *v.* 13); נכירחמאלים which has come in from the margin. There it not improbably stood as a correction of נכרו (v. 12).

V. 12. נכרו, like נכרים, represents ירחמאל or ירחמאלים, a variant to ביום, *i.e.* [נ]ערבים. Read, ואל־תָּרָא [ב]אחריך.

[נ]ירחמאלים. Here the writer throws himself back into the time of Edom's great offence, of which the calamity impending over him is the retribution (*non debuisses*). He sees Edom joining the other neighbouring peoples in triumphing over unhappy Judah, and deceiving and capturing its fugitives. Those very peoples will now assemble to mock at Edom's distress. For ביום אבדם read כערבים, and for ביום צרה read כמצרים (*צרה*, *i.e.* מצור, is a correction of ביום, *i.e.* ערבים). For ואל-תגדל פך read ואל-תלעיב בפך (הגדיל and הולעיב, often confounded).

V. 13a (*a* and *b*) are variants to v. 12a; they should run, אל-תרא גם-אתה (א), and אל-תרא נישמעאלים [כערבים] (ב).—V. 13b continues v. 12. Read ואל-תסכל נבהליו כערבים. MT. is grammatically impossible, and no weak remedy will produce an adequate sense.

V. 14. על-הפרק. 'Was פ' bedeute, weiss man nicht' (Wellh.). BDB gives 'parting of the ways'; Ges.⁽¹³⁾ 'Scheideweg.' ἐπὶ τὰς διακβολὰς αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν). The word is one of the non-existent words still recognised in dictionaries. In Nah. iii. 1 it is supposed to mean 'Gewaltthat' (Ges.⁽⁸⁾ Nowack), 'Gewalt' (Wellh.), 'Mord' (Hitzig), 'die in Sicherheit gebrachte Beute' (Ges.⁽¹³⁾), 'plunder, as snatched away' (BDB). This, however, is a pure assumption. Almost certainly, as in Isa. lxv. 4, פרק should be מרק, *i.e.* ירחמאל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem').

V. 19. Of vv. 19b, 20, and 21a Wellh. remarks that 'the text suffers again and again from incurable injuries,' though the general sense of v. 20 can be seen, *viz.* that the exiles of N. Israel and those of Jerusalem (who are distinguished) shall receive their respective shares of the new provinces of the Messianic kingdom. This, however, is a mistake. It may seem indeed to be supported by v. 18 in which the 'house of Jacob' and the 'house of Joseph' are spoken of, but there is reason to think that 'Joseph' originally meant one portion of the Israelite population in the Negeb. The 'Jacob' and the 'Joseph' who are to be brought back are the Judahites and Israelites who had formerly occupied the region of the south. The Negeb, which had formerly been the 'mountain-land of Jerahmeel' (a name not obnoxious to the Israelites, who were themselves of the old Jerahmeelite

stock), had become 'the mountain-land of Esau,' and the Shephelah had been occupied by the Philistines. This evil should now be remedied, for the house of Jacob and of Joseph should occupy the Negeb and the Shephelah. (את-הור and את-פלשתים are glosses; Wellh.) To understand what follows, we must build on results won elsewhere; *i.e.* it is the southern Ephraim, Shimron, Benjamin, and Gilead which are spoken of. בנימן should probably be coupled with שמרון.

V. 20. It is tempting to emend וגלת into ונחלו. This would enable us to start a fresh sentence, and ונחלו would form a perfect parallel to ירשו (*vs.* 17, 19). But coming just after גלעד, it is most critical to regard גלת here (as in Am. i. 6) as a corruption of (a dittographed) גלעד, especially as the next group of letters החל has most probably come from חרחל, a corruptly written ירחמאל; cp. אחרחל = ירחמאל, in an Ashhurite genealogy, 1 Chr. iv. 8. Thus we get the reading גלעד ירחמאל, 'Gilead of Jerahmeel.' It should be noted that three out of the five occurrences of חל, *viz.* Ob. 20, Isa. xxvi. 1, 1 K. xxi. 23, are liable to much doubt. In Isa. xxvi. 1, for instance, read 'To be had in reverence (נערץ) is our God; he has delivered us from Ishmael' (השיענו) [מישמעאל (מירחמאל)]. (מישמעאל לבני ישראל appears to be superfluous; perhaps, however, הוה, which precedes, comes from תהיה. If so, we get the statement, 'And Jerahmeelite Gilead shall belong to the sons of Israel.' אשר כנענים comes, according to parallels elsewhere, from גלת ירושלם, ארץ קנזים from גלעד ישמעאל, a variant to ירחמאל. Similarly אשר בספרד = ארץ ק' עד צ', a variant to ארץ צרפתים. Cp. Ⓞ, γῆ τῶν Χαναταίων, and (for בספרד) ἕως Ἐφραθα, and see *E. Bib.*, 'Sephad.' ירשו הנגב is a dittographic expansion of גלעד הנגב (*v.* 19).

V. 21. מושעים, 'unintelligible' (Now.). Read ישמעאלים. The whole clause should run, 'ועלו בהר ישמ'; ועלו represents some popular corruption of ישמעאל. So in Am. vi. 1; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zion.' המלכה should, of course, be ירחמאל (see on Am. vii. 12); possibly, too, ליהוה should be ליהודה. See on Zech. xiv. 8b, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Obadiah [Book], § 5-

JONAH

WE have little to do here but develop and supplement *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' § 44, comparing, however, 'Jonah, Book of.' Our starting-point must, of course, be 2 K. xiv. 25, where it is stated that Jeroboam II. 'recovered the territory of Israel from the entrance of Maacath to the Yaman of Arabia, according to the word of Israel's God, Yahwè, which he spoke through his servant the prophet . . .,' and in *v.* 28 that he 'recovered Cusham and the Maacath of Jerahmeel for Israel' (see *Crit. Bib.*). It was a portion of the Negeb and of the adjoining land of Cusham that Jeroboam 'recovered' for Israel, and the prophet who announced this was, like most of the prophets, himself a man of the Negeb. יִרְנָה, as in Jer. xxv. 38, xlvi. 16, l. 16, Zech. iii. 1, comes from יִרְנָי, 'Javanite,' (*i.e.* Jamanite = Jerahmeelite), and אֲמָתִי from מִעֲבָתִי, 'Maacathite.' 'Gath-hepher' must have been a southern locality; 'Hepher' was a son of Ashhur (1 Chr. iv. 6); the land of Hepher was regarded as Cushite (see on 1 K. iv. 10, and *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 6). See also *E. Bib.*, 'Eliphelet.' The Gath-hepher of Josh. xix. 13, like the other names in the list, was probably drawn from a geographical document relative to the Negeb. All this explains how Jonah came by his name and by his interest in the Negeb; we presuppose, of course, the correctness of the general view of the course of Israelite history required by our textual criticism, and summed up elsewhere. The story in the Book of Jonah is, in fact, most probably a Midrash on 2 K. xiv. 25, explaining how the capital of Jerahmeel escaped destruction. It states that the prophet Jonah (Yevānī) had a mission to the city

of Jerahmeel, *i.e.* the capital of Cusham—a mission such as Elijah or Elisha is elsewhere represented to have had. From Gath-hepher he 'went down' to יפיע (Japhia)—for so we should read in *v.* 3 for יפו (Japho = Joppa!), and joined himself to a caravan (read, not אַנְיָה, but אַרְיָה) which happened to be going to Asshur,—not in order to escape from Yahwè's territory, but to fulfil his mission. If so, מלחים was originally ירחמאלים. The story of the tempest and the lot-casting may have once had an independent existence, and referred to some other person than Jonah; it looks much like folk-lore (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jonah,' § 5). The 'great fish' seems an editorial addition in the style of the reference to the dragon in Jer. li. 34, 44; it implies the favourite dragon-myth. בינרה, as in Nah. ii. 9, iii. 7, Gen. x. 11 *f.* comes from ירחמאל; the Jerahmeelite or Cushite capital is meant. In iii. 3 the editor fell into much error. He thinks that the story represents Nineveh as a city of the past (היתה), and, as it were, supernaturally large (גדולה לאלהים); it was a 'three days' journey,' Jonah himself only went a single day's journey in it. But, as in Gen. x. 12 (cp. also Judith i. 1), עיר גדולה comes either from גלעד, 'city of Gilead,' or from עיר ירחמאל, 'city of Jerahmeel'; the latter origin is favoured by לאלהים, which certainly comes from ירחמאל (a gloss); מהלך and ימים also represent corruptions of that word, and שלשת (numerals are apt to conceal ethnics!) comes from a variant ישמעאל. Similarly in iii. 4 בעיר מהלך יום אחד springs from a corruption of בעיר ירחמאל, and in iv. 5 עיר ירחמאל = מקדם לעיר (a gloss on מן העיר). We now understand how it was that 'Jonah' was so respectfully treated in the foreign city. Yahwè was well-known in Cusham, as the story of Elisha shows (2 K. viii. 7 *ff.*). See *Crit. Bib.*, 'Jonah, Book of.'

We now turn to the inserted psalm. In ii. 6 סוף חבוש is odd and certainly corrupt. Parallel corruptions elsewhere justify us in reading צרפת ישמעאל אשור; it is a gloss on the figurative expression 'the waters.' (חבוש ל) represents ישמעאל; cp. *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. xxvii. 24, where חבושים = ישמעאל. In *v.* 10 read with Grätz אומרה, and see on Ps. liv. 8.

In the rest of the book only two new corrections occur.

In iv. 8 רוח קדים קרישית is undeniably difficult. Probably we should read [שיחורית] רוח ירחמאל, 'a wind of Jerahmeel [a Shihorite].' A wind of Jerahmeel means a sirocco. 'Shihorite' (= Asshurite, אַשְׁחַרִית) is a gloss. Cp. on Jer. iv. 11 *f.*, where 'a wind of the desert of the Zarephathites' is parallel to 'a wind of Jerahmeel.' See also *E. Bib.*, 'Wind,' § 4. iv. 11, being parallel to iii. 3*b*, must also be corrupt. The key to it is given, partly by that passage, partly by Gen. x. 11 *f.* (see note). Beautiful as the moral sentiment is, we must give half the credit of this to the editor; the original writer would never have used the strange expression found here for 'young children,' and how improbable a conclusion for the narrative is וּבְהֶמָּה רָבָה! The true and highly effective close of the story is, 'And should not I have pity on Jerahmeel?' The words underlying the sequel are, first, עיר גלעד. Then come three further definitions, first, ישמעאל אשר רחבות צרפתים; then, ירחמאל אשר בין ימין [ישמעאל] לרחבות, אשר רחבות ארם; then, אשר רחבות ארם; then, אשר רחבות ארם. The fullest is the last, 'between Jamin (cp. ארץ ימיני, 1 S. ix. 4) and Rehoboth.' ישמעאל for יש-בה and רחבות for בהמה and רבה (the latter representing a correction of בהמה) are easy corrections. For בהמה = 'ר', cp. *Ps.*⁽²⁾ on Ps. xxxvi. 7.

MICAH

CHAP. I. 1.—The heading in its present form gives two alternative definitions of the present ‘word of Yahwè,’ viz. (1) ‘that came to Micah the Morasthite in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,’ and (2) ‘which he saw concerning שִׁמְרוֹן and Jerusalem.’ According to Wellh. and Nowack, the latter is a later insertion, and the former should be shortened by the omission of ‘in the days of,’ etc. It is also possible, however, that the later editor partly rewrote the heading in order to bring in the chronological statement referred to, and that the original heading was of the type represented by Isa. ii. 1, *i.e.* that it ran thus,—דָּבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר חָזָה מִיכָה הַמֹּרֶשֶׁתִּי עַל-שִׁמְרוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַם. The title מֹרֶשֶׁתִּי (cp. Jer. xxvi. 18) apparently rests on tradition. But where was Moresheth? If we are right in holding that the subject most present to the minds of Amos and Hosea was the fate of the Israelites (and Judahites?) in the Negeb, we may well consider the possibility that the fate of the Judahites in the Negeb (both Israel and Judah seem to have occupied parts of this region) may have shared the interest of Micah with the fate of Zion or Jerusalem. The only way to get a satisfying insight into Micah is to assume that this was indeed the case. Hence in i. 1 we shall have to read שִׁמְרוֹן (cp. on Am. iii 9, iv. 1), and to look for Moresheth (whence *moraštî*) in the Negeb.

i. 5-7. Throughout the prophets we see that the greatest danger to the religion of Israel and of Judah arose from Jerahmeel. Hence ‘what is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Shimron?’ Cp. Am. viii. 14, where the true text may have referred to the ‘Ishmaelitish’ goddess

worshipped at Shimron. 'And what is the sin of the house of Judah? Is it not Ishmael?' Here we read of course *הטאת בית יהודה* (with Kuenen, Wellh., Now.); also we correct *ירושלם* into *ישמעאל* (cp. Jer. iv. 15-17; these two names are elsewhere confounded). Still more accurately, however, we might read *ירחמאל*; 'Ishmael' and 'Jerahmeel' were obviously interchangeable. By 'Jerahmeel' some great religious centre in the Negeb is meant; cp. on 2 K. xxiii. 8, Jer. ii. 34, iii. 24, from which passages it is clear how awful the 'sin' practised at Jerahmeel was. The sin of Shimron, too, was black enough in the eyes of Micah, as *v. 7* shows; it only lacked the added horror of the sacrifice of children.

i. 8-16. A lament over the fall of the cities (probably) of the Negeb, which is the prelude to the fall of Jerusalem. *V. 10* has been much discussed; see *E. Bib.*, 'Gath,' 'Giloh.' From our present vantage-ground, however, we can perhaps see more clearly than before into some of the obscurities of the text. *V. 10a* has long perplexed interpreters, nor does *⊗* (see Now.) give any real help. Probably we should read thus,—*בגת אל תגילו באשכול תבנו*. *בגת אל תגילו* (Elhorst, Wi.) is suggested by Pesh.; *ד* and *ל* are easily confounded. The *גת* intended may be Gath-hepher, certainly a southern locality (see on Jonah, *ad init.*). 'Gath' means 'winepress'; with a bitter humour the prophet says, 'In Winepress-town exult not.' An exact parallel is produced by reading, for *אל*, *באשכול*, *באשכול*. *Eshcol* (as if 'grape-cluster') was in the Negeb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Negeb,' § 7); possibly it comes from 'Eshkol,' and this from 'Ishmael' (*ט* and *ק* confounded). The *עפרה* spoken of was Ophrah, which appears to have been a place in the Negeb within easy distance of the city of Cusham (this depends on the correctness of the view that the scene of the original story of Gideon was in the Negeb; see on Judg. vi. 11). 'Shaphir' (*v. 11*) comes either from 'Shamir' (Josh. xv. 48), which the original document used by P very possibly placed in the mountains of the Negeb (see *ad loc.*), or from 'Sepher' or 'Sopher,' attested by *קריית ספר*, which, however, may be a corruption of *ק' צרפה*, 'city of Zarephath.' 'Zaanan' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Zaanan'), according to analogy, should come from 'Ishmael.' The corruption was no doubt very early.

Another form of the name is 'Zenan'; see Josh. xv. 37, where 'Zenan' is grouped with 'Hadashah' (? from 'Ashhur'), Joktheel (from 'Jerahmeel'), and Lachish (? = Eshcol). In *v.* 12 'Maroth' should be 'Jarmuth'; cp. Josh. xv. 35, where it is followed by 'Adullam' (from 'Jerahmeel'?) and 'Socoh' (rather 'Cushah'?); cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jarmuth. 'Jarmuth' (cp. 'Jeremoth') is doubtless connected with 'Jerahmeel.' On *v.* 13 cp. *JQR*, x. 576 *f.*; note, however, that לריש here, as in 2 K. xviii. 14, is probably a popular corruption of אשכול (Eshcol). It is true that 'Eshcol' has already been referred to in *v.* 10 (corr. text). There, however, it was only mentioned in order to produce a *jeu de mots*, whereas here there is a much more serious purpose. 'It (Eshcol) is the chief sin for the people of Zion.' How? Because of the fascination exercised by the sanctuary of Eshcol on Israelite pilgrims. The expression suggests that 'Eshcol' (Ishmael?) was closely connected with the southern Bethel (also called Dan?), where Jeroboam placed the 'golden calf' (see on 1 K. xii. 28-30).

i. 14 *f.* מורשת גת. Possibly גת should be בת, and ציון has dropped out. Because Eshcol was the prime occasion of sin to *bath-siyyōn*, therefore thou, O *bath-siyyōn*, shalt have to bid farewell to Moresbeth (see *E. Bib.*, 'Morasthite'). Moresbeth, or rather Morashah, appears to be another form of Mareshah, adopted to suggest the meaning 'betrothed.' Read perhaps in *v.* 15—

עַד-מָאֲרֵשׁ אֲבִילָךְ יוֹשְׁבַת מְרֹאֶשֶׁת
עַד-יְרֻחַמְאֵלִים גְּבוּא נְבוּד יִשְׂרָאֵל :

The writer anticipates that the Israelites (Judahites?) in the Negeb will be carried captive into N. Arabia (cp. iv. 10, Am. iv. 3, v. 27). That the Mareshah of this passage and of 2 Chr. xiv. 9 *f.* (cp. *E. Bib.* 'Zephathah') is in the Negeb, is not a bold supposition.—אֲכִזִּיב. Cp. Josh. xv. 44, Achzib and Mareshah together; Gen. xxxviii. 5, נִזְיִב (a place-name) connected with Shelah, b. Judah; 1 Chr. iv. 21 *f.*, Mareshah and Cozeba (פְּזֵבָא) similarly connected. Cozeba is also connected (in 1 Chr. *l.c.*) with מְרֹאֶשֶׁת, or more probably with מְצַר (cp. כּוּרִי, bath-[Mis]sur, Num. xxv. 15, 18). We may conclude that Achzib (Chezib), like Mareshah, was in the

Negeb.—עדלם, most probably = ערלם or ארלם = ירחמאל or ירחמאלים. See on I S. xxii. 1.

CHAP. ii. 4-6. I fear the restoration in Nowack will hardly stand; historical allusions are indispensable, and parallel cases of corruption ought to put us on the right track. In *v.* 4 ימיר איך is almost certainly from ירחמאל; ישיש לי and לשובב from ישמעאל. Read—

יחלק אדמת ירחמאל | ישמעאל שדינו יחלק;

In *v.* 6 there are also indications of ethnics, but the passage cannot be restored till we rightly understand *v.* 8. Assuming the restoration of *v.* 8 given in the next note, we may read *v.* 6 thus, הלא תפשו עם ירחמאל ביה יעקב, 'do ye not go on raids with Jerahmeel, O house of Jacob?' The accusation is that unpatriotic Israelitish nobles in the Negeb join their Jerahmeelite neighbours in making raids on Israelitish territory. אל-טיפו . . . יטיפו is made up by the redactor out of a dittographed and corrupt form of הלא תפשו. נלמות, לאלה, and האמור arose quite naturally out of corrupt forms of ירחמאל; לא יסג probably comes from ישמעאל. *V.* 7 is probably an editorial insertion; it breaks the connection.

ii. 8. The current explanations are vague and unsatisfactory. Read probably nearly as follows—יִרְחַמְאֵל, 'לאויב יקום עם-ישמעאל תפשו עם-ערב טבח תשבו', 'And when Jerahmeel arises as a foe, with Ishmael ye make raids, with Arabia of Tebah ye make captives.' From Gen. xxii. 24 we may infer that Tebah (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tebah') was near Maachah. This view of the passage suits *v.* 9 perfectly. Note that ירחמאל has become אתמול, as in I S. x. 11, Ps. xc. 4. אדר is probably a fragment of ירחמאל, an intrusion from the margin; מלחמה is another attempt to make sense of a badly written 'ירח'.

CHAP. iii. 12. For לבמת ירחמאל read לבמות יער. The meaning is, the mountain of the temple shall indeed retain its sanctity, but the *numen* of the spot shall be no longer Yahwè but Jerahmeel (see on Zeph. i. 5). יער, like יעיר (Jair) and the second part of קרית יערים, is a corruption of ירחמאל. So in vii. 14.

Note that the description in iv. 8-10a, v. 9-14 [10-15]

forms a connected passage (post-exilic) in our revised text. See *E. Bib.*, 'Micah,' col. 3072.

CHAP. iv. 8. ואתה מגדל-עדר עמל בת-ציון. The meaning is obscure. According to Wellh., 'it is presupposed that Jerusalem is no longer a city, but only a "tower of flocks" in the desert, or a hill where a city was once situated.' But what an extraordinary way of conveying this idea! If, however, we take the passage in connection with Gen. xxxv. 21 (see *ad loc.*), and with other prophetic passages in which the destruction of the N. Arabian peoples (representing the foes of Israel) is anticipated, we may probably read thus—

וְאֵתָהּ [מְגִדֵּל עֶרְב] יִרְחַמֵּאל בַּת-צִיּוֹן צָרִיף אֶתְהָּ וּבָאוּ יִשְׁמַעֵאֵלִים
וְאַשּׁוּרִים לְבַת-יְרוּשָׁלַם :

'And as for thee, O Jerahmeel [Arabian fortress], Zion's people—thy foes will I bring, and the Ishmaelites and the Asshurites shall come to the people of Jerusalem.'

It is a prophecy of an attack upon Jerusalem by the combined peoples of N. Arabia. Jerusalem is called 'Jerahmeel,' perhaps alluding to Isa. xxix. 1 *f.* (see *ad loc.*). To explain his meaning, the writer adds *bath-siyyon*. The suggestion is that Jerusalem is no better than a Jerahmeelite city, or, as the gloss suggests, than an Arabian fortress; morally as well as historically, 'thy father was an Amorite (Jerahmeelite),' Ezek. xvi. 3. G's insertion ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος (preceding τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰερουσαλημ) has not yet been adequately accounted for. The underlying מבבל fits perfectly well into the revised text, 'the Ishmaelites, etc. shall come from בבל,' *i.e.* from Jerahmeel.

iv. 10. Wellh. remarks, 'These two verses (*vs.* 9 *f.*) which seem to be antithetical to *v.* 8 (note עתה), nevertheless do not join on to it. For they presuppose that Jerusalem is still inhabited and that the kingdom still exists; they prophesy the siege of the city and the exile of its inhabitants.' The revised text of *v.* 8, however, permits the antithesis which *vs.* 9 *f.* in the MT. seems to Wellh. to disallow. Read probably, as *v.* 10a—

חֹלֵי וְהִגִּי בַת-צִיּוֹן כִּי־לָדָה כִּי עֵתָהּ תִּצְאִי וְשָׁכַנְתְּ בְּשָׂדֵה יִרְחַמֵּאל :

‘Writhe and groan, O people of Zion, for now must thou go out and dwell in the highland of Jerahmeel.’

The reader may perhaps surmise that מקריה (⊗ ἐκ πόλεως) has been overlooked. Not so; it is really a corruption of ירחמאל, and should stand after בשדה. This is one of those cases in which editorial manipulation has succeeded in producing a text, not, indeed, perfectly satisfactory, but yet plausible enough to escape being suspected. Nowack remarks, ‘קריה, although without the article, is of course Jerusalem, and as opposed to residence in the city, dwelling in the field (ושכנת בשדה) points to the fact that the Jerahmeelites are now given up as a prey to the inclemency of the weather, the attacks of wild beasts, and the like.’ This, however, puts undue pressure on the words. There is a call for a keener textual criticism. The possibility that קריה (like קיר) may come from ירחמאל, must be admitted. If, now, we suppose that, after corruption had taken place, the word was transferred by the editor to a different position, and that originally it stood after בשדה, we can dispense with the forced explanation of מקריה and ש' בשדה offered by Nowack, and bring the passage into harmony with the context (*v.* 8), as explained above. Whether גדי for הגי is an adequate correction, is an insignificant and subordinate point. The ἀνδρίζου (ἔγγιζε) of ⊗ must be based on a different but not more correct text.—There remain the words, וְנָאֵת עַד-בְּבֵל, which Kuenen, Wellh., Nowack, and in 1882 the present writer, have excised as an interpolation. Most probably, indeed, they are so, but like the מַבְּל presupposed by ⊗ in *v.* 8 (see above), they fit quite well into the context (בבל = 'ירח').

iv. 10 *b*-14, *v.* 4 *f.* [3 *f.*] seems to be an editorial insertion, telling how the Jews, while on Jerahmeelite soil, will be delivered, and how the Ishmaelite plunderers will suffer a crushing defeat at Zarephath (*E. Bib., l.c.*).

iv. 14 [*v.* 1]. A much misunderstood passage! Nowack renders the opening words, ‘And now cut thyself, O daughter . . . (?)’ As to תתגרי, it is surely best to read גרוד; תתגרי has not arisen through dittography, but is a corruption of גלעד (Gilead in the Negeb). *V.* 14*b*, Nowack thinks, refers to the shameful treatment in store for the king. But surely

the smiting the judge of Israel on the cheek with the stick comes in rather strangely, especially after 'he has laid siege against us.' Read the whole verse thus—

עָתָה תִּתְגַּדְרִי בֵּת גִּלְעָד [מִצְוֹר יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים] בְּצָרְפַת וְנֹו עַל-הַלְחִי
אֶת-פִּשְׁטִי יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל :

'Now stir thyself, O people of Gilead [Mišsur the Ishmaelites]; at Zarephath they shall smite the raiders of Ishmael on the cheek' (cp. Ps. iii. 8). Here, however, the bracketed words are misplaced; they should stand as marginal glosses on 'the raiders of Ishmael.'

יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים for עָשָׂם עֲלֵינוּ is surely not difficult (מ = נו). צָרְפַת for שֶׁבֶט, as in Am. i. 5; cp. שַׁפַּט (Shaphat) also from יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל for יִשְׂרָאֵל. Cp. on Isa. xxx. 31.

CHAP. v. 1 [2]. בֵּית-לָחֶם אֶפְרָתָה. The key to this is supplied by Gen. xxxv. 19, xlvi. 7, Josh. xv. 59a (⊗), where the gloss, 'that is, Bethlehem,' attached to 'Ephrath,' is quite correct. Cp. Ruth iv. 11 (Ephrathah and 'Bethlehem' parallel). Both Ephrath and Bethlehem (Beth-jerahmeel) are names of the Negeb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rachel's Sepulchre,' a). ⊗, however, has Βηθλεεμ οἶκος Ἐφραθα, i.e. 'Bethlehem, Beth-ephrath,' two alternative readings, of which Beth-ephrath is probably the more original. Read, therefore, ואתה בית אפרת, and continue (with Hitz., Wellh., Now.) הצעיר באלפי יהודה.

וּמוֹצְאָתוֹ מִקְדָּם מִיְמֵי עוֹלָם. It is usual to compare iv. 8, i.e. to parallel the prophecy of the future מַשְׁלָה by that of the future מוֹשֵׁל. The 'ruler' intended is a new David, who, in 'antiquity,' in 'the days of yore' proceeded from Bethlehem. The 'מוֹצָא' would be the points from which a genealogy springs. This seems to be right, so far as the new David and his birthplace are concerned, but the closing words of v. 1 are not explained by comparing iv. 8 (corrupt), but should be read מִירְחַמְאֵל 'וּמוֹצָא', and (= in fact) his goings forth (= his *origines*) are from Jerahmeel'; this is a gloss on מִמָּקֶד לִי יֵצֵא. Both קדם and ימי עולם are easy corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵל.

v. 4 f. וְהָיָה זֶה שְׁלוֹם אֲשֶׁר. Does this mean, 'and this one shall be peace,' or 'and of this kind shall be the peace?' In either case, וְהָיָה זֶה שְׁלוֹם gives no additional fulness to the

sense; it reads very awkwardly. The truth is that וזה ש' should be וזה ישמעאל (cp. the same error in Isa. xxvi. 3, xxxiii. 7, Zech. ix. 10), *i.e.* 'that is, Ishmael'; it is a gloss on אשור (note the Pasek after 'א). For בארצנו read בקערינו; ארץ and עיר are often confounded. The alternative is to change בארם into באדמתנו (Θ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ὑμῶν), which Now. adopts (cp. *v.* 5).

שבעה רעים ושמןה נסיכי אדם; Now. finds here the *chiaroscuro* of the apocalyptic style. Better explanations may, however, be offered. (1) Comparing בסני צפון, Ezek. xxxii. 30, where צפון is certainly the name of a region, one is tempted to read either נ' אדם, or ב' אדם, and consequently to correct שבעה רעים into שבעה שרי ירחמאל (ירח' for רעים, as Am. i. 3, Zeph. ii. 6). The meaning of *vv.* 4 *f.* will be, 'When the king of Ashhur invades the land of Israel, the Israelites will instigate subject leaders of Jerahmeel and Edom to carry war into the Ashhurite land, and so deliver the holy land from the presence of its once dreaded foe.' But why should 'seven' and 'eight' be introduced? Here is a mystery for the critics. (2) More probably both שבעה and שמונה are corruptions of ישמעאל, while נסיד comes from כושן, and אדם from ארם. Read עליו ירחמאל וכושן (omitting ישמעאל, twice, and ארם as glosses).—For פתחיה read תרתחים (javelins); see on Ps. lv. 22.—Read הצילונו (cp. Wellh.).

v. 7. Should we not read ויהיה אל שארית? As the drops of fine rain upon the grass, so is the supernatural 'dew' from Yahwè upon the remnant of Israel. Cp. Isa. xlv. 3. Note Pasek after ויהיה, and see *E. Bib.*, col. 1095 (foot).

CHAP. vi. 1-8. In the rhetorical style of Deut. Cp. Ps. lxxx. 6-17 (corr. text). Post-exilic. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3073.

vi. 4 *f.* Explained in *E. Bib.*, col. 3073, note 2. Improving what is there given in some points, read (for 'ח, cp. Ex. xvii. 13)—

כי העלתיה מארץ מצרים ומבית ערבים פדיתיה ואחלש לפניה
את-ישמעאל [ירחמאל]:

For בית ערבים, see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 11. ירחמאל, which

is here enclosed in brackets as a variant, corresponds to אהרון and מרים in the text. The first scribe wrote 'ירח' twice over, and his successor miswrote the two representations of the word in such a way, or what he wrote became so indistinct, that a final editor made out of what he found in his text אהרון ומרים.—In *v.* 4 מן השטים עד-גלגל is also doubtless due to an editor. The true words, which must originally have stood in the margin as a gloss on את-ישמעאל or את-ירחמאל, may have been מן-הצרפתים עד-הגלעד (see on Num. xxv. 1), and have indicated that the conquests referred to in *v.* 4 (ואחלש) extended over the country between Zarephath and Gilead, both places or districts in the Negeb. The Negeb, together with Cushan, appears to have been the first region attacked by the Israelites after their departure from Mišsur or Mišrim (see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' §§ 17 *f.*).

vi. 7 *f.* 'The reference to the most awful kind of sacrifice [cp. on Jer. ii. 34] in vi. 7 seems to be as purely rhetorical as that to "rivers of oil." The writer may have gone on to say that Yahwè took no pleasure in any sacrifice but that of obedience, and that if that had only been rendered, Yahwè would have delivered his people from the Arabians [cp. Ps. lxxxii. 17], *E. Bib.*, col. 3073.—In *v.* 8 אלהים should be אדם. יהצנע לכת is more difficult to correct. Elsewhere צנע only occurs in the passive part., Prov. xi. 2 (corrupt?). ἔστωμιον εἶναι τοῦ πορεύεσθαι. Very strongly must one question הצנע. Even if purely moral edification were intended, yet the uncommon word צנע would not be chosen by this rhetorical writer. It would, in this case, be best to read יהשמיע מלאלת אלהך (cp. Ps. lxxiii. 28). But is this a correct view of the intention? *V.* 4 *f.* places us among the N. Arabians; so also does *v.* 7, with its reference to child-sacrifice (cp. on Jer. ii. 34). Strongly moral psalms like Pss. xiv., xv. refer to one special religious offence among the post-exilic Jews—that of falling away and blaspheming Yahwè (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾). Surely we must read וכלת מנאצי אלהיך. The person addressed is, not an individual Israelite, but the people. Is this a purely ideal programme? One can hardly venture to bring this passage down to the early Maccabæan period.

vi. 16. The apparent reference to the 'statutes of Omri'

and 'all the works of the house of Ahab,' have been held to point with certainty to the pre-exilic period, though it is by no means easy to give a clear explanation of these phrases. There can hardly be a doubt, however, that עמרי is a corruption either of אָדוּם or of אַרְמִים, and בֵּית-אֲחָאב of בֵּית-יִרְחֵמָאֵל. The חֻקוֹת are the laws of a religion, whether that of Yahwè or of the Jerahmeelite Baal. It is those of the latter which are here meant. The passage points to the time when the Shimronim (not the 'Samaritans') exercised great religious influence on the post-exilic Jews.

CHAP. vii. 11-13. By the old methods very little light can be thrown on this passage (see Wellh., Now.). It would seem, however, that by noticing the habits of the scribes, and by comparing parallel passages already corrected,¹ a very probable text can be restored. Omitting words repeated or misplaced (partly in a corrupt form), such as יוֹם הוּא יוֹם, יוֹם הוּא יוֹם (= יִרְחֵמָאֵל), וְעַדִּיד (= גְּדֻרֵיךָ), וְהָרָה וְהָרָה (= וַיִּבְנֶה), we get—

בְּיוֹם הַהוּא לְבָנוֹת גְּדֻרֵיךָ יִבְנוּ לְמַנְי אֲשׁוּר וְעַדִּי מִצּוּר וְלְמַנְי מִצּוּר
וְעַד נְהַר יִרְחֵמָאֵל :

'In that day they shall come to build thy walls from Asshur (Ashḥur) to Mišṣur, and from Mišṣur to the stream of Jerahmeel.'

Compare Isa. xxvii. 12 *f.*, Zech. ix. 10, Ps. lxxii. 8. The 'stream of Jerahmeel' may be that also known as 'the stream of Perāth' (Gen. xv. 18, 2 K. xxiii. 29, xxiv. 7, Jer. xlvi. 2, etc.), *i.e.* 'of Ephrath' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' col. 3573, note 5). It is the return of the Jewish exiles from the N. Arabian regions on the S. of Palestine which is here foretold. Cp. *v.* 13 with Joel iv. 19.

vii. 14. יַעַר בְּתוֹךְ כְּרַמִּל. It is very probable, says Now., that the territories in Palestine assigned to the exiles on their return were the uncultivated regions which those who had taken the places of the exiles had not cared to occupy. These regions, according to him, are here called יַעַר; he renders the MT., 'who dwell solitarily in the wilderness in the midst of the fruitful land.' But surely if *bāshān* and

¹ It so happens that this portion of *Crit. Bib.* was done subsequently to Isaiah, Zechariah, and Pss. i.-lxxii.

gil'ād are names of regions, the presumption is that *karmel* is so too. Now it can be made (to say the least) extremely probable that כרמל is a popular corruption of ירחמאל, and that in a number of passages בשן (Bashan) is a corruption of כשן (Cushan), also that there was a southern as well as a trans-Jordanic Gilead. יער still remains to be accounted for. Most probably, as in iii. 12, it is a corruption of ירחמאל. If so, we may neglect it as a virtual anticipation of the ירחמאל underlying כרמל.

vii. 17. Correct the text as in Ps. xviii. 46 (2 S. xxii. 46). See *Ps.*,⁽²⁾ *ad loc.*

NAHUM

PROF. BUDDE (*E. Bib.*, 'Nahum') remarks that the second part of the heading agrees with the headings of Isaiah and Obadiah, and almost with the true title of Habakkuk, if we regard ספר (*sēpher*) as an editorial insertion. He also holds that 'Elkosh,' the prophet's home, was probably, but not certainly, in S. Palestine. We have, however, already had so much evidence that the chief object of prophetic denunciations (outside of the prophets' own people) was N. Arabia that we can venture upon more definite solutions of the problems of the heading than those of Prof. Budde. *נינוה* (ii. 9, iii. 7) comes from מלרַח = רַחמַאל [י], the name given by the Jews to the capital of the chief N. Arabian power. Cp. on ii. 9, Jon. i. 2. ספר (as probably in קרית-ספר and in ספרת) comes from צרפת, and אלקשי from אשכול (*i.e.* Elkosh should be Eshcol, see on Mic. i. 8-16). נחום (Nahum) is parallel to רחום; in Neh. vii. 7 נחום corresponds to the רחום in Ezra ii. 2. Both names are S. Palestinian; cp. the one with Naḥamani; the other with ירחם = רַחמַאל. Thus the composite heading becomes, 'Oracle of Jerahmeel [Zarephath]. Vision of Nahum the Eshcolite.'

CHAP. i. 4*b*. The first אמלל is certainly a corruption of ירחמאל (cp. אמללים, Neh. iii. 34); so also is נרמל. The opening word was probably דל (so G. B. Gray, cp. Isa. xix. 6); which fell out through its resemblance to the closing letters of אמלל. אמלל should be נשן. Read, therefore, דל ירחמאל ונשן; cp. Am. i. 2*b*.

i. 9*b*. Ⓢ οὐκ ἐκδικήσει δις ἐπιτοαυτὸ ἐν θλίψει = לא יקם פעמים יחד בצרה. Not impossibly M's צרה and Ⓢ's

spring from בַּמֶּצַר, and ⚔'s יַחַד from בִּירְחֻמֶּאֵל, to which בַּמֶּצַר may be a variant. In fact, the enemy on whom, once for all, Yahwè will take vengeance may equally well be called Jerahmeel and Mišsur (both names archaic).

i. 10 *f.* The latest critic (W. R. Arnold, *ZATW*, 1901, pp. 225-265) reads נֶקֶשׁ יבֹשׁ יבֹשׁ, 'thickets ever so drenched, they are consumed like dry stubble,' *i.e.* 'though they be as the vegetation of a swamp, the fire of his wrath burns them as straw.' Even the editor did not mean this; much less the poet. In our sore need ⚔ helps us again. Instead of כִּסְבָּאִים it presupposes וְכִסְבָּלִיל, for ὡς σμίλαξ is a corruption of ὡς λείμαξ = כִּשְׁבָּלִיל, which in the present context is almost certainly a corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. The particle of comparison, however, seems a dittographic insertion (note כ in סִבְכִים) both here and in נֶקֶשׁ (*v.* 10*b*). Now as to מְלֵא, for which Wellh. would read הֶלֵא (prefixed to *v.* 11) and Gunkel יִבְלֵא. As in Gen. xxiii. 9, Jer. iv. 12 it seems to have been a fragment of יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל. יֹבֵשׁ, as elsewhere, represents יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, קֶשׁ comes from נוֹשׁ, אֲנָלוּ from יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל, סִבְכִים from אֲשׁוּרִים (but ⚔ יִסּוּדוּ) from אֲשׁוּרִים, חֲשָׁבִים. In *v.* 11 מִמֶּדֶּן יִצָּא is very improbable (see Nowack). מִמֶּדֶּן, like the preceding מֵלֵא, represents יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל; יִצָּא seems to be a (preferable) variant to יַעַן; בְּלִיעַל, both here and in ii. 1 and in 1 S. x. 27, comes from יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל. We now get a much more possible text of *vv.* 10, 11, viz. כִּי עַד יִצָּא יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל אֲשׁוּרִים חֲשָׁבִים עַל-יְהוָה רָעָה יִצָּא יִרְחֻמֶּאֵל 'for the Asshurites still devise evil against Yahwè; Jerahmeel has come forth' (*cp.* ii. 1). 'Ishmael, Jerahmeel, Cush [Ishmael],' is inserted as a gloss on אֲשׁוּרִים.

i. 12. ⚔ begins, τάδε λέγει κύριος κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν. A welcome confirmation of our general view, for κατ. ὑδ. π. = מִיָּם רַבִּים מִשָּׁל. That מִשָּׁל in such a context = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, we know from Isa. xiv. 5, xlix. 7, lii. 5; that שָׁל can equally mean this, may be seen from Am. i. 6, 9, Mic. v. 4. Render, 'Even if the Ishmaelites are many, yet shall they be cut off' (יִגּוּר, see on Hab. iii. 17).

CHAP. ii. 1. בְּלִיעַל; see on i. 11.—*V.* 2. *Cp.* *E. Bib.*, 'Iron,' § 2; 'Shoes,' § 3. The extent of the corruption, however, has perhaps been under-estimated. For בְּרוּשִׁים ⚔ gives οἱ ἰππεῖς = פְּרָשִׁים. Beside הֲרַעְלוּ, which is surely no

word for the movements of horses, and may perfectly well come from **ירחמאל**, does it not seem probable that **ברושים** (cp. on **שרב** in Isa. xlix. 10) or **פרשים** (cp. on Isa. xxi. 7) represents **צרפתים**? **מגן**, too, may represent an ethnic (**קנו**, see on Ezek. xxiii. 23 f.), and elsewhere in the same verse there may be corrupt fragments of **ירחמאל** and **ישמעאל** (note **אנשי**, which, like **שנאי**, is a current corruption of **יש**, and **מתלעים** = **ירחמאלים**)? Lists of hostile peoples are found in the Psalms, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

ii. 7. For **ההיכל** read probably **ירחמאל**.

ii. 8 f. Read probably **וְצִרְפַּת הַקְּלָתָה**. Possibly **אמהתיה** comes from **מַעְרָתִים**. The corruption is easy, and the connection with 'Zarephath' natural. For **מנהגות** read **מנהמות** (cp. Pesh.), see Ezek. xxiv. 23; and for **על-לבדוקן** read **מַעְרַפַת יְרוּחַמָּאֵל** (a gloss; Maacath = Jerahmeel).—**M** **היא** **היא**; **Ⲙ τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῆς**. Surely the original had **ירחמאל**, a gloss correcting **ניורה** (see on heading).

ii. 14. For **בְּעֵשֶׂן** read **בְּאֵשׁ** (similarly Isa. ix. 17).—**M** **מְלֶאכְכָּה**, an impossible form. Read perhaps **ירחמאל**. 'The voice of Jerahmeel (cp. Isa. xxxiii. 19) shall be heard no more.'

CHAP. iii. 1 f. The connection is not satisfactory. At first sight it appears as if the writer were still in the same circle of ideas as in ii. 11-13. But who will say that, 'Woe to the city of bloodshed' is naturally followed by 'Hark, the whip, and the noise of wheels'? Surely the name of the city is required. Now **דמים** in Ps. v. 5, li. 16, lv. 24 is a mutilated form of **אֲדָמִים**; **אֲרָמִים** would, of course, also be text-critically possible. What we want *here* is **עִיר אֲרָמִים**; after this a brief statement of its guilt might justifiably follow, such as **נלח כחש**, 'it is altogether lying,' with reference to Jerahmeel's disregard of its brotherly relation to Israel. P. Ruben would read after this **פרץ מלאה**, cp. Ass. **פרץ**, 'to lie' (Del. Ass. HWB, 544b), and see on Ps. xvii. 4 (**פריץ**), and in v. 3 he regards **מַעְלָה** as a gloss on **מלאה**. Experience, however, suggests a fuller though necessarily a bolder remedy for the difficulties of the text. **לא ימיש** certainly comes from **ישמעאל**; it is not uncommon for the final **אל** in words like **ישמעאל** to be corruptly prefixed (as **לא**) to a corrupt form of **ישמע**. **יש** is

evidently a gloss on ארמים. But 'ש' cannot stand alone. Other ethnics or place-names must accompany it. טרף (suggested by ii. 13) comes from אַמְרָת, in the southern Ephrath (see on Gen. xxxv. 16). There remains פּוּק מִלְאָה. 'פ' might conceivably mean 'plunder,' but this (see on Ob. 14) is a pure assumption. מִלְאָה and מִלָּה are both recognised fragments, in a corrupt form, of יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. As for פּוּק, we have already (Isa. lxxv. 4) found this word miswritten for מוּק, which existed in an earlier form of the text as a corruption of יִרְחֻמָּאֵל (see on Ob. 14). Such a combination of two corrupt fragments of the same ethnic is common.

iii. 7. הַחִיטְבֵי מִנְּה אָמוֹן. See on i. 1.—8. נינוה, *νενεθη*. The view which has become traditional identifies No-amon with the Egyptian Thebes. Prof. W. M. Müller (*E. Bib.*, col. 3427) considers this to be distinctly indicated by *v.* 9a, though he adds that the description in *v.* 8 (see his translation) is less favourable to the identification, and suggests that the prophet imagined Thebes to have been like many cities of the Delta, *i.e.* situated on the plain on an artificial mound, surrounded by canals. Brugsch, feeling the same difficulty, identifies the city with a place in the NE. of the Delta, where the god Amen once had a temple. Both these scholars suppose אָמוֹן to represent the Egyptian Amon or Amen, the name of the local god of Thebes. Elsewhere, however, criticism most unexpectedly discourages the idea that the old Hebrew writers took any special interest in Egypt, and in Jer. xlvi. 25 'Amon-minno,' and in Ezek. xxx. 15 'Hamon-no' (cp. Hamon, Hamonah, Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15 *f.*), are most probably expansions (due to the editor who manipulated an already corrupt text) of עֲמוֹן = יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. But then, it will be asked, what is to be made of the description of the watery rampart of No-amon 'that was situate among the Nile-branches'? The answer is that the text is, from any critical point of view, not entirely in order, and that, using the experience we have already gained of the habits of the scribes, we can be sure that the present text is an expansion of a very different text which referred to N. Arabia. Nor is it an unimportant confirmation of this view that in Am. vi. 2

הטובים corresponds exactly to התיטבי here. The agreement hardly needs further development; 'Calneh' in Am. *l.c.* (and 'Calno' in Isa. x. 9) designates the same city which is here called in MT. No-amon. It was, in short, one of those cities whose names ultimately go back to 'Jerahmeel,' not of course the עיר ארמים of *v.* 1, the ירחמאל of *v.* 7. All that is genuine in *v.* 8 is the opening clause מנא אמן התיטבי, or rather (for מנא is dittographic, and התיטבי has accidentally expelled a group of similar letters which seems originally to have followed it) התיטבי מרחבות ירחמאל. It was a Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian city called Rehoboth, whose sad fate is described in *v.* 10. And there is some probability in the view that the barbarities attending the capture of the same city are referred to in Hos. x. 14, where רה[בה] בית ירח' or בית ירחמאל should certainly be either רה[בה] בית ארבל. The destruction of Beth-jerahmeel or Rehoboth-jerahmeel by the N. Arabian king Shalman seems to have produced a deep impression on the Israelite mind. Cp. also on Am. i. 13. Now as to the addition to the brief but telling question, 'Art thou better than Rehoboth-jerahmeel'? It begins with הישבה ביארים. This is almost certainly a corruption of ישמעאל ירחמאל, *i.e.* 'Ishmael, Jerahmeel,' two glosses on the obscure נא אמן (or the form which may have preceded this). Then follows a series of conjectural attempts to read the already corrupt groups of letters which came to represent ישמ' ירח'. מים, חיל ים, מים, and חומתה represent ירחמאל; סביב לה represents ישמעאל. We shall find many parallels.

iii. 9. מצרים פוט probably comes from פרת, גלעדים = לודים from לובים. See on Gen. x. 6, 13.

iii. 15^b 16^f. 'תאכלך נילק.' 'After the || imperatives read of course הרבי פשט.' So Wellhausen; Nowack, as usual, follows. But this is not at all penetrating criticism; experience points in quite another direction. The second תאכלך certainly is dittographic and should be omitted. But the rest of *v.* 15^b, and also *v.* 16^a, are simply an expansion of הקרבית ירחמאלים נארבה וצופתים גובי. It is not denied that ילק is the name of a kind of locust, but its presence here is due to corruption of ירחמאל (or עמלק, cp. on Joel i. 4). The other corruptions ought soon to become plain.

For רכל, see on 1 K. x. 15 ; for כּוּכַב, on Judg. v. 20, Am. v. 26 ; for שָׁמַיִם, Judg. v. 20, Isa. xlvi. 13, etc. ; for פֶּשֶׁט, cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shaphat'); for מְנוּרִיךְ, cp. on Isa. xxxiii. 13 (מְגַדְלִים); for טַפְסָרִיךְ, see *E. Bib.*, 'Pathrusim.' וַיַּעַף would not be clear, but for פֶּשֶׁט = פַּת which precedes it. The passage may be restored thus, with all the repetitions, יִרְחַמְאֵל הַרְבִּיּוֹת יִרְחַ' הַר' נְאוּבָה הַרְבִּיּוֹת יִרְחַמְאֵל יִרְחַ' יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים יִרְחַ' צִרְפַּת יִרְחַמְאֵלִים נְאוּבָה וְצִרְפַּתִּים נְגוּבֵי יִרְחַ'. Paul Ruben, it is true, acutely emends מְנוּרִיךְ into מְגַדְדִיךְ, an Ass. loan-word (*mindidu*, 'measuring-clerk') parallel to טַפְסָרִיךְ. See *E. Bib.*, 'Scribe,' § 4. This is plausible upon a conservative view of the historical reference to the prophecy. Still, it is probable that טַפְסָר in Jer. li. 27 is corrupt, and the best view of the reference of this prophecy and of Isa. xxxiii. is not the conservative one. Ἐ's ὁ σύμμακτός σου may be = עֵרְבַךְ, a variant to נְאוּבָה.

iii. 18. According to W. R. Arnold, מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר is a clumsy interpolation, originally a gloss to רַעִיד. Another doubt concerns נָמוּ and יִשְׁכְּנוּ (ἐκοίμισεν = הִשְׁכִּיב). For the latter Now. reads יִשְׁכְּבוּ, Wellh. יִשְׁכְּנוּ, 'sleep,' thinking of the sleep of death (Now.) or of carelessness (Wellh.). But נָמוּ (as in Ps. lxxvi. 6) should be נָמוּ, מֶלֶךְ represents יִרְחַמְאֵל, יִשְׁכְּנוּ אֲדִירִיךְ comes from נוֹשֵׁן וְעֵרְבִים. The whole verse becomes, 'Thy companions have fled, O Asshur ; thy people are dispersed on all the mountains, and there is none to gather them.' 'Jerahmeel, Cushan, and the Arabians' is a gloss on רַעִיד. The Jerahmeelites have already been referred to as the allies of the besieged people. Asshur, of course, is a N. Arabian people still called by this name archaistically. For a probable allusion to *v.* 17*b* see on Ps. cix. 23.

HABAKKUK

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH (*Prol.* 84; *Ass.* *HWB* 281) connects the name with *Ass.* *ḥambakuku*, the name of a garden-plant. If, however, the centre of the prophets was in S. Palestine, where the Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian element was strong, we need not be afraid of the conjecture, supported by the occurrence of מַחֲקֵק for יִרְחַמְאֵל in Ps. lx. 9, that חַבְקוּק, like בַּקְבוּק and בַּקְבִּיקָה, Ezra ii. 51, Neh. xi. 17, has arisen out of some corruption of יִרְחַמְאֵל. Whether, however, this was the prophet's real name, is quite uncertain; his father's name, at any rate, is not given.

CHAP. i. 4. Nowack views the closing words as a late insertion. But מַעֲקֵל is a corruption of יִרְחַמְאֵל. The underlying text of *v.* 4 is not otherwise clear.

i. 6. For הַנְּשֻׁדִים read הַנְּשֻׁשִׁים. The epithet נִמְהָר awakens suspicion. Neither 'rash' (Isa. xxxii. 4) nor 'anxious' (Isa. xxxv. 4) will suit here, and there are parallels for the view that both הַמֵּר and הַנְּמָהָר come from some other underlying word. What that word is, can hardly be doubtful. Read simply הַגִּבּוֹר יִרְחַמְאֵל, which is a gloss on נְשֻׁשִׁים.—8. M עָרַב. Rather עָרַב or (as Jer. v. 6) עֲרִבוּת. עֲרִיבָה. Ἐμίχθη 'Aπαβλῆσ. Nowack rightly reads וְקָלָר מִזֹּאבֵי עֲרַב פִּרְשִׁיו, but he points עָרַב, whereas Ἐ should rather be followed. He also regards מְרַחֵק וְבָאוּ as an editorial patch, suggested by the dittographed פִּרְשִׁיו. These words, however, have doubtless sprung from some corruption of מְרַבְּבוֹתָיו (cp. Jer. iv. 17).

CHAP. ii. 3. It is usual to suppose that the 'vision' which is to be written down is contained in *v.* 4. But the truth seems to be that a part of it exists in *v.* 3. לֹא יֵאָחֵז (like אָחַז and אַחֲרִים elsewhere) comes from יִרְחַמְאֵל. 'Though

it linger, wait for it; for Jerahmeel will surely come.' The inscription, thus read, has the historical colouring which the || passage, Isa. viii. 1, entitles us to expect.

ii. 5. For הַיִּיִן Mr. H. W. Robinson suggests הַיִּיִּי, 'the Greek.' The emendation is probably right, but הַיִּיִּי may be presumed to mean, not 'the Greek,' but 'the Yamanite,' i.e. 'the Jerahmeelite.' All that Wellh. suggests for the 'impossible' הַיִּיִּי is הַיִּי, but he leaves וְאֵף כִּי unaccounted for. Ⲙ κατοϊόμενος (κατοινούμενος or κατονωμένος). At v. 4 a fresh section appears to begin.

ii. 16 f. M יהֶרְעֵל. Ⲙ, however, presupposes יהֶרְעֵל (καὶ σείσθητι); so Aq., Vg. Kimhi and some moderns (e.g. Wellh.) prefer this. But experience shows that both יהֶרְעֵל (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem') and הֶרְעֵל (see on Nah. ii. 4) may be corruptions of יֶרְחֵמַל. The presumption that here too this is the right reading is overpoweringly strong. Cruelty to the northern Lebanon is only a possible ground of complaint, if that Lebanon was occupied at this time by men of Judah, and in no case is it conceivable that the ruthless destruction of animals was represented as the cause of the fall of an empire. It is the cruelties attendant on the capture of a city, or cities, that must be meant, and the event referred to is probably the capture of Rehoboth-jerahmeel (= Beth-jerahmeel), a place in the Negeb (see on Nah. iii. 8, 10, Jer. xxii. 6 ff., Hos. x. 14). לְבָנוֹן will be the southern Lebanon which we have met with elsewhere (see e.g. on Jer. xxii. 20, 23). יִדְוֶתָּן is usually corrected into יִדְוֶתָּךְ (cp. Ⲙ, πτοήσει σε). But the remedy appears too easy, nor is the parallelism produced satisfactory. It is better to read וְשֶׁדֶר יִדְוֶתָּן יֶרְחֵמַל. The final letter in יִדְוֶתָּן represents ל. For the correction of בְּחֵמֹת cp. on Jon. iv. 11.

CHAP. iii. A psalm ascribed to Habakkuk. The pious community speaks, pleading for a renewal of the wonders of the Exodus from Mis̄rim. The heading (cp. *OP* 156 f.) shows that the piece originally stood in a collection of psalms. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the subscription in v. 19 originally belonged to the heading. Surely it is rather either a part or the whole of the heading of the psalm which followed in the collection referred to. Cp. the על-מֹרֶת in Ps. xlvi. 15, and see Nestle, *ZATW* xx. 168 [1900].

שגינות. Probably an error for שמינית, *i.e.* ישמעאלים (cp. שמן, from 'ישמ', Isa. x. 27). See *E. Bib.*, 'Shigionoth,' and introduction to *Ps.*⁽²⁾

In *vs.* 3, 9, 13, we meet with סלה. The first and third are geographical glosses on תימן and מצור (disguised as צואר) respectively. The ירחמאל in *v.* 9 was perhaps a variant to the preceding ארם = אמר. The scenery is Jerahmeelite, N. Arabian; on a Jerahmeelite Teman, see on Judg. iii. 8.

iii. 2. בקרב שנים is variously explained (see Now., who paraphrases 'in the midst of the years of the child who is now gray-haired'), but is surely corrupt. Read ישמעאל בקרב ישמעאל. The community is in captivity (cp. *Ps.* lxxvii. 2 in *Ps.*⁽²⁾, and see below on *vs.* 10 *ff.*).

iii. 3. After ἐξ ὄρους Φαραν, ⚙ adds κατασκίου δασέος, *i.e.* perhaps מצל שער, which would come from ישמעאל שער, two glosses (cp. on Ezek. xxxi. 3). סלה = ירחמאל follows (see מצל, preceding note).

iii. 4. Read perhaps—

וְנִגְהוּ כְאֹר חַבִּיתִי
בְּרָקִים מִיַּד יְמִינִי
לְשִׁמְאֵלוֹ חֲצִי יְהִלְכוּן :

Cp. *v.* 11. קון does not mean 'a ray of light'; as in Ex. xxxiv. 29 we should read ברק. See *E. Bib.*, 'Horn.' Ruben (*JQR*, 1899, p. 452) has already seen that שם (MT.) or שם (Hitz., Wellh., after ⚙, Aq., Sym., Pesh.) represents a substantive. But surely ושם and לו must be taken together.

iii. 7. 'One of the finest expressions in any literature of the passage of evil tidings through the tremulous East' (G. A. Smith, *Exp.*, Jan. 1903, p. 9). But the text is surely corrupt, and the corrections adopted by Nowack from Perles (*Anal.* 66) appear to need these three additions. (1) אהלי should be הִקְלִי (see on *Ps.* xv. 1); (2) יריעות should be אַרְמְנוֹת (see on Jer. iv. 20); (3) ארץ מדין should be מצור (cp. צר beside צידון, Joel iii. 4, both corruptions of מצור; also מדין for מצור, Ex. ii. 15 *f.*). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'On.'

iii. 8. בנהרים, twice, is a considerable difficulty. Grätz and G. A. Smith would change the first into בהרים. The only adequate solution, however, is suggested by the phrase ארם נהרים (see on Gen. xxiv. 10) 'נ' is a corruption of

ירחמאל. The first 'נ' may have been written by an error for נשם. ים in בים also represents 'ירח', or rather ימן (= 'ירח'). אם בנהרים אפך seems to be a variant to אם בים עברתך; it may therefore be omitted.

iii. 10 ff. As Nowack remarks, the author of Ps. lxxvii. probably knew the psalm ascribed to Habakkuk; the parallelism between the two psalms is unmistakable (see above, on v. 2). Ps. lxxvii. 17-20 probably contains an anticipation of the destruction of the foes of Israel, archaically designated 'Jerahmeelites' and 'Miṣrites,' by a second deluge.

iii. 13. For מְשִׁיחוֹ and חֲסִידוֹ. Possibly the error may not be altogether accidental. See on Isa. xlv. 1.—13. For עַד-צוּרָא read עֵיר מְצוּר (on 'Selah,' see above).

iii. 17. וְשִׂדְמוֹת לֹא עָשָׂה אֶקֶל. Even the cautious Nowack admits the difficulty of this; for 'שִׂדְ' he suggests שָׂדָה, which is plainly inadequate. See *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' (Heb.), pp. 121, 198. Read וְסִמְדָר לֹא עָשָׂה אֶשְׂנֵל, 'and (though) the vine-blossom produces no grape-cluster'; cp. on Dt. xxxii. 32.

ZEPHANIAH

THE key at our disposal unlocks some of the secrets of this book in the most satisfactory manner. Zephaniah, in spite of his Jerahmeelite name (an expansion of Ṣaphan = Ṣaphon, see on Jer. i. 13 *f.*), and consequently extraction, which is confirmed by the Jerahmeelite names of his ancestors, is vehemently opposed to the reactionary Jerahmeelite Baal-worship which still survives in Judah. His is a 'strong and significant prophecy' (G. A. Smith), indeed perhaps more so than has been supposed. I have referred here to Schwally as well as Wellhausen for his long and learned article on Zephaniah in *ZATW* x. 165-240 [1890]. He is certainly right in questioning the supposed reference to the Scythian invasion which Wellhausen (*Kl. Pr.*⁽³⁾ 154 *f.*) accepts. See *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' § 40.

CHAP. i. 3. Wellh. remarks (1) on the 'intolerable repetition' at the end of *v.* 3, which may or may not be due to the author; and (2) on the self-evident interpolation respecting the 'stumbling-blocks with the wicked.' Hardly adequate criticism. As for (1) האדם is almost, or quite, certainly a corruption of ירחמאל, and as for (2) המנשלות is a corruption of המשתחרים (cp. on המכתש, *v.* 11), and רשעים of אשירים (cp. on *v.* 8, ii. 13). Render, 'I will consume . . . the fishes of the sea, and those that prostrate themselves with the Asshurites (N. Arabians), and I will cut off Jerahmeel from the face of the land.'

i. 4. According to Wellh. 'את שאר . . . את שם is suspicious; את שם seems to be a variant of את שאר. There is no question of difference between נמרים and נהנים; the accumulation of names expresses totality.' Schwally, on

the other hand, on account of ⚡'s τὰ ὀνόματα and the parallelism, would read שם את שם twice over! But surely it is now possible to see that שם את שם is a relic of את ישמעאלים (שם, like שמן, often represents 'שמ', cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shem'), that נהרים comes from ירחמאלים (cp. on 2 K. xxiii. 5), and כנזים from קנזים (cp. on *v.* 11, Zech. xiv. 21, Ezek. xlv. 9a). Render, 'and I will cut off from this place the remnant of Baal, [and] the Jerahmeelites with the Kenizzites.' Omit 'Ishmaelites' as a gloss.

i. 5. Wellh. remarks, 'That the prophet lumps together the worshippers of the stars and of Milcom, is surprising.' He regards הנשבעים as a (right) correction of the following ורהנשבעים. Omitting the ך, we get the sense, 'those worshippers of Yahwè who at the same time swear by Milcom' (so Hitz.). This is not quite satisfactory. We expect two classes of offenders to be mentioned. Elsewhere (see on 1 K. xi. 5) we have seen that מלכם (Milcom ??) is a corruption of ירחמאל, also that ירחמאל is most probably an expanded form of ירחם, which is ירח, 'the moon,' with the Arabic 'mimmation.' This gives an increased probability to a conjecture of Nestle that for ליהרה we should read לירח (cp. Dt. xvii. 3, Jer. viii. 2, Job xxxi. 26). Render, 'and those that prostrate themselves before the moon, that swear by Jerahmeel'; omit הנש as a scribe's error. Parallel passages, Hos. iv. 15 (end), Isa. xlv. 5 (probably); see footnote on Zeph. v. 3. As a contrast, note Elijah's leniency to Naaman, a worshipper of Yahwè at heart but of Rimmon (rather Jerahmeel) outwardly; see on 2 K. v. 18.

i. 8 f. Why should the 'princes' and the 'king's sons' be mentioned, but not the king? For האשרים read האשרים, and for בני המלך read (as usual) בני ירחמאל. And why 'foreign apparel'? Two ethnics lie concealed under the phrase. Read, as *v.* 8b, ועל כל ישמעאלים וחרנים (cp. on Isa. ii. 6). Again compare Ezek. xlv. 9a, 'No Jerahmeelite or Asshurite shall enter my sanctuary,' and see on 2 S. v. 8. It was, according to 1 S. v. 5, a custom of the N. Arabian devotees of Dagon (Gadon? cp.) to spring over the threshold of their temple (as specially sacred; thus the connection between *v.* 8 and *v.* 9 is perfect).—*V.* 9b should run, ממלאים ארמנותיהם קסמי מרמה.

i. 10 *f.* For *הַשְּׁעָרַת הַיִּשְׁכָּנָה* read *הַשְּׁעָרָה* (see *E. Bib.*, 'College'), *i.e.* *מִשְׁעַר יִשְׁמַעֵאל*.¹ Just before, the fish gate is mentioned; see Neh. xii. 39, and wherever this phrase occurs read *שְׁעַר הַגָּדִיטִים*, 'gate of the Gadites' (see on 2 K. xi. 16). For *הַמִּנְתָּשׁ* read *הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲרוּם* (see on 2 K. xxiii. 13); for *כִּנְעַן* read *קִנְו*, and for *כִּסְפֵי נְטִילָה* read *כִּסְפֵי נְשָׁף*, 'those that work secret enchantments.' Cp. *לְהַטִּים, לְטִים*.

CHAP. ii. 1, 2. *V.* 2 is rightly corrected by Wellh. (after Ⓢ , save that Ⓢ reads *נִין* for *מִין*). But *v.* 1 remains in its disorder. It is not enough to read *הַתְּבוּשָׁשׁ וְבִשׁוּ* (Che., *Proph. Is.*, on Isa. xxix. 9; more recently Budde); *v.* 1 must be corrupt throughout (cp. Schwally, pp. 181, 218). Read *וְהַשְׁתַּחֲרוּ לַיהוָה כְּשִׁים וְחָגוּ לוֹ קְנָוִים*. Cp. Ps. ii. 11 *f.* (emended text), Zech. xiv. 16. *לַיהוָה* is required as a || to *לוֹ*, though only represented by *ו* *וְקוּשׁוּ* in *ו*.

ii. 4-12. (For Winckler's discussion of *vv.* 5-7 see *AOF*⁽³⁾ ii. 232 *f.* His presuppositions are quite different from mine.) *עֵזֶר* may be a name of *צַרְפַּת*; *ע' צ' = Zarephath* the Strong. *אֲשַׁקְלוֹן* is a substitute for *אֲשַׁכְּלָה*, probably an early correction of *יִשְׁמַעֵאל* (cp. on 1 S. xxvii. 6); *אֲשַׁחֲרוּ* for *אֲשַׁחֲרוּ* or *בָּשׂוּר*; ² *עַקְרוֹן* is a popular distortion of *יְרֵחָמָאל*, and *כְּרָתִים* of *רַחֲבָתִים*. *חַבְלֵי הַיָּם* comes from *יְרֵחָמָאל* (which We. would cancel) from *קִנְו*; *פְּלִשְׁתִּים* from *צַרְפַּתִּים*. For metre's sake read *אֲרִין קִנְו*, and transfer *צ' אֲרִין* to the end of *v.* 5 (thus we get a *ḵina*-verse). In *v.* 6 *וְהִיטָה* with *חַבְלֵי* has been found puzzling. Wellh.'s words (*Kl. Proph.*⁽³⁾ 153) are, 'Rightly LXX., *καὶ ἔσται Κρήτη νομῆ ποιμνίων = והייתה כרש נות רעים*; only *כרת* is not the name of the island of Crete, but of the land of the Philistines. The combination of the Philistines with the Cretans and the explanation of Caphtor by Crete certainly seems to me to lie rather close at hand.' Böhme (*ZATW* vii. 212) and Winckler (*AOF*⁽³⁾ ii. 232) do not agree with this view of *כרת*. According to the former *כרת* is a mere repetition of *כרת*. According to the latter, *vv.* 5, 6 formed

¹ See on 2 Chr. xiii. 19; also on 2 K. xxii. 14, where *מִשְׁנָה* occurs again without *שַׁעַר*, so that possibly *מִשְׁנָה*, *i.e.* *יִשְׁמַעֵאל* (cp. on *שָׁמֶן*, Isa. x. 27), may be the name of a part of Jerusalem, possibly the upper part (cp. on 'Millo,' 1 K. ix. 15).

² *נִשְׂרָה* seems to be required to produce a paronomasia with *נִשְׂרָה*. Schwally (p. 182) cannot explain why *אֲשַׁחֲרוּ* has suggested no paronomasia. But the prophet did not write *אֲשַׁחֲרוּ*.

originally a separate oracle, addressed to the Cretans; LXX., therefore, is right in giving Κρητῶν (*v.* 5) and Κρήτη (*v.* 6). A most hazardous view, surely! Can we get no further than this? Experience of the newer critical methods elsewhere seems to show that נות and כרת are both fragments of ארמנות (constructed with a fem. verb; cp. Ges.⁽²⁶⁾ § 145 *k*), and that רעים, like חבל הים, is ירחמאל (cp. Am. i. 2, Mic. v. 4). The ך in וגדרות may be a relic of ל. Thus we again have a *kina*-verse. The opening of *v.* 7 is a late insertion (We.), but it has not been rightly read. ירחמאל stands there in two forms—חבל and עליהם. Read, therefore, והיה ירח' לשארית בית יהודה. The original writing had (continuing צאן לגדרות צאן)—

ירעון בבתי אשכל | בערב ירצון :

Thus Schwally's difficulty that 'Ashkelon' in *v.* 7 has no parallel, is removed. All between *v.* 7 and *v.* 12 (We.), or rather *v.* 13, is an interpolation. It is worth approximating to the true text, however. In *v.* 8 (end) read וילעגו (also in *v.* 10 and in all similar cases). In *v.* 9 'Moab' and 'Ammon' are probably a scribe's explanatory insertions. מלח, מכרה, חרול. נשם (!) represents נשם (cp. Gen. xv. 2). ממשק, and probably עד-עולם, represent 'ירח'. Read (restoring the paronomasias), שממה; כי נשם נסדם תהיה ובני ירח' נעמרה. שממה comes from 'ישמ', a gloss. In *v.* 11*a* for רזה read בנה, and for כל-אלהי הארץ read probably ירחמאלים (הארץ is merely an insertion to help out the sense, after corruption had taken place).—In *vs.* 11*b*, 12 read וישחית אשירים ומענתים וכושים. Dittograms are obvious; ממקומו and גם אתם both = מענתים. חללי and חרבי המה both = ירחמאלים, a gloss on מענתים.

ii. 13 *f.* צפון is the land of Zaphon, to which אשור, *i.e.* גשור, is parallel. ירחמאל = ירחמאל [עיר].—*V.* 14*a* should probably run—

ורבצו בתוכה עדדים
גם ברחבתי ילינו :

CHAP. iii. 1*b*, 3. By way of shaming its citizens, the prophet calls Jerusalem 'city of Jerahmeel' (cp. on Isa. xxix. 1), its princes, 'Jerahmeelites,' and its judges, 'Arabians.' The corrected readings are העיר הרמנית or עיר ירחמאל (for

לא יגרמו, אריות) ירחמאלים (for אריות, לא יגרמו, אריות), (לבקר, ערבים (for זאבי and ערב, both of which come from 'ערבי'.) To these we must add ישמעאלים (represented by שאנים = שאנים, cp. אנשי not unfrequently for ישמעאל), which is a gloss on ירחמאלים. The editor had a corrupt text, and remembered Jer. v. 6, Hab. i. 8, where, however, invaders are spoken of.

iii. 10. A *locus desperatus* till we have found the key. עתרי and בת פוצי are both mutilations of [מ]צרפת. Read—

מַעֲרַב מְנוּשׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל
מַצְרַפֶּת יוֹבְלֵן מִנְחָתִי :

But this is not all. The closing words of *v.* 9 receive light from the N. Arabian theory. שכם אחד, 'with one shoulder,' is grotesque. Read מְנוּשׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל, perhaps a marginal correction of לנהרי כוש (*v.* 10). Cp. on אחד, I S. i. 1.

HAGGAI

THIS prophet's name, too, evidently represents an ethnic (Haggi or Hagaiah); see on Ḥaggith, 2 S. iii. 4. Probably in i. 13 (a gloss from the margin?) the prophet is called *ירחמאל*, a reading which is concealed under the two corrupt variants *מלאך יהוה* and *במלאכות יהוה*. The gloss (?) means that Haggai and Malachi are the same person. It may be noticed here that *יהוה*, both in proper names and elsewhere, sometimes represents *ירח* in *ירחמאל*. Haggai was early identified with Malachi. See *E. Bib.*, 'Malachi.'

CHAP. i. 1, 15. Perhaps the original had, not *דריוש*, but *אשרי* ('the Asshurite king').

i. 9. Read perhaps *קִרְצִים* (Prov. x. 4) for *רְצִים*. See *E. Bib.*, col. 1935, note 4.

CHAP. ii. 5. **¶** omits the first part of this verse. Was the text illegible or only difficult? Something there must have been between the solemn asseveration *נָאִם י' צַב* and *וְרוּחִי*: Looking at the text in MT., we are struck by several difficulties. (1) Why *את הדבר*? (2) Why the verb *נת*? (3) 'My spirit abides in your midst' is synonymous with 'I am with you' (*v.* 4, end). (4) The sentence, however explained, does not fit into the context. Evidently, the editor must (as so often) have manipulated an imperfect or uncongenial text, and what we have to do is to read underneath *his* text. With the key in our hands, we may probably restore thus—*אֶת-הָעֲרָבִים וְהַרְחַבְתִּים וְהַמְצִירִים וְיִרְחַמְאֵלִים אֲשֶׁר* *בְּתוֹכְכֶם אֶל-תִּירָאוּ*. In these words faithful Jews are directed not to be afraid of the large number of N. Arabians who have settled themselves in Palestine during the captivity of so many of the Jewish people. *אתכם* is a corrupt and

manipulated dittogram of 'רחב and בצאתכם of מצרים. דבר for ערב is a corruption to be found elsewhere, and the expanded corruption רוחי עמדה, for 'רוח', is quite in the style of the editors.

ii. 7. **ס** is certainly right in assuming the plur. fem. ending, but both here and in 1 S. חמדה should be מְנֻחָה, 'the tributes (of).'

ii. 22. The colouring becomes much more vivid if we read ירחמאל for the vague ממלכות, and גווי ירחמאל for ממ' הגוים. The chariots and horses spoken of are those for which the larger kingdom of Jerahmeel was specially famous among the Israelites. See on 1 K. x. 28 f.

ZECHARIAH

THE higher criticism of chaps. ix.—xiv. will have some day to be reconsidered on the basis of a revised text. It is, *e.g.*, hardly possible to maintain that 'Asshur' means either 'Assyria' or the empire of the Seleucids, or that 'Javan' clearly means 'Greece.' Nor can we safely say, with Prof. G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, ii. 464), that ix. 6-8 'are certainly post-exilic, because of their mention of the half-breeds.' It seems to me that we have been working too contentedly in twilight, and that fresh rays of a brighter light are bursting in upon us.

Chap. i. 8.—בין ההרדים אשר במצלה. Two points should be remarked (1) that no attempt is made to symbolise these 'myrtles' (contrast Tg. and Kimḥi), which therefore presumably owe their origin to corruption of the text; and (2) that in the eighth and last vision the central point is said to be 'between the two mountains—now the mountains are mountains of Cushan' (reading כושן; see on vi. 1). As to the difficult הדסים, MT. in vi. 1 and ⚔ in i. 8 (*ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων*) suggest the probably true reading הרים; the ם in הדסים possibly comes from ם; the ם actually found is dittographed. As to במצלה, we might at first sight suppose it to be a corruption of במצור, 'in Miṣṣur.' But the following word ואחריו (which, as Wellh. remarks, 'causes difficulties') is, according to numerous parallel cases, a corruption of ירחמאל, and the case of צלם in Am. v. 26 (see note) leads one to suppose that במצלה represents בישמעאל. Read, therefore, בין ההרים אשר בישמעאל [ירחמאל].

i. 8. We are now in a position to explain רכב על-סוים אדם, which both Ew. and We. rightly feel to be very

awkward. It is simply a corruption of 'ירחמאל סוס' אדם', which corresponds to 'ואחריו סוס' אדם' in MT. Render, therefore, 'And behold a man—he stood between the mountains which are in Ishmael [Jerahmeel]—and horses (וסוסים),' etc.

CHAP. ii. 10 *f.* Read נוסר (first ו transposed), מארבע, and יושבת ירחמאל (following Ⓢ, nearly as We.); then מישמעאל, also מישמעאל, see on Am. vi. 1 (to take צִיּוֹן as = 'to Zion' is unnatural). So *vv.* 10 and 11 become nearly parallel. For the close of *v.* 11 see next note. צפון, as usual, means the N. Arabian land of Zaphon (|| מצור).

ii. 12. Wellh. and Nowack have rightly seen that the clause אחר כבוד שלחני interrupts the context, but they have not explained its origin. The same combination (אחר כבוד) occurs in Ps. lxxiii. 24, where we might point אֶרֶץ כְּבוֹד, 'the path leading to (the final) glory.' The same pointing is suitable here, if we complete the phrase with שְׁלַחָהּ (ד and נ confounded, and י inserted for sense) and attach it to *v.* 11. Certainly *v.* 11, as it stands, requires some addition (cp. *v.* 10*b*). Completed as here proposed, it will run thus, 'Ho! escape from Ishmael, O people that dwellest in Jerahmeel; on the path of glory he has sent thee.' Still better we might read אֶרֶץ ל', 'to the land of glory'; this is only slightly bolder,¹ and gives an easier sense. In *v.* 9 the prophet has told us that Yahwè will be 'glory' in the midst of Jerusalem. שלחני was miswritten under the influence of the close of *v.* 13.

CHAP. iii. 8. For צמח read perhaps מִחֵן (see on vi. 9 *ff.*, end).

CHAP. iv. 7, 9. Sellin (*Studien*, 1901, ii. 93 *f.*) suggests that the 'mountain' referred to may very well be the great heap of the ruins of the temple (note הוציא, 'bring out'). In Babylonia the preliminary to the restoration of a ruined temple was the search for the old foundation-stone, to which enormous sanctity attached. The phrase האבן הראש (so read, for האבן הראשונה, *v.* 7) may at least as well mean the foundation-stone as the top-stone. Adopting this view, it seems best to correct הַר הַגְּבֹלִים into הַר הַגְּדוֹל, 'mountain

¹ Cp. the instances in which, according to Dr. D. H. Weir, ארץ has taken the place of אֶרֶץ, *Academy*, iv. 251 [Ps. lxxvii. 5, cxvi. 9, cxliii. 10].

of the heaps (ruins),’ and for יָסְדוּ (*v.* 9) to read יִסְדוּ (future).

iv. 10. The apposition האבן הבדיל gives an incorrect explanation of the stone ‘in the hand of Zerubbabel.’ But הבדיל is not a mere gloss (cp. Marti, *Stud. Krit.* 1892, p. 213, note); it is probably a corruption either of ביד זורבל or better of ירחמאל, a (correct) variant, preserved by a good fortune to which we shall find parallels in the text of 2 Samuel, to זורבל.

CHAP. v. 3 *f.* Parallel passages (*e.g.* Isa. lvii. 3, Mic. v. 11, Zech. x. 2, Mal. iii. 5) suggest that sorcery or divination must have been included among the special sins of the Jews. For הגבב read perhaps הַמְעֵנָה, and for בשמי לשקר read בשם ישמעאל, ‘by the name of (the god) Ishmael.’ See on Mal. iii. 5.¹

v. 11. שנער (Shinar?) here, as elsewhere, is suspicious, though firmly rooted in our texts (cp. on ענר, Gen. xiv. 13, 18; נער, Gen. xxxvii. 2). See on Gen. x. 10.

CHAP. vi. 1. The enigmatical ‘mountains of brass’ (= copper-yielding mountains?) are due to the editor. Read נָשָׁן, ‘Cushan.’ See on i. 8, and cp. on נחשת, Gen. iv. 22.

vi. 2-7. Wellh. is nearly right, but in *v.* 6, not having the key, he could not point out that אל-אחוריהם represents אל-[ארץ] ירחמאל, and that the name of the district to which the red horses (האדמים, not האמצים) were sent underlies ללכת ל’ ב’ are superfluous; they are derived from the words which MT. quite correctly gives after ויאמר.

vi. 9 *ff.* The current explanation is hardly correct. The donors of the silver and gold are not ‘Babylonian Jews,’ but foreigners such as are referred to in Isa. lx. 13, and their gifts are מנחות such as Haggai probably refers to in Hag. ii. 7. The text of this section has suffered partly by

¹ The difficulties of Isa. xliv. 5 are well known. They can only be fully surmounted by correcting the text in the light of Zeph. i. 5; we thus obtain a parallel both for Mal. iii. 5 and for the passage before us. There is no real connection between Isa. xliv. 4 and 5. *V.* 5 describes the divided religious allegiance of many of the Jews, and may originally have stood after *v.* 8.

וה יאמר ליהוה אני | וזה יקרא בשם ירחמאל
וזה יכתב ירו לירח | ובשם ישמעאל יענן:

ordinary corruption, partly by editorial manipulation. Corruptions are הגולה, חלדי, and חלם for ירחמאל (for the ethnic names, see on Neh. ii. 19), תובלי for טוביה, ידעיה for חן, שמעי for יאשיה, ירחמאל for ביום ההוא, ירחמאלי for ערבי (v. 14) for על-מינו for על-כסאו, ומאת for ובראת אתה, חרני for עטרה (Ⓢ), עטרה for עטרה. The main editorial alteration is the substitution of Joshua ben Jehozadak for Zerubbabel (v. 11), or perhaps the insertion of the whole clause about Joshua. It is usual to suppose, further, that the title צמח, which may have been drawn by the editor from Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15 (both post-exilic, see Duhm), has supplanted the name Zerubbabel. This, however, is hardly right. The name (as we must call it) צמח cannot be due to the editor. Why did he not say דוד צמח? and why did he accompany the bare צמח with the strange statement ומתחתיו יצמח? On the other hand, by a slight transposition we obtain a title such as Zechariah might have applied to the Messianic king. For צמח שמו read שמו צמח. מוחץ, מוחץ, 'striker, crusher,' is a very fitting title for the Messianic king, at whose right hand Yahwè will be invisibly present, dealing destruction to his enemies. Cp. Num. xxiv. 8, Ps. lxviii. 22, cx. 5. This applies also, of course, to iii. 8. The following words, ומתחתיו יצמח should probably be ומתחתיו ימוחץ 'and those that shatter him (xi. 6) he will strike (crush).'

CHAP. vii. 2. ויִשְׁלַח בֵּיתָאֵל שְׂרָאָצֵר וְאֶנְשָׁיו. More than one view can be taken of this passage (see We., Marti in Kau. *HS*, and *E. Bib.*, 'Regem-melech.' It is possible that justice has not been done to the reading ביתאל of M[Ⓢ], which may with some reason be regarded as a distortion of the N. Arabian ethnic Tubal. Now 'Regem-melech' being more than probably a distortion of 'Jerahmeel,' it will follow that שראצר is not improbably a scribe's corruption of אֶשֶׁר; the final צר will be a corruption of a dittographed שר. If so, it was three clans of N. Arabian affinities, but of orthodox Jewish religion, that sent to the temple to make certain inquiries. See, however, on 2 K. xix. 37, Jer. xxxix. 3, where another view of שראצר is recommended by the contexts.

CHAP. ix. The whole of this chapter has to do with Jerahmeel; the names are archaistic. Not having observed

this, interpreters have been involved in almost infinite trouble. In *vs.* 1-8, in particular, the fact that the original prophecy has been worked over and recast has hindered a consistent historical interpretation. For *vs.* 2*b*-7*a* let the student compare Am. i. 7-10 (and notes). That אדם (v. 1*b*) should be אדם, was first seen by Klost., who proposes 'אָרִי.¹ This is better (cp. on Isa. xvii. 2) than Ball's proposal (in Smith's *DB* i.⁽²⁾ [1893], p. 1261*b*, 'עם. Klost., of course, thinks of the best-known Aram. But it does not follow from combination of 'Hadrach,' Damascus, and (by conjecture) Aram, that the northern Aram is referred to. Analogy warns us here as elsewhere to look out for signs of editorial recasting, and it is only this course which can clear up the difficulties of the section. It may be admitted to be in itself possible that חֲדָרַךְ may be a Hebraised form of the Hatarika of the Assyrian inscriptions. But if on other grounds the prophecy must be held to be late, we may well hesitate to accept this otherwise unknown name. Moreover, the strange prominence given to the 'land of Hadrach' may well give us pause. The experience which we have by this time had of textual errors ought to suggest the true explanation. חֲדָרַךְ is a distortion of יִרְחֻמָּאֵל, while דְּמִשְׁק, as elsewhere (*e.g.* Ezek. xxvii. 18), is miswritten for כְּרוֹשָׁם. Thus *v.* 1 becomes, 'Yahwè's oracle is on the land of Jerahmeel, and Cusham is its resting-place; for Yahwè's are the cities of Aram, and all the tribes of Ishmael.' יִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשְׂמַעֵאל are, as the context shows, confounded; among other parallels notice Isa. xvii. 3, Ezek. xxvii. 17. For the tribes of Ishmael see Gen. xxv. 13-15, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tribes,' § 3. In *v.* 2 for חַמַּת read מַעַנַת; and for וְצִדוֹן read צִר. In *v.* 3*a* read מְצִיר מְבָצָר לָהּ. In *v.* 4 for חִילָהּ read probably הִיכְלֶיהָ (see on Ps. xlvi. 14); cp. the || passage, Am. i. 10. In *vs.* 5, 6 the original proper names are אֲשֻׁר, יִרְחֻמָּאֵל, עֲזָה (= Zarephath?), אֲשַׁכֵּל or עֲשָׁתִיר, צְרַפְתִּים. In *v.* 6 מְמֹר is perhaps a corruption of

¹ Stade's only objection (*ZATW*, 1881, p. 15) to this is that the combination of the names 'Aram' and 'Israel' in this passage is not quite intelligible, whereas Israel and the heathen (אֲרָם) form a natural antithesis. But 'Israel' also must be corrupt, if a clear and at all points intelligible view is to be obtained.

יִשְׁמְעָאֵל, *i.e.* Bedouin tribes. Cp. Isa. xiii. 20. But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Scribe,' § 4.

ix. 9-17. In *v.* 10*a* read הַכְרִית (Sta., We., after G), and קֶשֶׁת יִרְחַמָּאֵל (for מִלְחָמָה Q , see on Ps. lxxvi. 4); probably, too, יְרוּשָׁלַם should be יִשְׁמְעָאֵל. Ephraim is a southern region. In *v.* 10*b* וּדְבַר שְׁלוֹם לְגוֹיִם and וּמְשָׁלוּ מִיָּם are two corrupt forms of the same original, which was וְהוֹרִיד יִשְׁמְעָאֵל יִרְחַמָּאֵל (יִשְׁמ' for 'שָׁם', as Isa. xxvi. 3.) Cp. on Ps. lxxxv. 9. In *v.* 10*b* the נְהַר spoken of (read מִן־הַנְּהַר) is the נְהַר מִצְרַיִם, the stream which bounded Mišṣur on the west; אֶפְסֵי אֶרֶץ, *as usual*, means the extreme south of Palestine including the Negeb (cp. on Ps. lxxii. 8). *Vv.* 11, 12 have been hardly less misunderstood than the preceding verses. 'The blood of thy covenant'—what does this mean? The sacrifices connected with the ancient covenant of Yahwè with Israel (Ex. xxiv. 5 *ff.*)? The sacrifices which Israel daily offers in virtue of the covenant and to maintain its validity? And what does בְּצֹרֶן mean? And what is the announcement made for the second time¹ in *v.* 12*b* to the so-called 'prisoners of hope'? G does not help us; even its seductive ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παροικεσίας σου (*v.* 12*b*), which Stade (*ZATW* i. [1881], p. 17) approves, is but a clever attempt to soften the difficulty of the traditional text. As Nowack truly says, 'The abrupt transition from the prisoners in *v.* 12*a* to Zion in *v.* 12*b* is very startling, and all the more because Zion is already in existence.' We shall probably get nearer the true text of *vv* 11 *f.* by reading—

גַּם־אֶת מִן־הַנְּהַר הַרְבֹּתַי שְׁלַחְתִּי אֶסְרֹדָךְ מִן־הַנְּהַר
יְשׁוּבוּ מִן־הַנְּהַר יִרְחַמָּאֵל אֶגְעֹר וְיִשְׁמְעָאֵל אֶכְלֶה:

The writer turns in *v.* 11 from the picture of the final result—the extended empire of Israel—to its necessary preliminary—the return of the exiles through a waterless desert region (cp. Isa. xlvi. 21, xli. 17, and cp. Isa. xxx. 6). To account for this, he assures his people that a stern destroying word (אֶגְעֹר) will be spoken to the enemy by Yahwè. It

¹ גַּם הַיּוֹם. 'But where is the quotation taken from,' asks Wellhausen. G. Hoffmann tries to remedy the evil by reading מִן־הַפְּרִי (for מִן־הַפְּרִי), *i.e.* 'fruit,' like Syr. *magda*. But in a case like this such isolated corrections are useless.

should be noticed that both התקוה (see on 2 K. xxii. 14) and ירחמאלים appear to have grown out of גם היום.

ix. 13 *f.* 'It is a fight of the sons of Zion against the sons of the Greeks' (Stade; so Wellh., Nowack, G. A. Smith). Stade has a right to his opinion, for he has made a very thorough study indeed of the passages referring to יון (reprinted in *Akad. Reden*, 1899, pp. 123-142). From the newer point of view, however, adopted in the present work, it is unhappily not possible to adhere to these results (see on Gen. x. 2). יון (ימן) comes from ירחמאל, and it is more than probable that the כ at the end of the second בניך represents the ח in ירחמאל, as if to make us doubly sure; we may note in passing G's rendering ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν Ἑλληγῶν, which is at any rate adverse to בְּנֵיךָ, 'thy sons.' Note also חַיִּים in *v.* 14, 'because he comes from Sinai'?—asks Wellhausen. Yes; the whole atmosphere is that of S. Palestine and N. Arabia.

ix. 15 *f.* That יהוה should be יהוה, Klostermann, Stade, etc., have pointed out, following א^{c.a.} א^{c.b.} AQT. But solutions of other text-critical problems (see *e.g.* Stade, *ZATW* i. 19, note 1, Nowack's commentary, and the note in *JQR* x. [1898], pp. 581 *f.*) need to be revised in the light of the 'Jerahmeelite theory.' It will probably be found that that theory supplies the key to all of them.—In *v.* 15 both ואכלו and קלע represent ירחמאל; ירחמאל comes from בני.—In *v.* 16 ונאכלו and בני-נור both represent the same original, viz. מתנוססות (cp. כצאן from ממצור, Ps. lxxix. 21).¹ בני-נור may come from מתבוששים, but a stronger expression might be fairly expected. [Klo.'s emendation (approved by Stade, p. 18), ויכללם, introduces a tautology with נבשו. The corruption ואכלו for ירח is one of the most ordinary in the O.T.; cp. on Isa. lxvi. 17.]

CHAP. x. 10 *f.* The southern 'Asshur,' Gilead, and Lebanon are meant; point מְצָרִים. Cp. Isa. xxvii. 12 (note), 13, Jer. iii. 12 (note), 18. It is in S. Palestine and the Negeb that this writer, like Ezekiel (chaps. xlvi. *f.*), places the reunited Israelites.

x. 11. An untimely recollection of the story of the

¹ Note that כצאן in *v.* 21 corresponds to בורע in the duplicate of the same distich (*v.* 16). See Ps.⁽²⁾ ii. 14.

Exodus has contributed to produce the present text. Read *וְעָבַר בִּימֵן מִצְוֹר וְהִקָּה בִּימֵן גִּלְעָד וְהִבִּישׁוּ כָּל-יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים*. 'And he shall pass through Jaman-miṣṣur, and shall smite Jaman-gilead, and all the Ishmaelites shall be in consternation.'

CHAP. xi. 1-3. The conclusion of x. 3 *ff.* According to Wellh. and Nowack 'Lebanon' and 'Bashan' represent the kingdom of the Seleucidæ (also designated 'Asshur'). But again and again *בִּשָׁן* is miswritten for, or altered from, *בְּשָׁן* (Am. iv. 1), and 'Lebanon' as often means the mountainous region of the N. Arabian border. For *גֵּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן* we should in this case read *גֵּאוֹן יִרְחֵמָל*, 'the pride of (mount) Jerahmeel.' This opens up a question as to the range of meaning of *אֵרוֹ* and *בְּרוֹשׁ*, and as to the probability that the trees of the N. Arabian border were more abundant and more varied than at present.—In *v.* 2 for *הַבְּצוֹר* read perhaps *בְּמַעְצָד* (cp. Duhm on Isa. x. 33).—In *v.* 3 for *הַקְּלָעִים*, which can hardly be right, read *יִרְחֵמָל* (with *אֵדְרָתוֹ*); Wellh. keeps *הַרְעִים* but omits 'אֵד'. So Am. i. 2. For *שֶׁאֵגַת כַּפְּרִים* read perhaps *שֶׁעֵת כְּבִירִים* (confusions paralleled in the Psalms). *אֵדִירִים*, of course, means the cedars (cp. *SBOT* on Isa. x. 34).

xi. 4-17 and xiii. 7-9 should, as recent scholars (following Ewald) agree, be taken together. The great difficulty of the section is probably caused, not only by the difficulties necessarily inherent in such symbolic narratives, but also by corruption of the text. It will be most convenient to give at once a view of the narrative which follows naturally from the corrected text. The reader will at once understand that the course actually taken by the present writer was a different one; certain corrections of the text occurred to him as probable (in the light of textual phenomena, explained already elsewhere), and this led to a critical and exegetical re-examination of the whole passage. The prophet (can it be Jeremiah who is dramatically introduced as the speaker?) has been invested by the God of Israel with what we may call an efficient suzerainty over his land. This suzerainty, he tells us in effect, was recognised even by the pitiless tyrants who had bought their crowns from the greater kings outside ('their buyers . . . their sellers'). Its outward symbols were two pastoral staves, the one called by the prophet Ammon, the other Jerahmeel; as long as he kept

these staves unbroken, there was no danger to Judah, either from the side of Ammon or from that of Jerahmeel. But the misrule of the tyrants continued. Weary of it, the prophet says that as a judicial act he (*i.e.* Yahwè, whom he represents) cut off three of them (successively) by the hand of Jerahmeel. He now cut asunder the staff called Ammon as a sign that Judah was henceforth open to destructive incursions from all the populations round about. The tyrants of Judah understood this, but so small was their respect for the prophet's office that, symbolically, they gave him as his fee no more than thirty shekels (cp. Ex. xxi. 32); this he cast into the temple treasury. His next step was to cut asunder the other staff, called Jerahmeel, as a sign that no sense of kinship was any longer to restrain Jerahmeel from doing its worst upon Judah. But before he passed into the background, the prophet was directed by Yahwè to act dramatically the part of a Jerahmeelite tyrant (for מְקִים, cp. Hab. i. 6). All that the native tyrants had wickedly done, the foreign governor would do with greater completeness. But Yahwè is displeased with this excessive rigour. The governor shall be slain, and though for a time the people of Judah will be so sorely tried (by Jerahmeelites) that only a third of it will be left, yet a bright and happy future, through the repentance of the people, is in store for this third.—The 'three shepherds' of *v.* 8 seem to be Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, all of whom, according to the prophet, were set aside, if not killed, by the king of Jerahmeel (בבל). The cutting asunder of the staff Ammon (*v.* 10) may refer to the tradition in 2 K. xxiv. 2 (read נוֹשִׁים, etc.); for the 'breaking of the brotherhood between Jerahmeel and Israel' cp. Am. i. 11, Ob. 10. The Jerahmeelite governor (xi. 15, xiii. 7) is perhaps the governor whose story is now inaccurately represented by that of Gedaliah. Cp. on Jer. xl. 1, 5 *ff.*

xi. 7. לְכַנְעֵנִי ה' לָקַח עִבְדִּי הַצֵּן. Read, probably, not 'לְכַנְעֵנִי ה' (as Stade, Wellh., etc., following G), but 'לָקַחַנִי ה'; cp. *v.* 5. Similarly in *v.* 11.—For נָעַם read עֲמוּן, and for חַבְלִים read יְרוּחַמָּאֵל (see on Ezek. xxvii. 24). So *vs.* 10, 14. Cp. xii. 2, where a distinction seems to be drawn between 'Jerahmeel' and 'all the peoples.'

xi. 8. Read רעים (without article) and בְּיַד יִרְחַמָּאל. The prophet did not himself cut off the shepherds.

xi. 13 *f.* For אדר יקר read perhaps אֲדַרְפָּנִים (see *E. Bib.*, col. 1134, foot); for יקרתי read (certainly) שְׁכַרְתָּ, and for יהודה read יִרְחַמָּאל (see above, and on xii. 2 *ff.*).

xi. 15-17. For אֲוִי (Houb. אֲוִיל) and הָאֵלִיל read יִרְחַמָּאֵל (cp. on Isa. x. 10); and for הַנְּעֻצָה read הַנְּעֻצָה.

CHAP. xii. 1-7. The deliverance of Jerusalem from 'all the peoples round about' by the help of converted Jerahmeel. The idea of the conversion of a people once so hostile to Judah is in accordance with the gentler side of the theology of the Psalms (*e.g.* Ps. lxxvi. 11), and underlies Jer. xlix. 39 (where עֵלָם comes from 'ירח'), xlvii. 26*b*, Ezek. xxix. 13 *f.* Isa. xix. 18-25, and indeed Zech. xiv. 18. In some of these passages the Miṣrites are spoken of. But it is not only the conversion of Jerahmeel, but that of the remnant of the other 'peoples' which is anticipated; see xii. 9 (note).

xii. 1 *f.* For ישראל read either ישמעאל, or, with Grätz, ירושלם, and for על-יהודה read יִרְחַמָּאל. יהודה may equally well represent 'ירח' and ירח; here it stands for the latter, and על for מאל.

xii. 4-7. For יהודה read 'ירח', and note that בלבם is not to be rendered 'in their heart'; it represents יִרְחַמָּאל, which was presumably written as a correction of יהודה. In *v.* 5 note אֲלֵפִי (or אֲלֵפִי); cp. the אֲלֹפִים of Edom, Gen. xxxvi. 15 *ff.* Note also 'Yahwè . . . their God.' For the equalising of Judah and Jerahmeel, cp. Isa. xix. 24 *f.*

xii. 9-xiii. 1. A strangely altered passage! It is the repentance of Jerahmeel and the remnant of the other peoples, not of the 'house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem,' which is here described.

xii. 9. For אִבְקַשׁ לְהַשְׁמִיד ('I will seek to destroy!') read אֶחְשֵׁב לְהָשִׁיב, 'I plan to bring back (to the true God).' Not only Jerahmeel but all the nations which came against Jerusalem are to be converted and restored to prosperity. To the references on *vs.* 1-7 add Jer. xlvi. 47.

xii. 10*a.* The scribe had the phrases בית דויד and יושב ירושלם (*v.* 8) in his mind; he was also, perhaps, unequal to following the soaring flight of the prophetic writer. Hence the former phrase supplanted (most probably) בֵּית

הָדָד, and the latter (note the warning Pasek) a dittographed ישמעאלים. The other distortions are more purely accidental. For וְהָיָה חֵן רָאֵה, 'brotherhood'; an allusion to xi. 14b. Also for וְהָיָה אֵלַי וְהָיָה אֵלַי, 'certainly, וְהָיָה אֵלַי'. The subject of this verb is יִרְחַמְאֵלִים, which underlies the misplaced corruption תַּחְנוּנִים. The difficulty arising out of תַּחְנוּנִים now disappears. It is not a fragment of some personal name (We.), but a corruption of אֵל = עַל. The personage who was 'pierced through' by the Jerahmeelites was some member of the Davidic house, possibly Zerubbabel.

xii. 10b. נִמְסַפֵּד עַל-הַיְחִיד. Plausible, and seemingly confirmed by נִהְמַר עַל-הַבְּנוֹר. There is, however, a want of definiteness in this comparison, and a suspicious resemblance in the latter phrase (in which נִהְמַר is, on the ground of idiom, disputable) to יִרְחַמְאֵל. If the reader will courteously read the next note at this point, he will see that there is good reason to admit a Jerahmeelite atmosphere. Returning to v. 10b, he will thus be driven to the conclusion that the contents of xii. 10b are, with some variation, what we find in v. 11. Read וְסִפְדוּ עָלָיו נִמְסַפֵּד עַל-יִרְחַמְאֵל. 'Because of Jerahmeel' means 'because of the slaughter at Beth-jerahmeel.' Cp. on Jer. vi. 26, Am. viii. 10.

xii. 11. For בִּישְׁמַעֲאֵל read, probably, בִּישְׁמַעֲאֵל; for בְּבִקְעָה read הָדָד (רְמוֹן is a variant to מְגִדוֹן); and for בְּבִקְעָה (רְמוֹן) read בְּמַעַנַת יִרְחַמְאֵל. The Jerahmeelites, it is announced, will mourn as bitterly for the scion of the royal Jewish house as their forefathers did when Hadad, king of Edom [Aram?], lost his life in the war with David; see on 1 K. xi. 15-17. The corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵל and מַעַנַת here assumed are supported by parallels elsewhere (see *e.g.* on Am. i. 5). 'En-rimmon' comes from 'En-jerahmeel,' and m-k-d[=l] is one of the possible representatives of Jerahmeel (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Makkedah'). A different view of this passage is taken in *E. Bib.*, 'Hadadrimmon.' The worship of Tammuz did in fact give occasion for bitter mourning as for an only son. But the Jerahmeelite theory is so generally applicable in II. Zechariah that we cannot be wrong in applying it here. Zech. xii. 11 now supplies the key to Jer. iii. 23. In both passages a great national religious function at the sanctuary of Gibeath-jerahmeel seems to be referred to.

xii. 12 *f*. The 'families' of the land are the 'families' of the N. Arabian borderland which the prophetic writers desire to see annexed by the Jews. Note the phrase in *v.* 14, 'the families that remain,' and cp. xiv. 16 *f*., 'every one that is left of all the nations,' etc., and 'the families of the land.' For בית-דוד read בֵּית-הַדָּד; for בית-נתן read בֵּית-תֵּימָן (or ב' איתן); for בית-לוי read בֵּית-יִרְחֵמָל; for השמעי read יִשְׁמַעֵאל.

CHAP. xiii. 7. *Vv.* 7-9 (see above) should come after xi. 17. For וְעַל-גִּבּוֹר עֲמִיתִי (truly an extraordinary expression!) read, probably, וְעַל-אֲרָמְנוֹת יִרְחֵמָל. Perhaps, too, רעי comes from 'ירח', *i.e.* יִרְחֵמָלִי (*i.e.* the 'Jerahmeelite shepherd').

CHAP. xiv. 3. מ בְּיֹם קָרַב (so Ⓞ). According to Wellh., '*v.* 3*b* says nothing, and exists solely because of the parallelism.' But is this so? The ending קרב is several times incorrect; see on Ps. lv. 22, lxviii. 31, lxxviii. 9. Probably as in Ps. lxxviii. 9 ק' should be יִרְחֵמָל. The reference is probably to 2 S. v. 17-21 (see note).

xiv. 5*a*. מ כָּאֲשֶׁר נִסְתָּם מִפְּנֵי הָרָעַשׁ. We. remarks, 'All interpreters admit that Zech. xiv. was written at least 150 years after the earthquake in the time of Uzziah (Am. i. 1).' Like Nowack, he holds that this is archaistic colouring designed to produce the impression that the writer was a contemporary of the event. But considering how the archaistic theory has failed us already, and also considering the amount of admitted corruption in the context, it is more probable that the text is wrong. Read כ' נ' מ' אֲשֶׁחֹזֵר. The reference probably is to some N. Arabian invasion later than that which comes before us disguised as an invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. The following words, בְּיָמֵי וְגו', are apparently an incorrect gloss.

xiv. 5*b*-9. The original text probably spoke only of the Jerahmeelites and the Cushites. In *v.* 5*b* read עַמּוֹת. In *v.* 6, [עַרְב] לֹא-יִהְיֶה עוֹד וְנִבְרַת יִרְחֵמָל. *V.* 7*a* may be largely made up of corrupt forms of יִרְחֵמָל, and *v.* 7*b* may be a corrupt repetition of *v.* 6*a*. In *v.* 8 the singular terms קדמני and אחרון imply the recasting of Dt. xi. 24 (see note). In *v.* 9*a* הָאָרֶץ means the expanded land of Israel; in *b*, read probably יִהְיֶה לְיְהוּדָה יִרְחֵמָל (cp. on Obad. 21*b*).

xiv. 10. A much misunderstood passage. For *a* see note on Jer. xxxi. 22; **ירושלם**, as often, should be **ישמעאל**. The following word **וראמה** is generally taken as = **ורמה**, in support of which **וקאם** in Hos. x. 14*a* is quoted. But **וקאם** is corrupt (see note); both in **וקאם** and in the place-name **ראמת**, **א** is an index of **ירחמאל**. Most probably **וראמה** represents **ירחמאל**, a gloss on **ישמעאל** (MT. **ירושלם**). After **וישבה**, **ירושלם** must have dropped out—a consequence of the misreading **יר'** just before. Cp. xii. 6.

xiv. 14. For **ירושלם** read **ישמעאל**, 'Judah also shall fight against Ishmael.' Only so is there a connection.

xiv. 15. Corruptions as in Isa. lxvi. 20 (see note). Read **מגפת הקשים הצרפתים והירחמאלים וכל העמים אשר יהיו**.

xiv. 18 *f.*, 21. Point **מצרים**. For **קנני** read **קנני** (cp. on Gen. xiii. 12).

MALACHI

THAT מלאכי is not the writer's real name is obvious. It has not been noticed, however, that מ' is simply a corruption of ירחמאלי. Zephaniah is described by his name as a Zaphonite, Haggai (possibly) as a Hagrite; it is very possible and even probable that the author of the last prophetic writing was called a Jerahmeelite. Bachmann (*AT. Untersuch.* 1894), according to Cornill (*Einl.*⁽⁸⁾ 207), detects underneath the apparent quotation from Hag. ii. 15, which in § follows the title of the Book of Malachi, a Hebrew gloss which ran ושמר כלב. We have already met with so many cleverly disguised originals in MT. that we ought not to dismiss this view too hastily; Torrey's refutation is surely inadequate (see on 1 K. xxii. 28*b*). The main point to observe is that מלאכי, 'ירח', and כלב are in meaning identical. See on iii. 1.

CHAP. i. 3. לְתַנּוֹת. Read perhaps לְשִׁירוֹת. It is usual to quote § in support of the emendation לְנֵאוֹת or (Torrey) לְבָּוֹת. But Swete's text gives *δῶματα* (gifts?).

CHAP. ii. 3. Winckler (*AOF* ii. 533) rightly sees that no superficial emendations (such as those mentioned by Nowack) are of any avail. But his own corrections are inadequate; he makes פֶּרֶשׁ חַגִּינִים a mere insertion to soften the (corrupt) פֶּרֶשׁ; he also leaves the closing words unaccounted for. With the key in our hand, we cannot doubt as to the right correction (how familiar to us is פֶּרֶשׁ!). What we have here is a prediction of the expulsion of the Jerahmeelites or Misrites from Palestine, and of the dismissal of the temple-servants (many of them Jerahmeelites by birth or sympathy) with them. Read—

הנני גֹּעַר יְרוּחַ' [אֶת-מִצְוַר] וְרוּרִיתִי עַל-פְּנֵיכֶם מִחֲנִי צָרַפֶּת וְנִשְׂאֲתִי
אֶתְכֶם יְרוּחָמָל :

ii. 10-16. This very difficult passage, which has recently been ably commented upon by Torrey (*JBL* xvii. 4 *f.*, 8 *ff.*; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Malachi,' § 4) and Winckler (*AOF* ii. 537 *f.*), should, if my methods can be trusted, be restored thus—

10 הֲלֹא אָב אַחֵר לִירוּחָמָל חָלָא אֵל אַחֵר בְּעָרְבִים מְדֻעַ נִבְנָד
אֶרֶץ יְרוּחָמָל לְחַלְלֵי בְרִית אֲבֹתֵינוּ: 11 בְּנִדְהָ יְהוּדָה וְתוֹעֵבָה נַעֲשֶׂתָה
בִּישְׁמַעֲאֵל כִּי חָלַל יְהוּדָה קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אָהַב וַיֹּאכֵל בַּיִת אֵל נָכָר:
12 יָכַרֵת יְהוָה כָּל-אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אוֹב וַיְדַעֲנִי בִירוּחָמָל וּמִגִּישׁ מִנְחָה
לַיהוָה צְבָאוֹת: 13 וְזֹאת שִׁנְאֵתִי וְשָׂרְתִי כִשִׁים וְאָדָמִים אֶת-מִזְבַּח
יְהוָה כְּבִירוּחָמָל מֵאִין עוֹד פְּנוּת אֶל-הַמִּנְחָה וְלִקְחַת רִצּוֹן מִיָּדְכֶם:
14 וְאָמַרְתֶּם עַל-מָה עַל כִּי יְהוָה הִדִּיעַ בֵּינָךְ וּבֵין אִשְׁתִּי יָדַעֲנִי אֲשֶׁר אֲתָה
בְּגִדְתָה בָּהּ וְהִיא יְרוּחָמָלִית וְאִשָּׁה עֲרִבִית: 15 וְאֵל אַחֵר וְשָׂרֵת יְרוּחַ'
וּמָה יְרוּחַ' מִנְשֵׁף אֶרֶץ אֱלֹהִים וְנִשְׂמָרְתֶּם בִירוּחָמָל וּבְאֶרֶץ יְרוּחַ'
אֶל-יִבְבְּד: 16 כִּי-שִׁנְאֵתִי לַחֹשׁ וְקֶסֶם וְשִׁמְעָאִלִים אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
אֵלֵהוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנִשְׂמָרְתֶּם בִירוּחָמָל וְלֹא תִבְבְּדוּ:

10 'Has not Jerahmeel another father? is there not another God in Arabia? Why commit we treason in the land of Jerahmeel, to profane the covenant of our fathers? 11 Judah has become traitorous; an abomination is practised in Ishmael; for Judah has profaned Yahwè's holy things which he loves, and has eaten in the house of a foreign god. 12 May Yahwè cut off every man that deals with a familiar spirit, a wise one, in Jerahmeel, and (also) offers a gift to Yahwè Sebaoth! 13 And this do I hate. Cushites and Edomites serve Yahwè's altar as in Jerahmeel, so that he no longer regards the gift or accepts pleasant offerings at your hand. 14 And ye say, Wherefore? Because Yahwè has made known a distinction between thee and the woman who has a wise spirit, by whom thou hast committed treason (?), seeing that she is a Jerahmeelite, an Arabian woman. 15 And Jerahmeel ministers to another god, and why does Jerahmeel practise sorcery in the land of God (Yahwè)? Then beware of Jerahmeel, and in the land of Jerahmeel let none commit treason. 16 For I hate the spells and the divination of the Ishmaelites, saith Yahwè Sebaoth, Israel's God. Then beware of Jerahmeel, and commit not treason.'

Torrey and Winckler have independently pointed out that the rebuke in this section is directed, not against marriage with heathen women and divorce, but against the encroach-

ment of some foreign cult (so G Pesh.). So far I follow them, but in details I have to take another course. Torrey explains the central part of the passage thus: 'Judah has dealt falsely with the wife of his youth, the covenant religion, and is wedding a strange cult. The sanctuary of Yahwè is profaned. The worshippers (who, of course, insist that they are still worshipping Yahwè) lament because their offerings fail to bring a blessing, and are strangely unable to see why ill-fortune has come upon them.'

Winckler has this advantage over Torrey that he more fully realises the uncertainty of MT., and sees that comparatively easy, superficial emendations are useless. Among other readings of MT., he rightly questions שָׁנִית (*v.* 13). According to the ordinary view, 'Malachi' passes over in *v.* 13 to a second subject; Torrey denies this, but keeps שָׁנִית . Winckler, on the other hand, follows G , which gives *καὶ ταῦτα ἃ ἐμίσουσ ἐποιεῖτε*. Both these scholars retain $\text{בָּנָה בַת-אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי}$ (*v.* 11), though Winckler suggests the bare possibility of reading פַּעַל instead of בַּעַל , and rendering, 'he has built a place of cultus of a foreign god'; 'the daughter of a foreign god,' according to them, is a symbolic phrase for a foreign cult. Torrey, however, remarks that G Pesh. have nothing that corresponds to בַּת , 'the daughter (of),' and content themselves with general terms for idolatrous worship. According to Winckler (*AOF* ii. 538; cp. ii. 423), it is the Adonis-cult which is referred to. Zeus Epiphanius (= Mešammêm-el [Wi.]) was identical with Tammuz or Adonis, the mourning for whom may be referred to by 'Malachi,' *i.e.* if יְהוָה in *v.* 13 is really a substitute for the name of the 'foreign god.' The latter view is also taken by Winckler of the mention of יְהוָה at the end of *v.* 12. Winckler and Torrey are agreed in holding that *v.* 15 baffles explanation, but the former thinks that, since the Tammuz-cult is referred to in *v.* 13, שָׁלוּ in *v.* 16 presumably means the dirge of Tammuz, and the covering of the garment with violence (*v.* 16) means the usual mourning ceremony of rending the garment. Torrey is only on one point bolder than Winckler; as a correction of the strange reading עַר וְעָנָה (*v.* 12; AV and RV^{mg.}, 'him that waketh and him that answereth') he offers שָׁרַשׁ וְעָנָה (cp. iii. 19).

Winckler, and somewhat less clearly Torrey, have both seen the problems of the text; but they have been without the only trustworthy key to their solution, and Torrey is rather too much afraid of touching MT. The rebuke of 'Malachi' is really directed against some of those heathenish Jerahmeelite usages that are denounced in Ezek. viii. and Isa. lvi., lxv., lxvi. The Jewish *berith* or religion came from Yahwè, not from the god and father of Jerahmeel (cp. Num. xxi. 29). What right have Israelites to practise abominable foreign rites, and to hold intercourse with diviners, either in the land of Jerahmeel or among the Jerahmeelites of Jerusalem? (That many Jerahmeelites had settled themselves in Palestine, is clear; see on Ezra ii. 66 *f.*) And what place have N. Arabians in the temple of Yahwè? They can still be seen (as in Ezekiel's time—Ezek. xlv. 9*a*) acting as sacrificers of Yahwè, as if they were in Jerahmeel serving the god of the land. Yet you wonder at Yahwè's displeasure, and ask a reason. It is because of the broad distinction between the holy Israelite and the unholy diviner by the 'ōb. (To have dealings with such contributed to bring about Israel's ruin; see 2 K. xxi. 6, 10.) To Jerahmeel and all its doings Yahwè has an antipathy; beware, then, of Jerahmeel.

Among the corrections here put forward note especially these—אוב ידעני, ובעל ויאנל¹ בישראל, בישמעאל for ער וענה (v. 12), בני ואנקה נבירחמאל for ענק, Num. xiii. 33), ידעני for נעוריד (v. 14), מְבַקֵּשׁ for מְנַשֵּׂף (v. 15), and חמס for קסם (v. 16). Observe, too, that this is not the only passage in which ירחמאל and אהלי (see v. 12) have supplanted יעקב. It is possible that in v. 14, for בגדתה בה we should read קסמתה בה, since בגד ב generally means 'to be treacherous to.'

CHAP. iii. 1. For מלאכי read אֶת־מִיכָאֵל (the angelic patron of Israel, Dan. x. 13, 21). Note, just after, מלאך הנריה. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Michael,' § 11; 'Prophet,' § 28 (*a*).

iii. 5. Winckler (*AOF* ii. 539) sees that מנאפים and

¹ בידר is followed in MT. by ובירושלם, but originally, for 'בידר', there stood ובישמעאל, a correction of בישראל. 'יר' and 'שמ' are often confounded.

לשקר ought to represent classes of men analogous to the מְקַשְׁפִּים or 'sorcerers.' But I doubt his 'nuph-priests' and 'shaba-priests.' The class-names we want are מְעַנְנִים, 'diviners' (see Isa. ii. 6, lvii. 3) and נְשֻׁבְעִים בִּירְחֻמָּאֵל (בישמעאל) 'diviners' (see Isa. ii. 6, lvii. 3) and יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. For the corrupt לשקר cp. שְׁקָלִים, I S. xvii. 5, 7 = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. See on Zech. v. 3 f.

PART III

FIRST AND SECOND SAMUEL

THE textual difficulties of the Books of Samuel are only too well known. If the present writer often differs from his able predecessors (among whom Wellhausen and Klostermann are conspicuous) this will excite no surprise. The surprise would be if one who has a somewhat new point of view should have nothing original to suggest by way of supplementing the existing commentaries and dictionaries. It may only be necessary to add that if the proper names dealt with in some of these notes are generally taken to indicate that the bearers of them resided in S. Palestine or even in the Negeb, this is not merely because of their apparent Jerahmeelite connection, for it is certain that a great Semitic migration from Arabia took place between 3000 and 2000 B.C., which has left its traces in early royal Babylonian names, and which cannot have failed to influence the names of Palestine. We might, in fact, expect to find names plainly of North Arabian origin anywhere in Palestine. The inference drawn in these notes from the names in 1 and 2 Samuel is based on the fact that the legends and histories of the Old Testament, when critically examined, are most easily intelligible on the hypothesis that they come from circles closely connected with the N. Arabian border-land, and that it was this region which exercised the most direct and continuous influence on that section of the Hebrew race, from which the Old Testament records appear to proceed. The reader is courteously requested (1) not to form his final judgment till he has worked through the whole of the evidence

which will be produced for a greatly modified view of the Israelitish history and literature, and (2) to remember that no one more appreciates the importance of extra-biblical evidence than the present writer, who retracts nothing that he has hitherto said on this subject, and is anxiously waiting for further archæological and Assyriological suggestions, especially with regard to the history of the northern Israelites. Without a more thorough textual criticism, the archæological work of Bliss and Sellin and the Assyriological researches of Winckler and Zimmern will only be of half the use that one desires, but with such preliminary work as is here at any rate attempted, most welcome historical surprises may in due time be hoped for.

FIRST SAMUEL

CHAP. I. 1 *f.*—Samuel's father is introduced with a word (אָהָד) which, as Budde (*KHC*) truly says, only has a clear *raison d'être* in the case of a nameless person (cp. Judg. ix. 53, 2 K. iv. 1 [both times אַחַת], 1 K. xiii. 11). The only parallel for אִישׁ אָהָד as here used is Judg. xiii. 2, where, after the prefixed words, comes 'his name was Manoah.' Now Manoah's home, as we shall see, was placed by the original legend in the Negeb, another name for which was Jerahmeel. We also find אָהָד again and again standing, by textual corruption, for יִרְחַמְאֵל (see *e.g.* on Gen. iv. 25, 1 Chr. vii. 12). See also on אָהָד, Zeph. iii. 9 (10). אִישׁ אָהָד in Judg., *l.c.*, should therefore probably be אִישׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל; cp. אִישׁ יִשְׁשַׁכַּר, Judg. x. 1. In all probability Samuel himself—a son of Jerahmeel (see below)—was also connected with the Negeb. If so, we need not hesitate to make the same correction here.

מִן-הַקְּרָתִים צוּפִים. The explanation of Wellhausen, adopted by Driver, shows his wonted acuteness. There are, however, cogent objections to it (see *E. Bib.*, col. 4011), and Wellh. forgets that a clan-name would be just as suitable as a place-name to indicate Elkanah's extraction. The easiest emendation is [or מִצוּף] מִן-הַקְּרָתִים מִצְפָּה. מִטְרִי, however, like תַּמְרִי and רַמְתִּי, and like מִטְרִי in Gen. xxxvi. 39, comes ultimately from [יִרְחַמְאֵל].¹ The 'mount Ephraim' spoken of was therefore a district in the Negeb; a view which is

¹ Marq. (*Fund.* 14) is wrong in emending מִטְרִי in x. 21 into כְּבִירִי (for כְּבִירִי). כְּבִירִי does no doubt exist (1 Chr. ix. 8), but both Michri, Bichri, and Matri all have a right to exist as independent popular corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵל.

supported by numerous other passages. Saul too, as we shall see, was at any rate of Jerahmeelite extraction, and very probably also belonged to the Negeb. It is true that Elkanah's house was at Ramah (*v.* 19, ii. 11). But there was a Ramah in the Negeb (xxx. 27), and Ramah (*i.e.* Jerahmeel) and Mizpah (*i.e.* Zarephath? see on Judg. xx. 1) were both frequented by Samuel (vii. 16 *f.*). We now understand better how the Chronicler and his authority (?) came to make Elkanah a Levite. He was at any rate connected with the southern Zarephath, which was in early times a great centre of the Levites (see *E. Bib.* 'Moses,' § 17). For צופים see further on ix. 5.

According to Marq. (*Fund.* 12 *f.*) the *genealogy* in i. 1 is made up of two reports, viz. Elkanah ben Jerahmeel (Jeroham) and Elihu ben Tahān (Naḥath, etc.). Certainly there are two genealogies of Samuel in 1 Chr. vi. 18-23 and 7-13, which Marq. acutely analyses. Who Elihu is, this critic does not expressly say, but he allows us to infer that it was, according to one tradition, the name of Samuel's father (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Elihu,' 2). He omits צוף (Zuph), however, as being the name of a place, not of a clan. But how does Marq. know that צוף, or the name represented by it, was never used as a clan-name, and that Tohu, or its original, never passed as a place-name? The truth probably is that צוף = צרפת[ת], and that Şarephath, disguised as Resheph (1 Chr. vii. 25), could be used as a clan-name. Tohu, Tahath, and Tahan may all spring from Naphtoah (clan-name and place-name); see on Naphtuhim, Gen. x. 13. The name we could spare best in i. 1 is Elihu. Omitting this, the description of Elkanah's origin would be 'a Jerahmeelite, having a family connection with Naphtoah and Zarephath.' Another name of Zarephath was probably Mizpah (a modification of Zephath); see above. In truth 'Elihu' is only an ancient distortion of 'Jerahmeel'; here, however, it may have sprung from an early variant ירוחם, *i.e.* an original reading ירחמאל was miswritten אלירח. 'Elkanah' itself may come from Kināthiel (from קינה, connected with the tribal name קנן). After the 'genealogy' comes אפרתי, 'an Ephrathite'; there was, as we have seen (on Gen. xxxv. 16, 1 Chr. ii. 19), an Ephrath in the Negeb. Cp.

E. Bib., 'Jerahmeel,' § 3 (with Cook's conjecture), 'Jeroham,' 'Tahath.'

פננה (*φεννανα*), as Bateson Wright suggests (see *E. Bib.*, 'Peninnah'), may be related to Jephunneh (father of Caleb).

i. 3. שִׁלֹה. If the most venerated Israelitish sanctuaries were in the Negeb, the presumption is that the Shiloh of this story was also in that region. Shiloh, Shaul, and Shalisha may therefore all be connected. The site of Shiloh is described in Judg. xxi. 12, 19, 21. It was in the land of קִנּוּ (so read); it was near the border of the (southern) land of Benjamin; it was N. of Beth-el and E. of the road from Beth-el to Cushan (so read); it was S. of Libnah (so read). Cp., however, *E. Bib.*, 'Shiloh.'

עֲלִי. 'Eli has no genealogy (in spite of ii. 27, 30 *f.*). His sons are called חֲפְנִי and פְּנַחִם, which are obviously the same name (cp. Jabal and Jubal). If Eli was really of the Levi-tribe (see ii. 27 *f.*), it is possible that his name was originally given as Eleazar or Eliezer, for Eleazar (= Eliezer) was known as the father of Phinehas. But it is also possible that 'Eli' comes from יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִי or יִרְחֻמְאֵלִי. On the origin of פְּנַחִם see *E. Bib.*, 'Phinehas,' and note the corroboration of the view that Phinehas comes from 'Jerahmeel,' furnished by Jer. xlvi. 15 (see *Crit. Bib.*).

i. 6. בְּעוֹדָה עֲרִירָה. Read בעבור הרעמה. Cp. Wellh. and Klost. on 2 S. xii. 21.

i. 20. שְׁמוּאֵל. Šemū'el and Šā'ul (with Ishmael and Shobal) are probably modifications of the southern clan-name Shema' (= Sheba', S^B *σαμαα*, Josh. xix. 2), with the affirmative ל or אל. Cp. v. 28, where שְׁמוּאֵל is expressly made = שְׂאוּל. For contributions to study see *E. Bib.*, 'Names,' § 39; 'Shemuel,' with references; 'Shem, Names with'; and especially 'Saul,' § 1*b*. Note that *σαμουηλ* represents שְׂאוּל in Gen. xlvi. 10 (A), 1 S. xi. 13 (B*), 15 (BA), xv. 12 (B), while *σαουλ* represents שְׁמוּאֵל in xv. 12 (B). In 1 S. xxviii. 12 the שְׁמוּאֵל of MT. should be שְׂאוּל (Perles). See also the two readings in xi. 7. This easy confusion is significant.

CHAP. ii. 23. אַתְּ-דְּבָרִים רַעִים. H. P. Smith says, 'lacking in S^B and difficult to construe. . . . It seems better to leave the words out.' Similarly, he adds, on הָעַם אֱלֹהֵהוּ, 'im-

possible. The אלה has come in by false duplication of the following אל. \mathfrak{G} has κυρίου, which perhaps represents אלהים; but notice the phrase עם יהוה at the end of the next verse.' To this Budde can only add the suggestion that דב' רעים (without את) may be an alternative reading to *v.* 24. All this is mere groping in the dark. Just assume the result of criticism of the earlier books, and use experience in the correction of textual errors elsewhere, and all becomes plain. רעים, as in Ps. lxxviii. 49b (see *Ps*⁽²⁾), has been produced from a miswritten ירחמאל. 'את-דב' has in part a similar origin; *i.e.* דברינ דבירנ represents ירחמל, and the whole complex of letters מַת־יִר'. Upon this, in the original text, followed the true reading, *viz.* יִר' קָל-עַם יִר'. 'Jerahmeel' is a synonym for the Negeb, where Shiloh probably was (*cp.* on *v.* 28, end). \mathfrak{G} 's κυρίου = יהוה, which is not unfrequently a corruption of ירחמאל = ירח; thus \mathfrak{G} and MT. both point to the proposed reading. אלה was facilitated by the near neighbourhood of this word in the same verse.

ii. 24. מעברים עם יהוה, 'seems unintelligible' (H. P. Sm.). Budde, '(that I hear) Yahwe's people spread,' which, he thinks, 'remains a satisfactory rendering.' Driver takes the same view, but adds that the text seems doubtful. \mathfrak{G} gives τοῦ μὴ δουλεύειν (מַעְבֵּד) λαὸν θεῷ, which seems as unoriginal as MT. It is probable that the true text stopped at שָׁמַע, and that מעברים עם יהוה represents עם מירחמאל ירחמאל, which got into the margin (from another MS.) as a double variant to מאת כל-העם אלה in *v.* 23.

ii. 28, end. בני ישראל; \mathfrak{G} , υἱῶν Ἰσρα. εἰς βρωσιν. εἰς βρ. 'is an extremely weak explanation' (Wellh.). It presupposes לאנל, and forms of אנל sometimes (see *e.g.* on Isa. vii. 14 *f.*, lxvi. 17) represent ירחמאל. Possibly there was an early reading בני ירח'. Though the term בני ישראל became universal, yet it is possible that the Israelites who dwelt in the Negeb were sometimes denominated ירח', 'Jerahmeelites.' As opposed to hostile Jerahmeelites (Amalekites, etc.) they may have called themselves 'sons of Israel,' but, as settlers in the land of Jerahmeel, and worshippers at the old Jerahmeelite sanctuaries, they may have thought it natural to style themselves 'sons of Jerahmeel.' See on *vv.* 23, 29, and on Gen. xxi. 33).

ii. 29. כל-מנחה יש' לעמי. 'It would be easy to read עמי, but ל appears also in G's לפני' (Wellh.). Hitz., Driv. (?), Klost., Bu. accept לפני. But is this quite natural? 'Ye make yourselves fat (?) with the offerings of Israel,' is a good sense, and is only obscured by the addition of the words 'before me' ('defying me?' or 'before I receive my portion?'). Surely לעמי is half right; *i.e.* it is the disguise of a longer word—ירחמאל, which is a variant to ישראל (see on v. 28, end).

ii. 36. לאנל פת-לחם, לאגורת נסף ונכר-לחם. For the first group of words G^B has ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου, to which G^A adds καὶ ἐν ἄρτῳ ἐν [ἐνί]; G^L ἐν ὀβολῷ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἐν ἄρτῳ ἐνί. For the second, G^{BA} φαγεῖν ἄρτον, G^L τοῦ φαγεῖν ἄρτον κυρίου. The rendering ὀβολός for אגורה implies a combination of the word with גרה, a Hebrew weight ($\frac{1}{20}$ th of a shekel). Vg., 'ut offerat nummum,' makes another guess (אגר, 'to collect'). Frd. Del. (*Prol.* 149), followed by BDB, explains 'payment' (Ass. *agaru*, 'to acquire, hire a person,' Muss-Arnolt). The word is very suspicious. In *E. Bib.*, 'Spelt,' it is suggested to correct לאג' נסף into נסמת לאג, 'for an omer of spelt.' But this is too literary a correction. The prophecy in vv. 27-36 is full of religious-political meaning. The first word one can identify is נשם, which (as in Isa. lii. 3) underlies נסף. One then sees that אגורת represents לאמרת (ג = מ), *i.e.* ירחמאל (cp. אמרפל, Gen. xiv. 1). נכר and לחם are both among the current disguises of this same ethnic (for נ', see on Gen. xiii. 10, and for ל', on Gen. xxxv. 19). We now pass to the second group. לאנל, as in v. 28 (G), represents ירחמאל; פת probably comes from בית; לחם and יהוה (appended in G^L) have already been explained. The whole verse should be explained thus, Whoever is left of Eli's clan, after the great catastrophe described in vv. 31, 33b, shall, with abject humility, beseech the 'faithful priest' (*i.e.* the Zadokites) to put him into one of the priestly offices in Beth-jerahmeel. Beth-jerahmeel was apparently the name of a city in the Negeb with an important sanctuary (see on x. 5, Jer. ii. 34), in which the few survivors of Eli's clan hoped to receive posts. Read יבוא להשתחות לו ואמר ירחמאל. ספ' נא אל-אחת הקהנות בית-ירחמאל לאג' גו'. ירחמאל represents ירחמאל נשם, which omit as marginal glosses (It will be

noticed that ⚙'s ἄρτον κυρίου is here explained for the first time. יהוה is simply 'ירח' = ירחמאל. ⚙'s omission of פת, however, is adequately accounted for by Budde; 'a morsel of Yahwè's bread' would be a most inappropriate expression.)

CHAP. iii. 20. 'From Dan to Beersheba,' *i.e.* in all the sanctuaries where Israelite pilgrims congregated, Samuel's prophetic call had become known. Cp. on 2 S. iii. 10, xxiv. 2.

CHAP. iv. 1. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that wherever 'Eben ha-ezer' occurs (iv. 1, v. 1, vii. 12) the same place is meant. It was near Aphek, according to iv. 1, and between Mizpah (Zarephath?) and Shen (Shunem?), according to vii. 12. עור was a clan-name. Cp. Ezer, (1) one of the b'ne H̄ur (Ashhur), 1 Chr. iv. 4; (2) a priest, mentioned with Malchijah and Elam (Jerahmeelite names), Neh. xii. 42; (3) one of the b'ne Ephraim, mentioned in a group of Negeb names, 1 Chr. vii. 21; (4) one of eleven Gadites bearing Jerahmeelite names, 1 Chr. xii. 9. Note also Azariah. Eben-ezer (not ha-ezer, originally) meant 'stone of Ezer.' It is more difficult to reach a safe conclusion as to Aphek. The final redactor of Kings probably knew of an Aphek E. of the Jordan (*Fik*). But in Josh., Judg., 1 S., and also in the original form of 1 K. xx. 26, 30, 2 K. xiii. 17, 25, a place in the Negeb was meant. This place must have had strategic importance. It was near Eben-ezer, also near Jezreel (xxix. 1), and in Josh. xiii. 4 it is apparently represented as on the border of the Arammites (so read), and as near the land of the Miṣrites (so read), and of the men of (the southern) Gebal. In Josh. xii. 18, too, it is most probably (according to the intention of the original writer) a place of the Negeb. For all the place-names in the text of Kings may be readily explained as Negeb names, and note in particular that the next name to Aphek is לשרון, which is probably a corruption of שילון, 'Shilon' = 'Shiloh.' This view would illustrate the sending for the ark mentioned in v. 4.

iv. 10. ⚙'s ταγμάτων (MT. רגלי) suggests that, as in xv. 4, ethnics stood in the original text, and that we should read [גלעד] בישמעאל מאד גדולה ותהי המכה גדולה; גלעד may be a

gloss on 'שמ'. This is agreeable to parallels. אלף and ריפל may both represent fragments of 'שמ'; של' also may have come from שמעאל. Right method leads with some certainty to this result. See on xv. 4.

iv. 21. אינכור, really a distortion of ירחמאל; cp. on Ex. vi. 20. Like איובל from 'שמ'. This bears on the 'golden mice' of chap. vi. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ichabod.'

CHAP. v. 1-5. אשדור is here a corruption of אשור (cp. on Am. iii. 9), the N. Arabian Asshur or Ashhur is meant. The 'Philistines' are really the Zarephathites (Gen. x. 14).—constant foes of Israel. The god of Asshur is called דגון, probably an alteration of 'Gadon' (not so 1 Macc. x. 83, see on Judg. xvi. 23). Priests and worshippers of this god avoid treading on the threshold of his house; see on Zeph. i. 8 f.; 1 K. xviii. 21.

v. 6—vi. 20. The difficulties of this portion of the narrative are enormous indeed. The ingenuity of the attempts to overcome them will scarcely be denied by any one; I have done my own best (*valeat quantum*) in the article 'Emerods' (*E. Bib.*). Further experience, however, of the frequency of the phenomenon of an underlying text, and of certain recurrent types of corruption, together with the enforced correction of Ps. lxxviii. 66, has enabled me to clear up the passage with an approach to certainty. First, as to עפלים, טחרים, and ענברים; all spring from corruptly written ethnics, עפלים (cp. on עפל, Mic. iv. 8) from ישמעאלים, טחרים (cp. חמור) from ירחמאלים, and ענברים (cp. on Isa. lxvi. 17) from ירחמאלים or עמלקים. In v. 6 Ⓔ^B has (after ἐπι' Αζ.) καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐξέξεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεψύησαν μύες; Ⓔ^L is slightly fuller. Here ἐξέξεσεν seems to Klost. to have come from ἐξέστρησεν (וְהָמָם). This may be right (cp. מהומה, v. 9); certainly εἰς τὰς ναῦς [αὐτῶν, L] represents לְאַרְמְנֵיהֶם (cp. on Isa. ii. 16, Ps. xlviii. 8). וישם in MT. seems to represent ישמעאלים. The text of v. 6 must once have run somewhat like this, ותנבד יד-י' על-האשורים ויהם ויעלו עליהם, ובקרוב ארצם [ירחמאלים] ישמעאלים וינו אתם בארמנתיהם ובקרוב ארצם. The meaning is that first of all Yahwè sent a panic among the Asshurites (accompanied by sudden deaths, see v. 12), upon which Amalekite or Ishmaelite plunderers set upon them,

and slew them everywhere, even in their towns or palaces (cp. 'palaces of Asshur,' Am. ii. 9).

v. 8 *f.* By the advice of the רזנים (see on Josh. xiii. 3) the ark is taken to 'Gath,' or rather 'Rehoboth' (xxi. 10). The same events ensued. First, the panic. Then the attack of the Amalekites. The closing words וישתרו להם עפלים represent three fragments of ישמעאלים, which is the subject to [וינ]ו.

v. 10-12. Similarly at Ekron, or rather Jarḥon = Jerahmeel (see *E. Bib.*, 'Me-jarkon'). First came the panic with the sudden deaths (v. 12); then the Amalekite raiders. For בירחמאלים read בעמלקים; the Kr. בטחורים represents בירחמאלים. In v. 10, vi. 16, vii. 14 Ⓢ has 'Ascalon,' *i.e.* Eshcol. Cp. A. Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus* (1895), pp. 19 *f.*, who, however, does not go to the root of the matter, and explain the rival readings.

CHAP. vi. 4 *f.* The 'āshām is to consist—of what? Of 'five golden tumours and five golden mice?' Certainly not of 'golden tumours,' (1) because עפלים is only by a bold conjecture rendered 'tumours,' (2) because morbid growths like tumours nowhere receive plastic representation (cp. Creighton, *E. Bib.*, 'Emerods'). The 'golden mice' might pass. It is only in Ⓢ, however, that a plague of mice finds express record, and this may well be a late redactional insertion, while the view that the mouse was anciently a symbol of pestilence cannot be proved (Budde's argument is the resource of despair). No, the 'mice,' too, have to be abandoned. In *sv.* 4 *f.* either עפלי (= ישמעאלי) or ענברי (= ירחמאלי or עמלקי) is superfluous. The 'āshām consisted in golden images of Amalekites or Ishmaelites, which were offered as *piacula* in place of living victims to the offended God of Israel.

vi. 6. Clearly one expects מַצְרִים and פְּרָאוּ.—8. For בארון (a doubtful word, for which Lagarde and Klost. offer improbable etymologies) read בְּאֲרוֹן. ארון is not confined to a single sacred chest. The repository of the sacred offerings could also be called an ארון; ג and ו are corruptions of ן. So *Exp.T.*, x. 521. Cp., however, Bennett, *Exp.T.*, xiii. 234, and Budde's comment.

vi. 9. בִּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ. But as סוּם sometimes represents פֶּשֶׁשׁ,

so שמש again and again (*e.g.* Ps. cxxi. 6) represents נָשָׁם. Cp. on Judg. i. 33, 1 K. iv. 9, 2 K. xiv. 11, Jer. xliii. 13.

vi. 18. For פָּרִי read פָּרִי, *i.e.* צרפתים (cp. on Dt. iii. 5). 'מעיר מבצר וגו' is probably an accretion on the text.

vi. 19. **¶** begins thus, *καὶ οὐκ ἠσμένισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰεχονίου ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν Βαιθσαμυς*. Budde and H. P. Smith approve Klost.'s view of the underlying text, viz. 'the b'ne Jeconiah did not share the joy of the men of Beth-shemesh when these looked with delight on the ark,' etc. But who are the b'ne Jeconiah? and why are they brought in here? The truth probably is that underneath בני יכניה (as Klost. plausibly restores **¶**'s Heb. text) there lies an earlier text, viz. ירחמאלים בני הקיני. 'Jerahmeelites' (= Amalekites) and 'Kenites' are alternative readings, one or other of which is the subject of the verb וינ[ו]. Further on in the same verse other variants are given, for underneath חמשים אלף איש (which Budde unsuspectingly describes as an exaggerating gloss) experience teaches us almost certainly to see נָשָׁם ירחמאלים, *i.e.* 'Cushites, Ishmaelites.' The second ויד (with בעם, from next clause) may of course be omitted. The inexplicableness of this attack of the Kenites or Ishmaelites was heightened by the fact that the men of Beth-cusham had rejoiced to see the returning ark. It seemed as if their sympathetic interest had stirred up Yahwè's displeasure against them. Hence the ark is sent to Kirjath-jearim.

vi. 21, vii. 1. 'Kirjath-jearim' has now to be explained. It was one of the cities of the Gibeonites; now Gibeon was certainly in the Negeb (see on Josh. ix.). We need not hesitate, therefore, to correct the improbable יערים (as well as the בעל in בעל'ק, Josh. xv. 60) into ירחמאל (see on vii. 2). Another name for Kirjath-jerahmeel was probably Gibeath-jerahmeel (see on 2 S. vi. 3, Josh. xviii. 28). This seems to have been the name of a city in the Negeb with a very popular sanctuary (see on Jer. ii. 34, iii. 23). The גבעה is the hill with the citadel, within the precincts of which the 'house of Abinadab' may have been. Note the N. Arabian affinities of the names Abinadab (? Arāb-nadab) and Eleazar (cp. on 'Eben-ezer,' iv. 1).

CHAP. vii. 2. Neither of the two clauses, וירבו הימים and ויהיו וגו', can be made to connect with what goes before.

Klost. and Budde point this out, but do not fully account for the insertion. The truth seems to be that both יירבו and הימים are corrupt fragments of ירחמאל, which is a gloss on the preceding word יערים. After the corruption had arisen, a redactor inserted the plausible statement 'there elapsed twenty years.' At the end of the verse G^1 appends $\epsilon\nu$ εἰρήνη, *i.e.* בשלום = בישמעאל. This conveys a correct explanation of 'all the house of Israel'; the Israel 'in Ishmael' (= in the Negeb) is referred to.

vii. 11 *f.* בֵּית כֶּרֶם, *i.e.* 'בית כרם = בית כרם' (*E. Bib.*, 'Beth-car'). 'Beth-kerem' is a distortion of Beth-jerahmeel (see on Jer. vi. 1).—השן. The article is adventitious as in המצפה. השן comes from 'שן = שנים' (see on xxviii. 4). Cp. on iv. 1, and on 'Jeshanah' (which We., Dr., H. P. Sm., and Bu., after G , Pesh., substitute for 'Shen') see on 2 Chr. xiii. 19.

vii. 14. Temporary peace was secured between Israel and the Arammites (read הַאֲרָמִי). The cities in the Negeb which the 'Philistines' (Zarephathites) had conquered, from 'Ekron' (= Jerahmeel?) as far as 'Gath' (= Rehoboth?), were recovered by Israel. G has ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος ἕως Ἀζοβ. Ἀζοβ, according to Wellh., is a witty reference to Zeph. ii. 4 (עזה עזובה תהיה), and means Gaza, which, as the most southerly Philistine city, should be opposed to Ekron in the north. But the question is what did the underlying text mean? G 's 'Ascalon' represents Eshcol (from 'Ishmael'?) ; see on v. 10. Ἀζοβ may be illustrated by the name Azubah borne by the 'wife' of Caleb (1 Chr. ii. 18) and the mother of king Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii. 42). Azubah is of course connected with some clan-name. Azubah in 1 K. is called *bath-shillū[m]*; she was a native of Shilhim. Not improbably the Azub (?) clan became fused with that called Shelah, whose centre was at Shilhim. Now Shilhim appears in Josh. xv. 32 between Baalath and En-rimmon (for the text see *ad loc.*), and both these places were in the Negeb. Azub is probably based on a popular corruption of אִזְבָּל, *i.e.* יִשְׁמַעֲלָל, and may be grouped with 'Buz' (cp. 'Buzi,' Ezek. i. 3; 'Buzite,' Job xxxii. 2) and 'Boaz' (בועז) in the story of Ruth, where, as we shall see, 'Bethlehem-judah' is partly corrupted, partly altered, from Beth-jerahmeel.

vii. 16 *f.* The centres of Samuel's judicial activity were

Bethel (perhaps Tubal), Gilgal, Mizpah (*i.e.* Zarephath?), and Ramah (*i.e.* Jerahmeel).

CHAP. viii. 2. 'Joel' (from 'Jerahmeel') and 'Abijah' (from 'Arāb-jerahmeel'?) are the significant names of Samuel's sons; inserted by the redactor from a genealogy.

viii. 8. Read אֱלֹהֵי יִרְחָמָאֵל (Dt. vii. 4, etc., Jer. i. 16).

CHAP. ix. 1. אִישׁ מֵאֶרֶץ ב' *i.e.* אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי-יָמִין (v. 16). The continuation needs keen criticism. Marq. (*Fund.* 15) has seen that בן-יָמִין בן-אִישׁ יִמִּיני should probably be בן יָמִין [or (גבעת) מן אֶפְקָא]. Let us add that נוֹשׁ קִישׁ represents אֲבִיָּאֵל, נוֹשׁ (1 Chr. viii. 30, ix. 36, בעל) comes from עֶרְב־עֶלְבֹּן (2 S. xxiii. 31), צָרוּר (Chr. צוּר) probably from צוּפָר = צָרְפָּת, צָרוּרָה, בְּנוּרָה (2 S. xx. 1). Beyond doubt, Saul's family was of Jerahmeelite, *i.e.* N. Arabian, origin. See *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 1.

ix. 4. הַר-אֶפְרַיִם. 'Har-ephrain' has four conceivable senses; it may mean (1) the great mountainous mass from the plain of Megiddo to Beersheba, (2) the northern part of this, *i.e.* the central highlands of W. Palestine, (3) the part verging towards the south commonly known as Benjamin, and (4) the region in the Negeb otherwise called 'Har-jerahmeel.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Benjamin,' § 1 *f.*; 'Ephraim,' § 3. The third of these senses would best suit the ordinary view of the geography of the life of Saul. It is doubtful, however, whether this sense really exists. Buhl, indeed, says (*Pal.* 89) that the 'Benjaminites dwelt on Mt. Ephraim (Judg. iii. 27, cp. v. 15; 2 S. xx. 1, 21).' But the geography of these passages is in dispute. He adds, 'only in passages like 2 Chr. xix. 4 is the extent of Mt. Ephraim determined by the political boundary.' But it is probable that in this passage the Mt. Ephraim spoken of was not far from Beersheba.

יִמִּיני, שְׁעָלִים, שְׁלֹשָׁה. Each of these names is attached to אֶרֶץ; they belong to the districts through which, as well as through Mount Ephraim, Saul and the servant 'passed.' H. P. Sm. combines 'Shaalim' with the אֶרֶץ שְׁעָלִים of xiii. 17. In fact, שְׁעָלִים, שְׁלֹשָׁה, שְׁעָלִים, שְׁלֹשָׁה, to which we may add שְׁעָלִים and שְׁלֹשָׁה or שְׁלֹשָׁה, seem to be all connected. Very possibly שְׁלֹשָׁה and שְׁעָלִים represent the same name which may have been written both שְׁלֹשָׁה (Shiloh) and שְׁעָלִים or שְׁלֹשָׁה. It is possible that the place intended was the seat of the famous sanctuary

of the ark, which was destroyed by the 'Philistines.' Cp. also שָׁלֵם, Gen. xxxiii. 18, if we may regard this as the name of a place near 'Shechem' (rather 'Cusham') in the Negeb. See further on 2 K. iv. 42. יִמְרֵי should probably be יִמְרֵי; the 'Yemanites' were the Jerahmeelites. Ⓞ^B *ιακειμ*; Ⓞ^L *ιαβω*.

ix. 5. They next reach the land of צָרַף. This is a mutilated and corrupt form of some place-name, perhaps of מִצְפָּה, but more probably of צַרְפַּת. This involves placing the region in the Negeb. The original story may have meant this. Klost. deserves great credit for seeing this ('cp. צַפַּת, Judg. i. 17' are his words). He also explains יִמְרֵי (*v.* 4) as a Simeonite district in the S. (Gen. xlv. 10, Num. xxvi. 12).

ix. 9, 11. In *v.* 11 Saul and the servant ask the maidens, הַיֵּשׁ בְּנֵה הַרְאָה. This is explained in *v.* 9 by the gloss, 'Formerly a seeker after oracles said, "Let us go to the *rōeh* ('seer')," *rōeh* being an old word for *nābhī*.' This early gloss is thought to imply forgetfulness of the fact that the 'seer' and the 'prophet' were originally distinct. It is also held that the *nebi'im* originated in the period of the 'Philistine oppression.' The former of these propositions is more plausible than the latter, but unfortunately documentary proofs of it are wanting. The *nebi'im* are certainly of N. Arabian origin (see *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' § 4), and there is no reason to doubt that the seers (*hōzīm*) were quite as much a N. Arabian as a Canaanitish phenomenon. Samuel himself is described as a prophet in iii. 20, and in xix. 18-24 is even said to have taken part in the dervish-like proceedings of a band of prophets. But the latter passage at any rate is probably late. Elsewhere he is called either a 'man of God' (ix. 6 *ff.*, 10) or הַרְאָה, EV. 'the seer,' Ⓞ *ὁ βλέπων* (ix. 11, 18, 19), 1 Ch. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29). But it is doubtful whether הַרְאָה really means 'the seer.' In 1 Chr. ii. 52 Shobal has a son called הַרְאָה. In iv. 2 this becomes רְאִיה. Both names are distortions of יְרוּחַמָּאֵל. Now, we have seen that Samuel was a son of יְרוּחָם. It is possible that the earliest tradition gave the 'man of God' a second name, which was some form of Jarham or Jerahmeel. Thus we are no longer bound to hold that רְאִיה (*rōeh*)

was an earlier term for נביא. True, in 2 Chr. xvi. 7, 10 Hanani (elsewhere called הַחֲנָנִי) is called הַחֲנָנִי. But these are very late passages.

ix. 21. שבטי is probably a corruption of a dittographed משפחות (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tribes,' col. 5201, note 2).

CHAP. x. 2. 'Thou wilt find two men עַם-קְבוּרַת רַחֵל.' If this is correct, Rachel's tomb was pointed out at שלשה, *i.e.* Shiloh (see above), as well as at Ephrath. For זלצה almost certainly comes from שלשה (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zelzah'). It is more probable, however, that ק' ר' is incorrect; רחל (as well as רנל) is a possible corruption of ירחמאל, and קבורת may spring from ביתוק, where רק represents רח in רחל (dittographed). גבול בנימן will be a correct geographical gloss. The southern Benjamin is meant. Where MT. has בצלצה Ald. and some MSS. of Ⓔ (cp. Field's *Hex.*) give, before ἀλλομενους μεγαλα, ἐν Σηλω ἐν Βακαλαθ. These are renderings (?) respectively of בְּשֵׁלָה בְּבֵית גְּלִים and צְלָחִים בֵּית גְּלִים (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Gallim,' § 2).

x. 3. אלו תבור. Ⓔ^L τῆς δρυὸς τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, *i.e.* בחור, representing בתורום. 'Bahurim' is generally supposed to have been in the northern Benjamin. It was, however, not far from Gallim (2 S. iii. 16, cp. 1 S. xxv. 44), *i.e.* Jerahmeel, and the reference in 2 S. xix. 16 (see note) does not oppose our placing it in the Negeb. The name בחורים has not yet been explained (Fürst, 'low ground'??). Ⓔ^L, 2 S. xvii. 18, gives βαυθορρων. Possibly 'ב' = חום, so that ultimately 'Bahurim' comes from 'Beth-jerahmeel.' Klost. makes 'ב' = בכרים, *i.e.* the seat of the Bicrites (Saul's clan). But was not this a Beth-jerahmeel?

x. 5. גבעת האלהים. Does this mean 'Gibeah of the sanctuary?' And why the addition, 'where is the נציב (so read) of the Pelištim'? It so happens that אלהים is pretty often miswritten for ירחמאל, and that there was a place called Gibeath-jerahmeel (miswritten in Josh. v. 3 Gibeath-hā-araloth, and in 2 S. ii. 24 Gibeath-ammah). If we correct Gibeath-hāēlōhim into Gibeath-jerahmeel, we can account for the addition about the נציב (*E. Bib.*, col. 4307, note 2). 'Jerahmeelites' and 'Zarephathites' (corrupted into פלשתים) are synonyms. The sacred pillar (see WRS, *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 204) of the Zarephathites (פל) occasioned the place-name

'Gibeath-jerahmeel.' There seems to have been a great Jerahmeelite sanctuary of that name (note on Jer. ii. 34). See, however, on Isa. x. 28-32; also on 1 S. xiii. 3.—מְהַבְּמָה. Cp. 1 K. iii. 4, 'this was the great *bāmāh*.' Beth-jerahmeel (ii. 36), Gibeath-jerahmeel, and Gibeon may have been the same place (xx. 19).

'The second שם is protected by *v.* 10' (Wellh.). 'שם beside העיר is suspicious' (Budde). The truth probably is that both here and in *v.* 10 שם comes from ישמעאל (as *e.g.* Isa. lii. 11; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shem'), and העיר from ירחמאל. We saw just now that the spot was called 'גב' ירח'—probably a great sanctuary.

x. 10. שם. See preceding note.—11 *f.* For the textual and exegetical difficulties see H. P. Sm., Bu., Wellh. מאתמול שלשם can hardly mean 'from his youth up,' as Budde thinks. This critic adds, 'It may seem as if there were two parallel openings; in this case הָעֵם is not superfluous, as H. P. Sm. supposes (cp. Vg.).' It is, however, unsafe to analyse before textual criticism has been applied. The passage is quite regular, if we take account of the signs of an underlying original text. In xiv. 21, xix. 7, 2 K. xiii. 5, Mic. ii. 8, Ps. xc. 4 אתמול has probably come from ירחמאל, in Isa. xxx. 28 from ישמעאל. שלשם (= ישמעאל) is a constant gloss on אתמול. It is probable that מאתמול here comes from ירחמאל (מ is dittographed), and that a verb of movement preceded it. Read [ישמעאל] ירד ירחמאל, 'And so it was, that when he came down to Jerahmeel (*i.e.* from the *bāmāh*), men looked, and behold,' etc. (ר became ד, and ד became ע; cp. שמר and שמע confounded in Dt. xi. 22, etc.).

x. 12. Read ויען איש ישמעאל. The following words are not the original reading (see H. P. Sm.). Possibly the speech of the man has been lost, and ומי אביהם represents ירחמאל, a variant to ישמעאל. G's reading אביהו (so, too, Pesh., Vg.) is a guess.

x. 21. מְטָרִי. See on i. 1 *f.* Emendation would be distortion.

x. 27. ובני בליעל. Why this strong expression? Read ובני ירחמאל (cp. on 2 S. xx. 1, Nah. i. 11). This is confirmed by the corrupt כמחורש ויהי, which represents ירחמאל אשחור, probably = בעל הצור of 2 S. xiii. 23 (see note).

It was the men of a particular district who withheld their allegiance, and the true text gives the name of the district. Most critics follow **Ⓢ**, and read יְהוּדֵי כְּמֹחַדָּשׁ. But the combination of כ with a preposition is very uncommon. Gen. xxxviii. 24 (see note) is not a safe passage to quote.

CHAP. xi. 1. עֲמֹן so often represents יְרֻחַמָּאֵל that we have to consider whether this may not be so here. See on Judg. xi. 4. Saul's great foes are the Amalekites or Jerahmeelites, and Jabesh-gilead is a city in the southern Gilead in the Negeb. In 2 S. x. 2 we hear of a Nahash, king of Ammon, who showed kindness to David. Is not this Achish, king of Gath or rather Rehoboth? Rabbath-ammon is the name which our text gives to the capital of Hanun, ben Nahash (2 S. xi. 1, xii. 26), but its true name was probably Rehoboth-jerahmeel. Probably either 'Achish' is misread for 'Nahash,' or 'Nahash' for 'Achish' (see on 2 S. xvii. 24 *f.*, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Nahash,' 'Saul,' § 1 *f.*). Both names come either from 'Cush' or from 'Ashhur' (see on xxi. 10).

יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד. A place which only plays a rôle in the story of Saul and in connected narratives (see on Judg. xxi. 8). Probably the same as Beth-gilgal (גִּלְעָד and גִּלְגָל being liable to confusion) and Beth-jerahmeel (see *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 6). There are, however, also parallels for equating יבש with יִשְׁמַעֵאל; the original name would then be Ishmael-gilead, *i.e.* Gileadite Ishmael (or Jerahmeel).

xi. 2. The text caricatures the cruelty of the foe. The true colouring is restored by reading, for בַּסְקוֹל, בְּנִקְרוֹר. זָמֵן means יָזָן = יְרֻחַמָּאֵל; whether the whole Negeb, or only a part of it, bore this name, or whether usage varied at different times, may be left open. 'Stopping up every fountain in Jaman' was cruel enough, doubtless (cp. 2 K. ii. 25). ס and נ confounded (see *E. Bib.*, col. 4305, note 4).

xi. 7. אַחַר שְׂמוֹאֵל. Impossible here. It is a corruption of יִשְׁמַעֵאל, a gloss on בְּרַמָּה in the earlier text of v. 8.

xi. 8. בְּקָק. See on Judg. i. 5. Read either בָּרָךְ, a southern clan-name (cp. בְּרִכָּה, בְּרִיכָה), or בְּנֵר (Saul's clan); cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 4306. The huge numbers and the division into Israel and Judah indicate a late insertion, remarks Budde. But this is an incomplete view. The true key to the problem is furnished (1) by **Ⓢ**'s ἐν βαμα (cp. Jos. ἐν βαλα),

and (2) by the numerous passages in which numbers have arisen out of corruptly written ethnics. As to (1) we may follow B, which recognises both בבוק and בבמה, rather than A, which represents only the former, and L which represents only the latter. בבמה, however, is a corruption of ברמה, and this a corruption of בירחמאל. For the benefit of later readers it is stated that Bezek (?) was situated in Jerahmeel. V. 8b is a redactional expansion of והיא ישמעאל. This (under the influence of a wrong theory) became ויהיו בני ישראל. All that follows has grown out of the words (corruptly written) ישמעאל ירחמאל; note that אלה very frequently represents מאל, and see on xv. 4. We can now understand how אחר שמ' arose in v. 7; it is a gloss on ברמה.

CHAP. xii. 3. For ושלום ענו ברואעים עניי ברואעים read *καὶ ὑπόδημα; ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ.* Similarly in Sirach xlvi. 19 *καὶ ἕως ὑποδημάτων,* and the Heb. text נעלים. Pesh. omits. See *E. Bib.*, col. 4493, with note 1, and cp. on Am. ii. 6.

CHAP. xiii. 1. Possibly the omission of the numbers (שתי is clearly inadequate or corrupt) is deliberate. See on xxvii. 7.

xiii. 2. הר בית-אל. Here only. The Jerahmeelite highlands are meant.

xiii. 5. 'In Michmash, E. of Beth-aven'; cp. xiv. 23 (note). Beth-on (so we should read) was in the Negeb; see on Am. i. 5, Hos. iv. 15. Was there really a place called Michmas to the E. of Beth-on? That there was a Michmas (מכמש) N. of Jerusalem (mod. Muḥmās), can hardly be denied. The true name of the southern locality referred to was probably Michmash (מכמש, not מכמש), and this was a distortion of Cusham (כשם). Cp. Am. i. 5 where Cusham (miswritten דמשק) and On (miswritten און) are in close juxtaposition. *G*'s *βαυθωρων* seems to be a corruption of *βαυθων* (*βαυθων*).

xiii. 7. ירדן here, as often (*e.g.* Gen. xiii. 11, 1 K. vii. 46), represents נהר ירחמאל, or, more particularly, נהר ירחמאל, the stream (torrent?) which flows E. of Asshur' (Gen. ii. 14; see *E. Bib.*, col. 3573).

'The land of Gad and Gilead' (so, too, *G*) may be right. The southern Gad and Gilead were meant in the original

story. For the former see Num. xxxii. 33 ('Sihon' should be 'Cushan'), 2 K. x. 33 (Hazeel, of Cusham, smote the Gadites and Reubenites). For the latter, see on 2 S. ii. 9, 1 K. xvii. 1, Jer. viii. 22, Am. i. 3.

xiii. 17 *f.* *Ophrah*, *i.e.* probably Gideon's Ophrah, which was within easy distance of Shechem, *i.e.* Cusham (Judg. ix. 1-5). Originally Gideon was a hero of the Negeb. A Kenizzite genealogy includes Ophrah (1 Chr. iv. 14).—*Shual*. See on ix. 4.—*Beth-horon*. Not far from Azekah (see on xiii. 1, and on Josh. x. 10).—*The Valley of Zeboim* (גַּי הַצְּבֹעִים). 'צ' (with ע) again in Neh. xi. 34 (see note; the names are Negeb names). Probably, like צַבְעוֹן (Gen. xxxvi. 2) and צִבְעָן (2 S. ix. 2), צַבְעִים is a corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל [ים]. Perhaps the הַפְּלָח, *i.e.* the valley of Jerahmeel, is meant.—גְּבוּרָה may come from גָּלְגָּל.

xiii. 19-22. Previous critics (except Klost.) agree in supposing that these four verses are an interpolation, and Stade (*E. Bib.*, col. 4275) pronounces the statement that the smith's craft was suppressed by the Philistines throughout the land of Israel 'incredible.' No doubt it is incredible, but, considering that the text is obviously not free from corruption, ought we not to investigate it more thoroughly before we dogmatise as to what the text really says. This thorough criticism is only possible by the application of the methods adopted elsewhere in these researches, and by taking account of the experience already gained by applying these methods. The correction offered in *E. Bib.*, col. 1552 (art. 'Forks'), for שֵׁשׁ קְלִשׁוֹן, *viz.* נִשְׁיָלִים, 'hatchets,' must therefore be abandoned; it presupposes the accuracy of the general view suggested by MT., *viz.* that *vs.* 20, 21 contain a list of the agricultural implements taken down to Philistia to be 'sharpened.' It so happens that נִשְׁיָלִים in Ps. lxxiv. 6 is corrupt; a reference to *Ps.*⁽²⁾ *ad loc.*, will throw some light on the passage before us. Let us take the points in order, refraining (from want of space) from criticising earlier conjectures, but premising that earlier commentators are quite right in illustrating *v.* 19 by 2 K. xxiv. 14, Jer. xxiv. 1. A fatal error of interpretation has been caused by the impossible reading לְלָטוֹשׁ (*v.* 20). Budde remarks that 'it is odd that the Israelites are forced to get Philistine help even

in *sharpening* their tools,' and H. P. Smith finds this specially strange in the case of the ox-goad (which most would place by conjecture at the end of *v.* 20, and which certainly occurs at the end of *v.* 21). To explain ללָטוּשׁ it should be enough to refer to Gen. iv. 22 and Gen. xxv. 3, where לטוש, לטש undoubtedly springs from a miswritten פלשת. That הפלשתים should be 'ארצה פ' (see Ⓢ), has been pointed out by Weir, Driver, Budde, etc. But it has not been noticed that לטוש איש springs from a miswritten ארץ פלשתים (איש for ארץ, as Hos. vi. 9, etc.). As to the names of tools, the fact that Shamgar's ox-goad (Judg. iii. 31) and the axes of Ps. lxxiv. 5 have grown out of corruptions of ירחמאל is of fundamental importance. Nor can a practised critic help seeing that פים הפצירה may easily have come from צרפתים, and אתים ול from ישמעאל (see on אתמול, 1 S. x. 11), that שלש קלשון may represent two other attempts to write ישמעאל (cp. on שקל, Isa. xxxiii. 18), that קדמים may come from ירחמאלים, ציב להציב from ישמעאל (cp. on ציבא, 2 S. ix. 2), and דרבן from ערבים (ד for ע, cp. on x. 11 f.). The only word in the list which is left is [מחורשת]. For this Ⓢ gives δρέπανον, *i.e.* חֶרֶם. This surely is transparently the representative of [א]שחרם, *i.e.* Ashhurim.

We have now very nearly explained *vs.* 20, 21. But one important elucidation remains. We have seen that there were no artisans (חרש) left in Israel (*i.e.* in the Negeb) because the 'Philistines' had carried them into captivity. And now that the glamour of the list of names of tools has been dissipated, it is possible to see what follows from this statement, *viz.* that *vs.* 20, 21 must contain a record of the captivity of the artisans. Beyond doubt we should begin *v.* 20 thus, 'וַיְרִדוּ כָל-חָרְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים, and they brought down all the artisans of Israel to the land of the Philistines.' ללָטוּשׁ איש is explained above. What follows in *v.* 20 is given somewhat less incorrectly in *v.* 21. The continuation of the passage on the captivity should run nearly thus, [לְאֲשַׁחְרִים לְיִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים לְיִרְחַמְאֵלִים, וְחַמְתָּה צְרָפְתִּים] (לְעֵרְבִים, *i.e.* 'and to Hamath (= Maacath) of the Zarephathites [gloss, to the Asshurites, to the Ishmaelites, to the Jerahmeelites, to the Arabians']).

In *v.* 22 Wellh. hesitates between ביום מלחמת מנכש and

ביום מנמש; Toy definitely adopts the latter. Surely Toy is right. But מל has still to be accounted for. In Hos. ii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 4 מל has certainly come from ירחמאל. Probably the original reading in our passage was ביום מל, referring to the battle with the Amalekites. After the passage had been transferred, a scribe or editor corrected ירה into מנמש, but the correction did not find its way into all Hebrew MSS.

CHAP. xiv. 2. Wellh. proposes מגרן, 'threshing-floor,' (1) to avoid confusion with the 'Migron' of Isa. x. 28, and (2) because a second place-name is not wanted. But מבג, 'threshing-floor' is not known, and the parallelism of xxii. 6 suggests another explanation. There, as here, two place-names are mentioned; one is Gibeah, the other is Ramah. If the Gibeah in both passages is Gibeah-jerahmeel ('*elôhîm*'), it is possible that the sanctuary bore the name Jerahmeel (or the divine name Jarham). Of this name both Migron and Ramah appear to be popular corruptions (cp. on 'Gomer,' Gen. x. 2; *E. Bib.*, 'Ramah'). Saul was apparently sitting as judge under the tree by the sanctuary; the spot may have been called both Migron and Ramah, *i.e.* Jerahmeel. See also *E. Bib.*, 'Migron.'

xiv. 3. Ahijah, Ahitub, Ichabod—all N. Arabian names. The second also occurs (as Aḥi-ṭabu) in *Am. Tab.* xi. 14 as the name of a person engaged in political matters in Syria. They are of ethnic origin. Aḥijah = Aḥi = Jerahmeel. Aḥitub = Jerahmeel-tubal. Ichabod (iv. 21) = Jerahmeel. Phinehas and Eli; see on i. 3. The other occurrences of Aḥijah and Aḥitub also favour this view. See *e.g.* on 1 K. xi. 29 (Ahijah the Shilonite), 1 Chr. viii. 7, ix. 11.

xiv. 4 *f.* The narrative may, or may not, have been recast with a view to the physical peculiarities of the northern Michmas (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Michmash,' § 2). At any rate, שן in the sense of 'craggy side' (Conder) is impossible, and why should the opposite sides be named at all? The clause on the names may be a corrupt form of *v.* 5 (see *E. Bib.*, *l.c.*). מצוק, like ברצן, may be a corruption of מצפון. שם, שן, and סנה all possibly represent ישמעאל, an early gloss on פלשתים. Remember that in *v.* 6 the Philistines are called by Jonathan ערלים = ירחמאלים; cp. also on *v.* 21. In its earliest form

the narrative seems to have represented Saul as warring with the Jerahmeelites or Ishmaelites.

xiv. 6. ערלים. A constant error for ירחמאלים (see on xvii. 36, xxxi. 4, and preceding note).

xiv. 14 *f.* מצב המצב צמד השדה may represent two readings, of which 'המ' is the better. See *E. Bib.*, 'Sling.'

xiv. 21. Read [ירחמאל ישמעאל] ודעברים אשר היו לפלשתים (ירחמאל ישמעאל) and 'ירח' and 'ישמ' are variants to פלשתים (cp. on *sv.* 4 *f.*, 6). On 'נאת' של' see on x. 11.

xiv. 23. Budde and H. P. Smith prefer the *βαιθωρων* (Beth-horon) of \mathfrak{S}^L to the 'Beth-aven' of MT. and \mathfrak{S}^A (*θανν* = *βαιθανν*). Cp. xiii. 5. The point is doubtful.

xiv. 24. Insert from \mathfrak{S} , with Thenius, Ewald, Wellh., Driver, Budde, H. P. Smith, but instead of ברו אפרים read 'ביר אפר' (\mathfrak{S} *πόλις* = עיר). It is the same יער (rocky jungle?) which was the scene of the battle between Absalom's army and the warriors of David (2 S. xviii. 6 *f.*), and which was really in the Negeb (see notes). Cp. Isa. xxi. 13 ביער בערב.

xiv. 25*a* and 25*b* are doublets. The former should run ויבאו אל-היער ; כל-הארץ is a corruption of אל היער (misplaced). *V.* 25*b* is an interpretation of the genuine original words וְהָיָה הַלֵּךְ דָּבַשׁ (הלך, Klost., Budde).

xiv. 31. There is no sufficient ground for altering the text; *a* corresponds to *v.* 23*b* (see Lods in Budde's note). For 'Aijalon' see on Josh. x. 12.

xiv. 47 *f.* 'The writer does not scruple to transfer exploits ascribed by tradition to David (2 S. viii. 12) to his neglected predecessor.' The ethnics, etc., need rectification; partly corruption, partly misunderstanding have produced a most misleading statement (see on 2 S., *l.c.*). Read—

ושאול לנד הפלונה על-ישראל [ויולחם סביב בכל-איביו במצור
ובני ירחמאל ובעמלק-צרפת ובפלשתים ובכל אשר-יפנה יָשַׁע] ויעש
חיל ויד את-עמלק ויצל את-ישראל מיד ישמעאל:

We have in fact an introduction to the war against 'Amalek.' The corruptions in MT. are mostly familiar ones. That עמלק צרפת (see on 2 S. viii. 3) should become מלכי צובה is only surprising as long as one has the habit of regarding MT. as a faithful record of names. \mathfrak{S}^L inserts after 'Edom' *καὶ εἰς τὸν Βαυθρωβι*, *i.e.* בית רחוב (cp. 2 S., *l.c.*).

'Rehob' was the N. limit of the 'spies' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Spies'). Probably for רחוב ('רחוב') and בית רחוב we should read רחובות (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboth'). שסהו (end) comes from ישמעאל (ס = מ); so does the בסיהו implied by G's τῶν καταπατούμετων αὐτόν. רישע, as Wellh., see G.

xiv. 49-51. The names of Saul's sons were probably derived from xxxi. 2. Abinadab has fallen out and his place has been taken by ישרי, which may be a fragment of מלכישוע, written too soon (instead of אבינדב).¹ See on xxxi. 2. 'Abner, ben Ner,' should be 'Abinadab, ben Nadab.' Abi-nadab probably comes from נָדָב עֶרְבֵי. All these names point to the Negeb.

CHAP. xv. 4. טָלָאִים. It is the טלם of Josh. xv. 24 (so all critics), only it is nearer to the original name, which is ישמעאל (cp. on אתמול, x. 11). Observe that in 1 Chr. ix. 17 Talmon precedes Ahiman, and that in Num. xiii. 22 Talmai, together with Ahiman (Jerahmeel) and Sheshai (Cushi), is a dweller in Hebron (Rehoboth in the Negeb). — *V.* 4*b* is subject to the same objections as xi. 8*b*. It is a half-hearted measure to alter את-איש יהודה into פרשים to correspond with רגלי (Nöldeke, ap. Wellh. *TBS*, 96), or again to omit the last words from ועשרת (Wellh.; cp. G⁺), or even from רגלי onwards (Budde). The critics have failed, partly through not having noticed how often numbers have arisen out of misunderstood or corrupt ethnics, and partly through not having looked closely at G's ταγματων, which certainly comes from דגלים (see G, Num. ii. 2 *f.*, etc.), *i.e.* from גלעדים, 'Gileadites.' Of course MT's רגלי has a similar origin, *i.e.* it represents גלעד. It is now easy to explain the mystery of *v.* 4*b*. מאתים, like טלאים, represents אתמול, *i.e.* ישמעאל; עשרת comes from אשחור (cp. חרשת); יהודה comes from ירחמאל; אלף represents מאל, and אלפים comes from מאלים. In fact, *v.* 4*b* has grown out of 'ישמ' גלעד אשחור ירח' *i.e.* Ishmael or Jerahmeel (spoken of in *a*) is Gilead-ashhur. We may infer from 2 S. ii. 9 that the most important parts of the kingdom of the house of Saul were Gilead and Ashhur.

¹ It is also possible that ישרי, like ישי, may come from ישמעאל. Saul's successor was best known as Ishmael (see on 2 S. ii. 8). Malchishua (rather Jerahmeel?) may represent the same person. If so, only two sons of Saul are well attested.

If 'Jabesh-gilead' means 'Ishmael-gilead' (a very tenable view), the place so called may be that intended in our narrative. Cp. on iv. 10, 2 S. x. 6.

xv. 5. Read, perhaps, עָרֵי (Θ εὖς τῶν πόλεων); cp. xxx. 29. So Klost. Most take MT.'s וַיִּאָרְבּ as = וַיִּאָרְבּ, *i.e.* וַיִּאָרְבּ (see Driver, *ad loc.*); Klost. prefers וַיִּעָבֵר. But considering that it is a plundering expedition, it is most natural to read וַיִּחָרַב. The נַחַל is possibly that of יַרְחֻמְאֵל, better known as the נַחַל הַמְּלָחָה. Winckler, however (*Musri*, ii. 6), thinks of the נַחַל מְצָרִים.

xv. 7. חוּיִלָּה. Not to be emended into טְלָאָם (Wellh., Budde), nor into נַחַל הַבְּשׂוּר (Che., *Exp. T.*, x. 239 [1899]; *E. Bib.*, col. 546), nor into חֻנִּילָה (Glaser). According to Wellh., 'the misreading arose under the influence of Gen. xxv. 18.' Wellh.'s correction is a consequence of an emendation of xxvii. 8 which claims the authority of Θ, but on doubtful grounds, and is at any rate not the most probable one. Now that it has been shown that 'Amalek' is a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel,' and that 'Ishmael' and 'Jerahmeel' are used as synonyms, there is no reason whatever why the description of the limits of Ishmael in Genesis should not be adopted in our passage with reference to Amalek. In both passages it is apparently the less advanced section of the Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite race which is referred to. That חוּיִלָּה = יַרְחֻמְאֵל is plain from xxvii. 8, critically examined.—שׂוּר, as in xxvii. 8 and elsewhere, is shortened from אֲשׂוּר, *i.e.* אֲשַׁחֲרֵר. See on Gen. xvi. 7.—Point מְצָרִים.

xv. 9. 'Highly corrupt text' (Budde, cp. Driver). True, but the usual corrections are, I fear, wide of the mark. מְשָׁנִים is certainly not from שְׂמָנִים, 'fat ones' (Then., Wellh., Driv., Bu., etc.), but from יַשְׁמַעְאֵלִים; again and again שָׁמָן represents יַשְׁמַעְאֵל (see, *e.g.*, 2 S. i. 21). Of course, 'שָׁמ' is misplaced; experience warns us that it is an intrusive marginal gloss on some other word. What word? No doubt נָמַס, which is incorrectly written for שָׁמָן = שָׁמ'. מְלֹאנִים now becomes clear; like מְלֹאנִים in 2 S. xi. 1, it represents יַרְחֻמְאֵלִים or עַמְלָקִים. נִמְבוּהָ is, of course, impossible. The מ is intrusive (influence of נָמַס); נְבוּהָ like אִיבּוּל, represents 'יַשְׁמַעְאֵל', a variant to יַרְחֻמְאֵל.

It has only to be added that ועל-הכרים, which does not recur in *vs.* 15 and 21, probably comes from ירחמאלים, a marginal gloss on the incorrect המלאכה, and that ועל-כל-הטוב seems to be a gloss on על-המיטב (ו often introduces glosses). Render, therefore, 'And Saul and the people spared Agag and the best of the sheep and of the oxen, but the Jerahmeelites. [Ishmaelites] they devoted.'

xv. 12*b*. The difficulties have not been met. To read מציב for הציב is not at all less arbitrary because the translation of ⚙ read so, nor can we simply omit the closing words from ויטב with Budde. Experience of the recurring types of corruption, when ethnic names are concerned, ought to enlighten us. Nothing is more common than for the אל in ירחמאל or ישמעאל to be separated from the rest of the name (or rather from the fragment which represents it) and prefixed as לא or לו. And it is certainly not uncommon for ישמעאלי to survive in the corrupt fragmentary form of ישב or יבם. Less common, but not unexampled (see on 2 S. viii. 3) is ציב as a representation of ישמעאל. Lastly, נרמל again and again represents ירחמעאל, and געלד again and again is confounded with גלגל. Read, therefore, בא שאור, ירחמאלה והנה והנה [ירחמאל] ישמעאל ויעבר ויורד גלעד, 'Saul came to Jerahmeel, and behold, he smote [Ishmael, Jerahmeel] Ishmael, and passed on, and went down to Gilead.' הנה הנה fell out after הנה. By 'Jerahmeel' is meant the 'cities of Amalek' (*v.* 5); 'Ishmael' is a synonym for 'Jerahmeel' or 'Amalek'; 'Gilead' (see on *v.* 4) is Saul's own country in the Negeb. The words in square brackets are a gloss. ⚙'s τὸ ἄρμα, *i.e.* המרכבה, like נרמל, represents ירחמאל.

xv. 22 *f*. טוב is obviously an editorial makeshift; חטאת represents two fragments of ירחמאל; חטאת comes from מענת (cp. on Ps. cxlvii. 14). בית = טוב (Ps. xxvii. 13). Read מְזַבְּחֵי בֵּית אֵל and ירחמאל [עליות]. Then בְּמַעַנְתֵּי נַפְשׁוֹ ירחמאל וּבֵית-אֵוֹן בצרפתים. Cp. Hos. iv. 15.

xv. 29. נצה in several other passages is corrupt; the presumption is that it is so here, for no one can profess to know what נצה ישר' really means. In *JQR* xi. 400 *f.* an

attempt was made to heal the text on the basis of Num. xxiii. 19. This was an error. Klost. is right in seeking help from \mathfrak{G} , but his result is unsatisfactory. Applying our methods, however, \mathfrak{G} 's text becomes transparent. As it stands, \mathfrak{G} presupposes ירחצה ישראל לשנים ולא ישיב ולא ינחם (καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἴσρ. εἰς δύο, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσει). Here שנים (as שמן often) and לא ישיב (in accordance with many parallels) probably come from ישמעאל. ירחצה, too, should represent some Negeb name. Can we doubt which?—surely it comes from יצחק, which, as in Am. vii. 9, 16, represents the Israelite territory in the Negeb. A light now falls on MT.'s נצה יש' לא ישקר and נצה and ישקר come, the one from יצחק, the other from ישחק. On יצחק or ישחק, ישראל or (better) ישמעאל is an explanatory gloss. וגם is right, but אל has fallen out after it owing to the אל and the two לא which follow. Read וגם אל יצחק לא ינחם, 'Moreover the God of Isaac will not repent.'

xv. 32 *f.* מעדנת has been tortured with much ingenuity. \mathfrak{G} 's τρέμων should, however, furnish a clue; τρέμων presupposes, not Lagarde's מעדנית (*Proph. Chald.*, p. li.), but רעמות; cp. רעמה, Job xxxix. 19, \mathfrak{G} φόβον. In Gen. x. 7 ירחם is a son of Cush (the N. Arabian); it represents ירחם (= ירחמאל). Read אנג הרעמתי. 'Amalekite' = (1) Jerahmeelite, (2) Raamathite; the three names mean the same thing.—The speech of Agag should be kingly (cp. Judg. viii. 21*a*). Budde sees this, but gets no further. Yet \mathfrak{G} may again help us; εἰ οὕτως πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος may as a whole be inappropriate, and yet εἰ οὕτως may preserve a correct tradition. In Ps. xviii. 5 *f.* and elsewhere, מות represents ירחמאל (cp. ירמות); it may also, especially when preceded by מרה, represent רעמתי. Read (or רעמת? רעמת) 'Dieth so a prince of Raamath?' To this Samuel's words are a fitting reply.—רשעם. 'Whether the word has been correctly handed down may be questioned. Etymologically שסע stands isolated. . . . Should we read רשעם (Judg. xiv. 6 *al.*)?' Driver. So already Grätz (*Gesch.* i. 188), but שסע means 'to rend in pieces' (of a wild animal). Surely the right reading is plain; it is רשעם (ט and ס confounded). Samuel prepared his victim for sacrifice by flaying him (cp. Lev. i. 6, ודהפשיט את-העלה; 2 Chr. xxix. 34,

xxxv. 11). The actual slaying is not reported, only pre-supposed.

CHAP. xvi. 1. ישי, 'of uncertain origin, best with Marq. [*Fund.* 24] as = אבישי' (Budde). This implies that אבי in אבישי means 'father' (as the title of a god?). But neither of the parallels offered for this will hold; אינבוד and איובל can be shown to have come from ירחמאל and ישמעאל respectively. Marq. himself admits that ישי may possibly come from ישבעל = אשבעל. It may at any rate come, and certainly does come, from ישמעאל (cp. ישיה, son of Harim = Jerahmeel, in Ezra x. 31), and אבישי (= אמישי) seems to have the same origin, unless, indeed, אב = ערב.—בית-הלחמי. If due weight is to be attached to the evidence which makes David a man of the Negeb, the Bethlehem intended will be not that which in later times was the best known Bethlehem, but one in the Negeb. Marq., speaking of the 'real home of David,' points out that it must have been near the southern Jezreel. This follows from the true text of 2 S. xvii. 25 (note) and from the fact that David's first wife, Ahinoam (see on xxv. 43) was a Jezreelite. Marq. further holds that David's city was originally Arad (p. 25; cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 1020, note 2). It was, at any rate, near Arad. Note, however, that in 2 S. xxiii. 24 f., a Bethlehemite warrior is put side by side with an Aradite (read, with Marq., הקרדי). It is very possible that one of the Bethlehems was near Jezreel and Arad. For this was the Jerahmeelite Negeb, and בית-לחם comes from בית-ירחמאל (cp. on 2 S. xxi. 19). In xvii. 12 (see note) the place is called בית לחם יהודה, but בית יהודה here, as in Judg. xvii. 7 etc., represents ירחמאל. More specially it was in Ephrath (cp. on xvii. 12). For Marq.'s view of xx. 6, see note on that passage.

xvi. 8 f. Jesse's three elder sons are ערבי = אליאב (cp. on 'Abiel,' ix. 1), ערב נדב = אבינדב (vii. 1), and שמעה = שמה (2 S. xiii. 3) = ישמעאל. All Negeb names.

xvi. 11. רעה בצאן. רעה is one of the recurrent corruptions of ישמעאל. See on xvii. 34, Gen. xxxvii. 2, Ps. xlv. 12, lxxviii. 71, Am. vii. 15.

xvi. 12. עם represents עינים, written too soon; xvii. 42 is harmonised with our passage.

xvi. 19 *f.* אשר בישמעאל. Read אשר בישמעאל. Harmonised with *v.* 11 (cp. Budde, *Richter u. Sam.*, 211), but note the omission of רעה. חמור (*v.* 20) represents ירחמאל, a gloss on ישי (= ישמעאל) from the margin. Possibly it displaced עשרה (see xvii. 17), but rather more probably לחם as well as חמור represents ירחמאל, so that (omitting ך) the present consisted of a skin of wine and a kid. The present in xvii. 17 has altogether different items.

CHAP xvii. 1. The invaders encamped between שוכה and עוקה. Both place-names occur again in Josh. xv. 34, as in the Shephelah of Judah. In 1 K. iv. 10 שכנה is mentioned with 'all the land of חפר,' whose eponym, in 1 Chr. iv. 6, is made a son of Ashhur; in Josh. xvii. 2 he is made a Gileadite, but the original record referred to the *southern* Gilead. Soco and Azekah were among the cities 'in Judah and in Benjamin' fortified by Rehoboam (1 Chr. xi. 4). The Judah and Benjamin spoken of are in the Negeb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboam'), and the question arises whether יהודה both in Chron. *l.c.* and in our passage (as well as in *v.* 12) does not represent 'ירח = ירחמאל' (cp. on Judg. xvii. 1). In Josh. x. 10 Azekah is named between Beth-horon and Makkedah; the original story fixes all these places in the Negeb.—בְּאֶפֶס דָּמִים. 'This redundant statement is suspicious' (H. P. Sm.). But the original reading probably was בְּמַעַת אֶרְמִים; an intermediate reading was בְּעַמְק אר' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ephes-dammim, end of par. 1). Cp. Ⓞ^b εφερμεμ, and see next note.

xvii. 2. בְּעַמְק הָאֵלֶּה, not 'in the terebinth-valley,' but corrupted from בעמק ירחמאל, or more probably still (cp. on Ps. lx. 8) במענת ירח, 'in Maacath of Jerahmeel.'

xvii. 4*a.* אִישׁ הַבְּנִים 'has not been satisfactorily explained' (see evidence in H. P. Sm.). Ⓞ, however, may give us a hint; ἀνὴρ δυνατός may represent אִישׁ חַיִל, *i.e.* אִישׁ ירחמאל (cp. on *v.* 7). This is confirmed by another Greek translation (Ⓞ?), introduced into Ⓞ^a which has (in *v.* 23) אִישׁ הַב' ὁ ἀμεισσαιος, *i.e.* הישמעאלי = העמשי (cp. ἀμεισσαι, B in 2 S. xix., BA in xx., A in xvii., where MT has עמשא, 'Amasa'). Clearly, then, אִישׁ הַבְּנִים must be a synonymous ethnic with prefixed article. The solution of the problem is, read אִישׁ-בְּנִיָּן. The phrase points to a time when

'Benjamin' represented a district in the Negeb—גְּלִיָּת. If we are in favour of explaining Hebrew legendary names from Assyrian, g-l-y may be a corruption of g-z-l, and 'Goliath' be a pale reflection of mythical evil spirits called *guzali* (see *E. Bib.*, 'Goliath'); for another view see Winckler, *AOF*⁽³⁾ i. 51, note 3. This involves taking -ath as a mere termination (see *E. Bib.*, 'Ahuzzath'). But if we have found that N. Arabian preponderate over Assyrian elements in Hebrew legends, and if we are aware that -ad in 'Gilead' has a tendency to become -ath (*e.g.*, 1 K. iv. 13, γαλααθ [B], Judg. i. 15 גִּלְעָד יִרְחַמָּאֵל = גִּלְעָד מִים), we shall prefer to take גִּלְיָת (Ⓢ^B γολיאθ and γολιαθ) as = גִּלְעָד, *i.e.* the Philistine champion could be said to come either from Benjamin or from Gilead (the southern Gilead). See further on 2 S. xxi. 15 *f.*, where the giant Gilead is distinctly referred to.

מִגָּת. His origin could also be traced to 'Gath,' or better 'Rehoboth' (as often). The identification of 'Gath' with 'Rehoboth' is placed beyond doubt by the following word. See next note.

xvii. 4b-7. The redactor has put forth all his skill to make sense of certain (to him) unintelligible glosses. These glosses can still be detected underneath the passages relative to the height of the 'Philistine' warrior and the weight of his armour; 2 S. xxi. 16 (middle part) is exactly parallel. First comes גְּבוּהוֹ שֵׁשׁ אַמּוֹת וּזְרָת. Here ג' corresponds to the גת in מִגַּת (just before), and to the גב, גב, and גת of 2 S. xxi. 15-22. שש and אמת are well-attested recurring corruptions of נוש or rather (here, at least) אשחור and ירחמאל respectively. וזרת (cp. the names צרת and צרתן) represents צרפת. Thus the verse becomes, 'And there went out a man of Benjamin from the camp of the Pelištīm (*a*), named Gilead of Rehoboth (*b*). [(*a*) Jerahmeelites, Zarephathites. (*b*) Rehobashhur.]' For שש Ⓢ presupposes עָרַב (τεσσαρων, misunderstanding); 'Rehoboth-arāb,' would do quite well, for another name of Rehoboth was Kirjath-'arāb (see on Gen. xxiii. 2).—קשקשים. Read נושם.—הוא לברוש ומשקל. הוא לברוש (see on Ezek. xxiii. 6). הוא introduces a gloss. 'Cusham' precedes; then comes 'that is, Ishmael.' משקל also = ישמעאל, originally a correction of לברוש. The following words (omitting נחשת, which came in

from *v.* 6) represent **שִׁרְיוֹן בָּשָׂם יִרְחַמְאֵל יִשְׁמַעְאֵל**. In *v.* 6 omit the second **נַחֲשֵׁת**. In *v.* 7 omit **וַחֲזַן חֲנִיתוֹ**, a corruption of **נַחֲשֵׁת** (dittographed), and **כַּמְנֹר אַרְגָּיִם** as a corrupt marginal note on **אִישׁ-הַבְּנִיִּים** (*v.* 4), to be read **בֶּן-רוֹם אַרְחָיִם**, *i.e.* **בֶּן יִרְחַמְאֵל**. See on 2 S. xxi. 19, and note **Ⓢ**'s reading in *v.* 4 (above). Also omit **וְלֹהֶבֶת**, a corruption of **יִרְחַמְאֵל**. The second **חֲנִיתוֹ** (**נַחֲשֵׁת**) resumes. Then follows (correcting as before) **אֲשַׁחַר יִרְחַ' יִשְׁמ'**. **בְּרוֹל** represents **זְבוּל**, *i.e.* **יִשְׁמַעְאֵל**.

xvii. 12. The redactor has awkwardly adapted a second account of Jesse, **וַיְהִי אִישׁ אֶפְרַתִּי מִבֵּית לַחֵם יְהוּדָה [יִרְחַמְאֵל]**. (**יהודה** from **ירח'**, as in Judg. xix. 1, etc.). 'Ephrath,' like 'Gilead' and 'Benjamin,' is a district in the Negeb; it may have included 'har-jerahmeel.' The reading **בֵּית-לַחֵם** **יִרְחַמְאֵל** is confirmed by necessary textual corrections in xxix. 3, xxx. 26. David was by origin a Jerahmeelite.

xvii. 26. 'This uncircumcised Philistine'? No; 'this Philistine [the Jerahmeelite].' See on *vv.* 4, 7, and on xiv. 6, Judg. xiv. 3.

xvii. 34 *f.* **בַּצֹּאן**. Read **בִּישְׁמַעְאֵל** (xvi. 11).—**הָאָרִי** וְאֶת-הַדּוֹב. Why **את**? and why two animals, when, except in *v.* 36 (**מִקָּהָם**, see below), David speaks of but one foe. The key is furnished by 2 S. xxiii. 20 and by Ezek. xxiii. 15 (**טְבוּלִים**). Read **הָאָרְמִי [הִישְׁמַעְאֵלִי]**; for **את-הַדּוֹב** (= **יִשְׁמַעְאֵל**), cp. **אֲתַבְעַל**, 1 K. xvi. 31. Afterwards, for **זֶה**, read, not **שָׁה**, but probably **בָּנָה**. Omit **מִהַעֲדָר**, a corruption of **יִרְחַמְאֵלִי** (cp. on Jer. vi. 3), a correcting gloss on **הָאָרִי**. For **בּוֹקְרוֹ** read **מִנְפִּיּוֹ**. Then continue **עָלְיוֹ נֶאֱקָם**. **בְּחֻכְתּוֹ** (cp. 2 S. xxiii. 21). The exploit of David is partly like that of Benaiah's. His foe is a Jerahmeelite robber, whom he slays with the robber's own spear. This heightens the effect of the detail about the slaying of Goliath with his own sword (*v.* 51).

xvii. 36. **את** has got misplaced (see *v.* 34). Read **אֶחָד** **בְּמֹדֵהוּ** **נֶאֱחָד מִקָּהָם** and for **הָאָרְמִי [הִישְׁמַעְאֵלִי]** (a common disguise of **ירח'**) may have been brought in from the margin, after the single Arammite foe had become, by textual corruption, two wild animals.

xvii. 37. **מִדְּהָאָרִי** comes from **מִירְחַמְאֵלִי**, and, unless the editor has been more arbitrary than in *v.* 34, so too does **מִדְּהַדּוֹב** (**דב** = **בול** = **מאל**).

xvii. 40. It is but slowly that the best solution has been reached, but the result is all the surer. Isa. lvii. 5 *f.* supplies the right key; there, too, the text is overlaid with corruptions of ירחמאל, and one of these corruptions is חלקי, one of the words which puzzle us in our passage. Add also אלקום, Prov. xxx. 31 (see *ad loc.*), and חלקי and גורלי, Ps. xvi. 5 (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾). The words to be omitted are אשר-לך (= ישמעאל), also חלקי, הרעים, and ובלקוט (⊗ לילקוט?), all of which represent ירחמאל. We assume that an early scribe wished to explain מנחל (cp. on *vs.* 1 *f.*), and wrote ירחמאל and ישמעאל in the margin. These words intruded into the text, and were miswritten, for which there are many parallels (see *e.g.* on Jer. xlix. 29, l. 9, li. 3). הרעים for 'ירח'; see on Am. i. 2. Thus we get, 'and he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five stones out of the wādy [Jerahmeel, Ishmael], and put them in a bag, and his sling in his hand, and drew near to the Philistine.' Cp. ⊗ in *v.* 43, ἐν ῥάβδῳ καὶ λίθοις.

גיא is not to be altered into גת; together with ועד it represents גלעד. This correction is favoured by שערי (*i.e.* 'שערים = שער') which follows. Shaaraim is = Sharuhen (the Ass. Shiriḥana (see *E. Bib.*, *s.vv.*); the former represents Asshurim (cp. on שערים, Ezra ii. 42; שעריה, 1 Chr. viii. 38), the latter Ashḥuran. 'Gilead' and 'the Asshurite' are brought together in 2 S. i. 9. No doubt the territory was a 'debateable land.' Read עַד-בוֹאֵהָ גַלְעָד וְאֲשֻׁרִים *V.* 52b is a doublet, and from it עקרון (⊗ ασκαλων) penetrated into the text of *a.*

'ירושלם' is so evidently out of place here that we are forced to consider the clause an insertion of a late editor. . . . The mention of David's tent, however, is perfectly in accord with the narrative, xvi. 14-23, which makes him a member of Saul's staff' (H. P. Sm.). 'The acme of thoughtlessness, that David brings the head of Saul to Jerusalem' (Bu.). But ירושלם is often written in error, as Grätz long ago pointed out. In *E. Bib.*, col. 3430, and *Exp. T.*, x. 522, לשאול is read, and באהלו is emended into 'באהל י', 'in the tent of Yahwè.' The latter is certainly right; the 'tent of Yahwè' was at Nob or rather Gibeon (*ibid.*). But another name for 'Gibeon' was 'Gibeath-

jerahmeel' or 'Gibeath-ishmael.' It is probably in this neighbourhood ('Ishmael') that Saul was, according to the original story. The head of Goliath was presumably to be exposed on the city wall (cp. xxxi. 10), the arms to be laid up in the sanctuary.

CHAP. xviii. 6. Several words in MT. should have awakened critical suspicions. These are, לשור, והמחלות, ובשמחה, and especially רבשלישים לשור (not recognised in G^B) is a corruption of a dittographed ישראל. [ו]המחלות no doubt represents ירחמאל (see on Ex. xxxii. 19), a gloss on, or correction of, ישראל; for it is the Israelite territory in the Negeb which is meant (cp. on 2 S. xvii. 11). בשמחה may represent בַּנְּשָׁם; בשלישים, for which even the extensive learning of Paul Haupt ('The Heb. term שליש,' *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, iv. 583 ff.) fails to justify the sense, 'triangular harp,' may, with the highest probability, be read בישמעאל (cp. on 1 K. ix. 22). בתפים, as perhaps in Isa. xxx. 32 (see note); may come from בְּנִפְתָּהוּיִם. Thus we get the statement that women came forth out of all the cities of Israel to meet king Saul, and glosses further instruct us that Israel means the Jerahmeelite Negeb, and that the women belonged to Naphtuhim (see on Gen. x. 13), and to Cusham, and to Ishmael (= Jerahmeel)—all parts of the Negeb. This throws a new light on 2 S. iii. 5.

xviii. 17, 19, 20. מרב מירל both probably come from ירחמאל. That Saul's daughters really bore these names need not of course be affirmed. Nor should we be too certain that 'Merab' and 'Michal' represent distinct persons; at any rate, so far as chap. xviii. is concerned, G^B only recognises one daughter of Saul. The respective husbands are called Adriel ben Barzillai the Meholathite (2 S. xxi. 8, but 1 S. xviii. 19 omits 'ben Barzillai') and Palti ben Laish. Here 'Barzillai' and 'Laish' may ultimately contain the same place-name (see below). 'Adriel' and 'Paltiel' are both clan-names, but the clan-names are very much alike in meaning. As to 'Adriel, it is probably neither the Aramaic form of 'Azriel, nor simply miswritten for 'Azriel (though G in 2 S. xxi. 8 may be taken to support this view), but one of the popular corruptions of Jerahmeel (cp. on מְהַדָּר, xvii. 34; ועדריהם, Jer. vi. 3, and especially

on the place-name אדרעי, Num. xxi. 33). And as to Paltiel it is simply an expansion of Palti = Perathi or Şarephathi. Cp. on Beth-pelet, Josh. xv. 27. The legendary husband of the legendary daughter of Saul may equally well have been called 'Adriel or Palti, and his home have been called Beth-ishmael or Laish (Shalisha? Shaul? Ishmael?). 'Meholathite,' too, comes from a corruption of 'Jerahmeel.' Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Meholathite,' 'Merab,' 'Palti.'

xviii. 18. דְּחֵי, implying, it is said, a ἄπ. λεγ. דְּחֵי, 'clan, family.' So Wellh., Nöld., W. R. Smith, Driver, Budde, etc., who then proceed to omit מִשְׁפַּחַת אָבִי as a gloss. This omission is very hazardous; why should a mere glossator have added אָבִי to 'מש' ? The word דְּחֵי, it is admitted, must have been 'rare' in Hebrew. But if only rare, why then is there no second instance in some other plain narrative like the present? לְחֵי in xxv. 6 and כָּל-דְּחֵי in Gen. iii. 20 will hardly be adduced. The right explanation, however, is close at hand. Remember that Saul has been fighting in 'Jerahmeel' (see on xvii. 1 f., 54); David, too, has come from Beth-lehem, i.e. Beth-jerahmeel. Read מִי אֲנִי בִירוּחַמַּאֵל, 'what am I in Jerahmeel, and my father's clan in 'Israel' ?

xviii. 25-27. מֵאָה עֲרֹלוֹת is suspicious, (1) because in v. 27 'two hundred men' (⊗ harmonises, ἑκατόν) are slain, and (2) because in Ex. iv. 25 and Josh. v. 3 עֲרֹלוֹת has evidently come from יְרוּחַמַּאֵל; יְרוּחַמַּאֵל here, in fact, presupposes the incorrect reading עֲרֹלִים (for יְרוּחַמַּאֵל) so often attached in MT. (cp. ⊗) to פִּלְשְׁתִּים. The original story doubtless gave, as the message of Saul to David in v. 25, 'The king desires no dowry, but (desires) to be avenged on the king's enemies' (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3077), on which there was a gloss בִּירוּחַמַּאֵל, 'on the Jerahmeelites' (מֵאָה¹ and עֲרֹלוֹת [עֲרֹלִים], both being corruptions of 'ירח'). Then, in v. 27, it told how David and his men 'slew of the Philistines two hundred men,' and how David brought 'the skulls of the Jerahmeelites to the king.' אֶת-עֲרֹלוֹתֵיהֶם has probably supplanted אֶת-גִּלְגֹּלוֹת יְרוּחַמַּאֵל (cp. on 2 S. iii. 14). This is required to produce a parallelism with xvii. 54; it was not the עֲרֹלָה but the head of 'Goliath' that David

¹ For parallels see on Gen. xiv. 14, xv. 13, 2 K. xix. 35, Isa. lxx. 20.

brought to the city of Ishmael or Jerahmeel. That בלגלות is correct (rather than ראשי) may be presumed from the ease with which it would be extruded by the corrupt ערלתיהם. And the correctness of ירחמאלים is shown by the distorted record of the word which follows, viz. וימלאום (a *crux* to all commentators!).¹ In *v.* 26 (end) we find a similar distortion of the same word (a misplaced gloss on פלשתים), viz. ולא מלאו הימים. Remember that אל in ירח' is often separated from the main part of the word and prefixed to the corrupted remnant as לא. And note, in conclusion, that the offer reported in xvii. 25 is simply that 'to the man that kills him (Goliath) the king will give his daughter.' See, further, on 2 S. iii. 14.

CHAP. xix. 7. After the reconciliation David waited on Saul, נאתמול שלשום, or rather (see on x. 11) בישמעאל, 'in Ishmael' (or 'Jerahmeel').

xix. 16. כביר, like מכבר in 2 K. viii. 15, comes from מרבד. In Prov. vii. 16 we hear of cushions (מרבדים) of Miṣrite manufacture. אחרים probably comes from ירחמאל, *i.e.* ירחמאל. Cp. also אדנת אשור, 'a mantle of Asshur' (Josh. vii. 21, corrected text).

xix. 18. David and Samuel dwell בניית (K_r. בניית); *v.* 19 adds בְּרָמָה. The older methods having failed, there is a good field for the application of the new. Obviously some compound name is required. Gilead-jerahmeel would be possible (cp. Golath-maim = Gilead-jerahmeel, Judg. i. 15), but Gibeath-jerahmeel is more obvious (see on x. 5, and *E. Bib.*, 'Naioth').

xix. 20. את-לְהִקַּח. Budde (*SBOT*) reads קהלת (Θ *ἐκκλησίαν*), or rather (*HK*) omits the word as a ditto-graphed לְהִקַּח. Perhaps, however, we should read מחלקות; cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 6. Omit נבאים (*Klost.*), and for עמד read עָרַם. Samuel, too, had naturally thrown off his upper garment (cp. *v.* 54). Wellh. is content with the note 'עמד נצב?'

xix. 22. Read בִּיר הַבְּרֵן (Θ^{BL}; Wellh., Dr., etc.). For

¹ Kamphausen talks of a 'sense of decorum' as the cause of the 'omission' of וימלאום in Θ; he also ventures on the correction ויפלאום ('Bemerkungen zur alttest. Textkritik' in *Theol. Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. Wiss. Pred.-vereins*, vii. 22).

שכר, Wellh. and his successors read בַּשְׁפִּי (⊗ ἐν τῷ σέφῃ). A more correct reading would be סְכוֹר, which however may come from מַעְכָּת (cp. *Ps.*⁽²⁾ on *Ps.* lx. 8). וַיִּשְׂאֵל, which follows, comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. The name of the locality was Maacath-ishmael.

CHAP. xx. 19. The 'stone Ezel' has long been a *crux interpretum*. We might read אֶצֶל הָעֵרֶר הַלָּז, 'beside yonder juniper-tree' (*E. Bib.*, col. 1472); עֵרֶר is at any rate better than אַרְגָּב (imagined to mean 'cairn'). But this was only possible while the significance of the correction of 'Nob' into 'Gibeon' was but imperfectly realised. If, however, we admit that נְבָה in xxi. 2 comes from גִּבְעוֹנָה, we can hardly fail to see that both אֶבֶן in v. 19 and נֶבֶב in v. 41, and also the ἐργαβ of ⊗, come from גִּבְעוֹן, while הָאוֹז (איובל) is little less certainly from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. Gibeon or Gibeon-ishmael (otherwise called Gibeath-jerahmeel, see on x. 5) was the most sacred city in the Negeb; what better place could Jonathan suggest as a temporary refuge for David? Note in passing that the narrator has no idea that Samuel may be at this place, though, as we have seen (on xix. 18), it was one of the places where Samuel was believed to have resided, also that בְּרִמָּה . . . וַיִּבְרַח (v. 1) is probably a redactional seam (see H. P. Smith).

xx. 30. בֶּן-נְעֻת הַמִּיֻּדִית; so Lagarde (*Mittheil.* i. 237), but who will accept this as the original? Adopting נַעֲרָה (not plur., as ⊗, but sing.) from ⊗, read נַעֲרָה מִצְרִית (נַעֲרָה). Saul regards David as a Miṣrite (cp. xxii. 3, reading מִצְרִי), and denounces Jonathan as half a Miṣrite. Jonathan's mother may of course really have been a Miṣrite. The צ in מִצְרִית dropped out, and the ר was dittographed.

CHAP. xxi. 2 does not fit on to chap. xx. but to xix. 17, or rather to וַיִּמְלֹךְ in v. 18. Nevertheless the redactor had a reason for placing xxi. 2 *ff.* where it now stands, viz. the reference to גִּבְעוֹן which is common to chap. xx. and to chap. xxi., assuming that the place-name in the text of xx. 19 and xxi. 2 was not yet corrupted (cp. on xix. 18). Instead of נְבָה read גִּבְעוֹנָה, and cp. preceding note. On the certain correction of 'Nob' into 'Gibeon' see *E. Bib.*, 'Nob,' and cp. on 2 S. xxi. 1.—אוֹחִימֶלֶךְ. No doubt the same as the אוֹחִיָּה of xiv. 3, but not, as the critical tradition

says, because 'the מִלְךְ of the one name means the same God as the הָ of the other' (Klost.), but because אֱהִי (Gen. xlv. 21, 1 Chr. v. 15, vii. 34) represents יִרְחַמְאֵל (the ה in אֱהִי is formative only), and so also do מִלְךְ and אֱהִימִלְךְ. This at any rate is the original meaning.

xxi. 3. Read, 'and the young men I have appointed (יַעֲדֹתַי, H. P. Sm.) to meet me at a place in Jerahmeel'; 2 K. vi. 8 is exactly parallel. As also in Ruth iv. 1, פִּלְנִי comes from מִלֵּם אֶלְמִנִי, מֵאֵלֵם, and both represent יִרְחַמְאֵל (מ duplicated, cp. מִלְכָם = מִלְךְ = יִרְחַמְאֵל).

xxi. 6. Without the key no clear explanation can be reached. As so often, כַּתְּמֵל שֶׁלֶשֶׁם (⊕ ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν) comes from יִרְחַמְאֵל יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (see on x. 11), where 'יש' is a gloss or variant to 'ירח'. יִרְחַ and בְּנֵי חַל also represent יִרְחַמְאֵל; no sense can be made of דְּרָךְ חַל, 'a profane or common way,' or of בְּנֵי חַל, 'in (or, by) the vessel.' In the real speech of David, however, יִרְחַמְאֵל only occurred once, *i.e.* in the phrase דְּרֹךְ [ירח]מ[ל] (Gen. x. 23, one of the sons of (the southern) Aram. Read, therefore, כִּי אִם-אִשָּׁה עֲצֻרָה-לָנוּ, 'But the prohibition of intercourse with women has been carried out; when I came forth all the young men were holy. Indeed, it is the usage of Jerahmeel, and how much more will they be holy to-day.' The 'usage of Jerahmeel' should mean the rule in force in the Jerahmeelite Negeb, a breach of which by David's young men (natives, like himself, of the Negeb) would be inconceivable. Budde thinks that עֲצֻרָה 'hardly means *taboo*, forbidden on religious grounds, but inaccessible.' But why may it not mean that the sexual *taboo*, which primitive religion imposed, was actually carried out? As to דְּרָךְ חַל Schwally's conjecture (*Sem. Kriegsalterth.* i. 64) is only in order if there is sufficient ground for trusting the text. The many conjectures as to כֵּלִי (see H. P. Sm., Bu.) may also be safely neglected.

xxi. 8. הַאֲרָמִי. More probably הַאֲרָמִי (⊕ ὁ Σύρος). Doeg was probably a Jerahmeelite of the region in the Negeb occupied by the Israelites.—אֲבִיר הַרְעִים. Following Grätz, Driver reads אֲבִיר הַרְעִים, 'the mightiest of Saul's runners (or couriers)'; so Budde (*SBOT*), Kittel. This is

plausible (cp. xxii. 17, where the 'servants of the king' are identified with the רָצִים, as to whom see note on 2 K. x. 25). Such a use of אַבִּיר, however, is unexpected, and from ⚡'s *νέμωσ τὰς ἡμιόνους* Lag. conjectures אַבִּיל הַעֲרִים (*Rev. Luther-bibel*, p. 17), to which Budde in *KHC* inclines. אַבִּיל is properly 'camel-driver' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Abel'), and is thought to occur in 1 Chr. xxvii. 30 as the name of the keeper of David's camels. But much more probably אַבִּיל is (like יַרְבֵּעַ, etc.) a corruption of יַרְחֻמָּא; Lag.'s ingenious view is to be rejected. We must not, however, disparage ⚡'s rendering; it warns us not to acquiesce too readily in the אַבִּיר הָרַעִים of MT. Let us next call in the aid of experience. As Jer. xlvi. 15 shows, אַבִּיר may represent either in whole or in part an ethnic name, and הָרַעִים may, as Jer. vi. 3 and other passages show, represent יַרְחֻמָּא. On the whole, it is most probable that אַבִּיר הָרַעִים in *v.* 8 comes from עַרְבֵי יַרְחֻמָּא; *i.e.* 'Arabian' and 'Jerahmeelite' are two rival descriptions of Doeg. The words (נָצַב עַל-אֲרָמִים) which originally stood before אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׂאֵל (cp. xxii. 9) appear to have been supplanted by the two short glosses. See on xxii. 9, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Doeg,' 'Saul,' § 2 *a.*

xxi. 10. אַרְיֵשׁ, ⚡ *αργους*. May we connect this with Ass. *akāsu*, 'to rush forward,' and suppose the name to have come from a divine title (*E. Bib.*, 'Goliath')? More probably, like 'Nahash' (see on xi. 1), 'Nahshon,' and 'Nehustan' (a corruption of 'Nahshon'), it comes either from 'Cush' (cp. 'Shishak' = 'Cushi,' king of Miṣrim) or from 'Ashhur.' This harmonises with the representation of Achish in xxvii. 2 and 1 K. ii. 39 as a Maacathite. 'Cush,' 'Ashhur,' and 'Maacath' all point to the N. Arabian borderland. Achish's city was גַּת, a corrupt fragment of רְחֻבוֹת (suggested by ⚡'s *αχιμααν*, xxvii. 2). See on xxvii. 2, 2 S. xxi. 15 *f.*, 18.

xxi. 12. Klost. rightly restores, after דוֹד שֹׂאֵל, עֶבֶד (xxix. 3). H. P. Smith and Budde do not succeed in making the text at all probable. How could the courtiers of Achish have imagined that this Hebrew fugitive was 'king of the land'? On the other hand, to have on their side the chief of the warriors of the hostile king, who had so fully shown his capacity at the expense of the 'Philistines,' was the greatest boon that heaven could give them. 'The

land' means the Jerahmeelite Negeb. The phrase 'king of the land' implies that Saul was not in the eyes of the 'Philistines' a mere adventurer, but was the embodiment of ancient Israelite claims.

CHAP. xxii. 1. **מְעָרָת עַדְלָם**. The words recur in 2 S. xxiii. 13 (|| 1 Chr. xi. 15), and in both passages are followed (see *v.* 5 here) by **מִצְוֵדָה**. Hence most, after Wellh., correct **מִצְוֵדָה** into **מְעָרָת**. This view, however, must be abandoned. Again and again (see on the cave of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 9; the cave in Makkedah, Josh. x. 17; the cave of the Zidonians, Josh. xiii. 4, cp. Ges.⁽¹³⁾ and AV^{mg.}) **מִצְוֵדָה** owes its precarious existence to corruption of the text (see notes), and the word used in the original texts was evidently either **יְרַחְמָאֵל** or some long-established popular corruption of that name (such as **רַאמָה**). **עַדְלָם** is also corrupt. It comes immediately from **עַדְלָיִם**, but ultimately (see on xiv. 6, and cp. on Mic. i. 15) from **יְרַחְמָאֵל** or **יְרַחְמָאֵלִים** (as each case may require). Observe that in Josh. xiii. 4 **מִצְוֵדָה** is followed by **אֲשֶׁר לְצִידָנִים**, *i.e.* probably **לְמִצְרַיִם**. True, the plausibility of this depends on the correctness of the historical view that N. Arabia was in the closest historical connection with the people of Israel; but about this there can hardly be the shadow of a doubt. The name of the place, therefore, which David, according to the original tradition, made for a time his headquarters was 'Jerahmeel,' or some corruption of that name (not Adullam). Cp. on Gen. xxxviii. 2.

xxii. 3 *f.* 'Mizpeh of Moab' should probably be **מִצְרֵפָת-מִשְׁשׁוּר** (**מִצְרֵפָת מִצְוֹר**); so, in accordance with analogies, a seemingly hopeless problem is solved. See especially on Gen. xxxi. 49, Josh. xi. 3, Judg. xi. 29; note also that Elijah probably came from Zarephath of Gilead (see on 1 K. xvii. 1). On the connection between *vv.* 3 *f.* and the genealogy in Ruth iv. 18-22, see *E. Bib.*, col. 4170; **מִצְוֹר** in Ruth, as well as in Sam., represents **מִצְוֹר**.

xxii. 4. **בְּמִצְוֵדָה**. Read, probably, **בְּמִצְוֹר**; this was perhaps misread as **בְּמִצְוֹר** = **בְּמִצְוֵדָה**. The idea seems to be that David's father and mother were cared for in the palace at Zarephath, while David and his four hundred were in the open country. Pesh., however, in *vv.* 4 and 5, reads **בְּמִצְפָּה** (for **בְּמִצְוֵדָה**). Adopting this, since **מִצְפָּה** often repre-

sents מצרפת or צרפת (see above), we should have to explain עִמּוֹ in *v.* 4 as = 'with David.' So Budde, except that he retains the enigmatical מִצְפָּה מוֹאָב.

xxii. 5. 'Gad the prophet' is improbable; 'Gad,' if the name is correct (see on 2 S. xxiv. 11), was David's 'seer' (הוֹדָה), 2 S. xxiv. 11. According to Budde and H. P. Smith, Gad is simply introduced in order to get David sooner out of a heathen land. But it is a question whether אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה is right. In xxiii. 3 the place miscalled 'Adullam' is apparently referred to as in Judah. This it was not; it was either Jerahmeelite (see on *v.* 1) or Miṣrite (see on *v.* 3); the latter was the view of the writer of *vv.* 3, 4, and probably also of the writer of *v.* 5. Probably both in *v.* 5 and in xxiii. 3 we should read, for יְהוּדָה, יִרְחֻמָּאֵל; a confusion of the two names is not uncommon (cp. on xvii. 12). 'Jerahmeel' means the Negeb; a place might therefore be called Jerahmeelite whether, at the time referred to, it belonged to the Israelites or to the Philistines. Possibly Zarephath was just now Israelitish; the counter-statement of *vv.* 3 *f.* (as read by us) would not disprove this. 'Gad the prophet (?),' however, can, by a writer who holds Zarephath to be Miṣrite, be represented as outside the land of Jerahmeel. He delivers an oracle bidding David remain no longer in Miṣsur, but pass over into the land of Jerahmeel. Accordingly David withdraws, and comes to יַעַר חֶרֶת.

Where was יַעַר חֶרֶת?—If in *vv.* 4 *f.* we read בְּמִצְפָּה, and if מצְפָּה means a different place from מְעַרַת עֹדֶלָם (*v.* 1), it will be natural to suppose that יַעַר חֶרֶת and מְעַרַת עֹדֶל' are equivalent; *i.e.* that David returned to his former refuge at 'Adullam' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Hareth'). It is, however, more critical to suppose that throughout *vv.* 1-5*a* the same place is intended, *viz.* Zarephath. Looking more closely at יַעַר חֶרֶת, and taking account of parallels elsewhere (*e.g.* יַעַר, Ps. cxxxii. 6), it would seem that יַעַר can most easily be traced to יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. חֶרֶת may also come from this name, unless it be a fragment of רְחֹבֹת. The latter view is preferable, only we should then transpose the names, and read, 'Then David . . . came to Rehoboth-jerahmeel.' 'Jerahmeel' may be added to 'Rehoboth' to show that it is not the Rehoboth over which Achish ruled that is meant, but another Rehoboth.

(Ewald, Wellh., Klost., Budde, and H. P. Sm. suggest וְהָיָה , to which יָעַר may, Budde thinks, be a gloss. It would be more plausible to read עֵיר הָרִם ; cp. Ἐν πόλει σαρικ(χ) ; $\text{הָרִם} = \text{אֶשְׁחָר}$ (see on xxiii. 15).

xxii. 6-19. Cp. on 2 S. xxi. 1, 6.—6. 'In Gibeah . . . in Ramah.' Since 'Ramah' is an old corruption of 'Jerahmeel, and Saul is sitting under the sacred tree, we may suppose that the sanctuary of Gibeah bore the name 'Jerahmeel' (see on xiv. 2). It is premature to correct to בְּבִמָּה (Bu., H. P. Sm.; Ἐν βίμα). לְאֶשְׁחָר is probably a deliberate alteration of אֶשְׁחָרָה (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tamarisk'). Cp. xxxi. 13.

xxii. 7. בְּבִי יַמִּינִי . 'אֶרֶץ יַמִּינִי = יַמִּי' (ix. 4), a region of the Negeb.

xxii. 9. $\text{Ὁ καθεστῆκώς ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμίονους Σαουλ} =$ 'וְהָיָה נֹצֵב עַל-עֵרִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׁוִל'. The passage appears to have been harmonised with Ἐ 's rendering of xxi. 8.—21 'Abiathar.' See on 2 S. viii. 17.

xxii. 14. $\text{אֶל רִקְדָּן מְשַׁמְעֵתָךְ}$ is impossible. 'Captain over thy bodyguard'?? Read, probably, $\text{וְשָׂר יִשְׁמַעְיָאֵל מַעֲכָת}$. This was David's special office—chiefship of that portion of 'Ishmael' or 'Jerahmeel' (*i.e.* the Negeb) which was called Maacath. Cp. on 2 S. xxiii. 23. $\text{Ἐ ἄρχων} =$ שָׂר.

CHAP. xxiii. 3. David's present headquarters are in יהודה, or rather (see on xxii. 5) יְרֵחוֹ מַלְכָּה , *i.e.* the Negeb. Keilah, however, is not reckoned to the Negeb. Here David's men say that they have only a moderate anxiety, but far otherwise will it be if they go *εἰς τὰς κοιλάδας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων* (Ἐ^L ; in BA *εἰς τὰ σκύλα*, an obvious corruption, not understood by Wellhausen), *i.e.* $\text{אֶל-עַמְקֵי פִלְ$ (cp. on עַמְק, xvii. 2). This suggests the true correction of MT's $\text{אֶל-מַעֲרֹכֵי פִלְ}$, 'against the ordered ranks of the Philistines' ('מ' hardly suits a mere raid), which should evidently be אֶל-מַעֲנַת פִּלְ , 'against Philistian Maacath.' Keilah seems to have been a border city of Jerahmeel.

xxiii. 15. בְּהֹרֶשָׁה . V. 16 shows that a place-name is meant here. Budde inclines to Conder's identification of Hōresh with Hūreisa, one mile S. of Ziph. But there is no good biblical evidence for a word חֹרֶשׁ meaning 'wood' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Forest,' 'Hōresh'). A doubt is no longer possible that אֲשַׁחֲרֹר represents אֲשַׁחֲרֹר , 'Ashhur,' the name of a district

and of places in the N. Arabian border-land. Cp. Har-heres (Judg. i. 35), Kir-heres (Isa. xvi. 11), 'Ir-haheres (Isa. xix. 18).

xxiii. 19. חכילה. See on xxvi. 1.—24. 'With בערבָה hardly anything can be done' (Budde). Certainly the Jordan Valley is not referred to here. But read בערב (see on Dt. i. 1). 'In Arabia, south of Jeshimon' is a possible statement, for ישמין is a corruption of ישמעאל, and ישמ' = ירחמאל (*i.e.*, here, Jerahmeel mountains?). Cp. on Num. xxi. 20. Ⓞ's καθ' ἑσπέραν (בערב) seems to have been overlooked.

xxiii. 28. סלע המחלקות. Neither 'rock of divisions' nor 'rock of smoothness' (Budde) is satisfactory. Probably ס' המחלות, 'rock of the (circling) dances'; Saul and David seem to have played hide and seek. מחלה (מחלה), like חכילה, probably comes from 'Jerahmeel.' In different parts of the Jerahmeelite highlands the common name 'Jerahmeel' became differently distorted in the popular speech. See *E. Bib.*, 4346.

CHAP. xxiv. 1. עין-גדי. Probably from עין-גדיש = עין קדש. See on Gen. xiv. 7.

xxiv. 3 *f.* ציורי היעלים. Rather צרפת ירחמאל. At any rate 'ירח' for 'היע' is certainly correct.—גדרות הצאן. 'The sheep-cotes, at present empty, consist in the cave itself with a space in front' (Bu.). But 'gidroth' is only a place-name, and for הצאן we should read ישמעאל (see on xvi. 11). Cp. on 'Gidroth Chimham,' Jer. xli. 17, a locality beyond Mizpah (*i.e.* Zarephath?), on the way to Misrim.

xxiv. 13. See next note.—14. H. P. Smith observes, 'The exaggerated humility with which David speaks appears to me secondary.' We may at any rate surmise that the reference to a 'dead (?) dog' is an interpretation suggested by Mephibosheth's speech in 2 S. ix. 8, and made subsequently to the growth of the corruption פרעש אחד. As to the text underlying these latter words, we can only here give a decision without the grounds (for these see on xxvi. 20). The original words probably were פרה אשחור, 'a wild ass of Ashhur.' This enables us to account for *v.* 13*a.* Prof. H. P. Smith well remarks on the infelicitousness of the introduction of this *māshāl*. But neither he nor Wellh. nor

Budde has been stirred up to account for the passage, except as a 'worthless gloss.' Yet, rightly understood, it is *not* worthless. It is a gloss, or rather collection of glosses (derived from different MSS.?), on the name Ashhur which had long become unfamiliar to readers. 'A wild ass of Ashhur' really meant 'a wild ass of N. Arabia'; it may be compared with the phrase 'a wild ass of Aram' (or 'Jerahmeel') which, in Gen. xvi. 12, is probably applied to Ishmael. Deciphering the overwritten original of *v.* 13*a*, we may with probability read thus, אֲשֻׁר יִרְחַמָּאֵל יִשְׁמַעֵאל אֲשֻׁר יִרְחַמָּאֵלִים אֲשֻׁרִים יִשְׁמַעֵאל אֲשֻׁר. It will be noticed that in xxvi. 20 the clause with נֹאשֵׁר = (אֲשַׁחֲרוּ) comes immediately after שֶׁאֲחָדָה (also = אֲשַׁחֲרוּ), whereas *here* the parallel clause comes before the reference to Saul's useless persecution of David. Both these clauses consist of glosses on 'Ashhur.'

CHAP. xxv. I. The alteration of פֶּאוֹן into מַעוֹן (Ϝ *μααν*) appears hasty. See *E. Bib.*, 'Paran.'

xxv. 3. נָבֵל is a most improbable name. The original story may have given some other name, *e.g.* Nadab (דָּב became בָּל), or Abiel, or (Winckler) Habal (מֵת. הַבֵּל)—properly a tribal name.—אֲבִיגַיִל, but in *v.* 32 and 2 S. iii. 3 Kt. is אֲבִיגַל. Probably from עָרַב גְּלָעָד. Cp. on xxvii. 6.

xxv. 4. נָלְבוּ. Read יִרְחַמָּאֵלִי, disguised as נָחִי וְ (v. 6). מֵאֵל = בּוֹל = לָבוּ. ח = נ [יר].

xxv. 6. נָחִי לְחֵי, together with the following וְ (from ר) represents יִרְחַמָּאֵלִי, a variant to נָלְבוּ (*v.* 4, Kt.). The points and accents presuppose לְאֶחָי, 'to my brothers'; but this is unnatural, and in Gen xvi. 12 כָּל-אֶחָיו is a corruption of יִרְחַמָּאֵל (see *ad loc.*). Cp. also לְחֵי = 'ירח', Judg. xv. 9.

xxv. 22. מִשְׁחָן בְּקִיר, a 'not very refined' expression for 'every male' (H. P. Sm., and most). But elsewhere these more than 'inelegant' expressions turn out to be due to corruption. Read here מִשְׁחָן בְּמִקְלָה. Cp. on 2 S. iii. 29.

xxv. 25. אִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל (contrast בֶּן-בְּלִיעַל, *v.* 17). Read, perhaps, אִישׁ יִרְחַמָּאֵל. Abigail plays on the name 'Jerahmeel,' which suggests the idea of rudeness and violence. The initial ה in הַבְּ represents ח in 'ירח'.

xxv. 44. For פִּלְטֵי, לֵישׁ, see on xviii. 17, 20.—אֲשֻׁרִים מִגְּלִים τῶ ἐκ ρομμα [B], γαλλει [A], γολιαθ [L]. In the

MT. of Isa. x. 30 a place called Gallim is mentioned between Gibeath-shaul and Laishah (= Shalishah). Probably, however, the true reading here is either Beth-gilgal or Beth-gilead; the names Gilgal and Gilead are so liable to confusion that it is difficult to say which is the more correct. See also on 2 K. iv. 42. G^L , in our present passage, points to 'Gilead' ($\gamma\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\theta$ may represent גלעד, see on xvii. 4). Possibly 'Laish' represents the place and 'Gallim' the district (Gilead) to which Palti was traditionally assigned.

CHAP. xxvi. 1, 3. הַחַנְיֵלָה. Probably from יְרוּחַמָּאל. See on xxiii. 19, 28.

xxvi. 6. Note 'Ahimelech' is a 'Hittite,' *i.e.* either a Maacathite or a Rehobothite. Cp. on 2 S. viii. 17.

xxvi. 19. The contrasted deities are 'Yahweh' and אֱלֹהֵי יְרוּחַמָּאל (see on Dt. vii. 4, Jer. i. 16). 'Abishai' or (2 S. x. 10 and in Chr.) 'Abshai,' is probably, like 'Absalom' (see on 2 S. iii. 3), from 'Arāb-ishmael.

xxvi. 20. אֶת-פָּרַעַשׁ אֶחָד. Incredible (see *E. Bib.*, 'Flea'). G^{BA} , τὴν ψυχὴν μου, a mere guess. In *E. Bib.*, 1533, פָּרַא מְדָבָר is suggested; compare Grätz's correction of פָּרַא אָדָם in Gen. xvi. 12. Most probably, however, we should there read פָּרַא אָדָם; Ishmael is compared to the untameable wild ass of Edom. Just so, David likens himself to the 'wild ass of Ashhur' (a region explained in an ancient gloss on אַשּׁוּר in Hos. viii. 9 as 'Arāb-jerahmeel'), or, as a variant recorded at the end of *v.* 20 puts it, to the 'wild ass of Jerahmeel.' נַאֲשׁוּר comes from אַשְׁחֹר, as in xxiv. 13 [see note] and Ps. lvi. 7; יִרְדָּף from פָּרַא; הַקָּרָא from 'ירח, as in Judg. xv. 19 [see note]; [ב]הַרִים also from 'ירח, as in Ps. lxxv. 7.

CHAP. xxvii. 2. מְעַנֶּה. Rather מַעְנֶה (1 K. ii. 39); cp. G^B αμμαχ. G^L , however, αχιμααν; cp. אַחִימָן, Num. xiii. 22, etc., the name of one of the three Anakite tribes dwelling at Hebron. אַחִימָן represents יְרוּחַמָּאל, and חֲבוֹרֹן probably comes from רַחֲבוֹת. Another of the tribes was called אַשִּׁי, a corruption of כְּנָעִי. 'Achish,' therefore, being a corruption of 'Cush' or 'Ashhur' (see on xxi. 10), and 'Maacah' being not improbably connected with 'Jerahmeel,' it is all the more likely that the city of Achish was Rehoboth (Hebron). The alternative is to suppose that גַּת

is a corruption of מענה; cp. מתג, 2 S. viii. 1. But see on 2 S. xxi. 15 f., 18, where the evidence points decidedly to Rehoboth. See next note, and on 2 S. x. 2, xii. 26, 1 K. ii. 39-41.

xxvii. 5. בעיר המלכה. Read 'בעיר ירח', 'in the city of Jerahmeel' (see on Am. vii. 13). The city was Rehoboth-jerahmeel. See on 2 S. xii. 26.

xxvii. 6. צקלג. An impossible name. The underlying name must have been more intelligible. Very possibly צלק the Ammonite, or Jerahmeelite (2 S. xxiii. 37), came from this place. Another form of the name was possibly סלנה (see Dt. iii. 10). Not that the same place *need* have been meant by both names, for צקל and סלך (? סלק) may both represent ישמעאל (ע=ק), a name which, preceded or not by ביה or עיר, was doubtless borne by several places in the Negeb. Very possibly צקלג is a modification and contraction of צלקגל = ישמעאל גלעד, 'Ishmael-gilead'; cp. אביגל, *i.e.* ערב גלעד (xxv. 3). Marq. (on 2 S. xxiii. 37) supports the reading צלע (for צלק). It so happens that the place-name צלע (2 S. xxi. 14) is cognate with שאול or ישמעאל. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zela,' 'Ziklag.'

xxvii. 7. The duration of David's sojourn was 'four months' (ס), or 'a year (?) and four months' (Heb. text). The frequency, however, with which ערבעים is written for ערבים (*e.g.* on Judg. iii. 11, and cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3573, note 3), and the fact that the phrasing of Achish's reference to time in xxix. 3 is also not quite natural, make it possible that, as in xiii. 1, the words expressing duration of time have been omitted. We can easily account for the rest of the verse. It is a misplaced gloss on עמלק and גשור in *v.* 8, and should be read ירחמאל וערב [א]שחורים, 'Jerahmeel and Arabia of the Ashhurites.'

xxvii. 8. David makes a raid on the Geshurites, the Girzites, and the Amalekites. גשור, אשחור, or אשור (2 S. ii. 9) was the name of a district in S. Palestine (Glaser and Hommel [*AHT* 242], cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Geshur,' 2) or more distinctly in the N. Arabian border-land. The fuller form is Ashhur; there is also a mutilated form Shur. The so-called 'Girgashites' were no doubt the same as the Geshurites or Ashhurites. גרוי (or גורי, Judg. i. 29, 1 K.

xxix. 2. 'The alternation between סרנים and שרים is peculiar' (Budde). Not so, if סרנים comes from רונים (see on v. 8).

xxix. 3. וְהָיָה יָמִים אִי-יָדָה שָׁנִים. 'Some days or some years,' says H. P. Smith, would hardly be the reply of a man who knew the situation. S^{AB} and S^{L} agree in making the period two years, but it is not quite clear that they read וְהָיָה שְׁנָתַיִם (Budde's reading). On the analogy of xxvii. 7 (as explained above) I venture to hold that וְהָיָה יָמִים represents וְהָיָה יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִי, and וְהָיָה שְׁנָתַיִם represents וְהָיָה יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִי, 'this Ishmaelite or this Jerahmeelite' being the original reading, which was ousted by דָּוִד עַבְדֵּי שְׂאוּל וְגו'. According to Achish, David was a Jerahmeelite; indeed, this may very well have been true.

CHAP. xxx. 9 ff. The נַחַל הַבְּשׂוּר is only mentioned here (vs. 9, 10, 21). Apparently a boundary-stream is meant; we might have expected the נַחַל מִצְרַיִם or the נַחַל הַשִּׁחֲוֹר (שְׁחֲוֹר).—The slave left behind by an Amalekite was, of course, a Misrite, not an Egyptian (Wi., *Musri*, ii. 6; soon after adopted by the present writer in *E. Bib.*, 'Mizraim' [only printed in 1902]).—The MT. speaks in v. 14 of the Negeb of the Cherethites, of 'that which belongs to Judah,' and of the Negeb of Caleb. יְהוּדָה, however, here and in v. 16, and perhaps too in v. 26, may come from יִרְחַמְאֵל (see on xxvii. 10).¹ At any rate 'Caleb' and 'Jerahmeel' are somewhat difficult to distinguish. כְּרֵתִי is plausibly explained as = פְּלִשְׁתִּי (cp. v. 16). This is only correct on the theory that פֶּל' represents צְרַפְתִּים. Certainly Rehoboth, the city of Achish (see on xxvii. 2), was, in a large sense, Zarephathite (Philistine) and the name כְּרֵתִי is best explained as coming (like כְּרִית in 1 K. xvii. 3) from רַחְבּוֹת. 'Ziklag' was naturally 'Cherethite,' i.e. 'Rehobothite.'

¹ It is not denied that there may have been a clan called 'Judah' which had fixed itself in the Negeb (cp. on Judg. i. 16-19), but considering (1) that David was not a man of Judah, 'Bethlehem-judah' being certainly miswritten for 'Bethlehem-jerahmeel' (see also on v. 26), and (2) that the places where the וְקֵני יְהוּדָה dwelt were certainly not all occupied by a single Israelite or Hebrew clan, it is more probable than not that the יְהוּדָה in passages of 1 Sam. where David is referred to is miswritten for יִרְחַמְאֵל.

xxx. 16. See preceding note.

xxx. 26. These 'elders (sheikhs) of Judah' were rather (see on *vv.* 9 *ff.*) of Jerahmeel, a name for that part of the Negeb which was becoming Israelite. The correction ירחמאל was indeed actually made by an ancient scribe, for לרעהו, for which $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ gives *καὶ τοῖς πλεσίον αὐτοῦ* (cp. Pesh.). This, however, is not a translation, but an arbitrary alteration of the text (ולרעהו, which H. P. Sm. reads). לרעהו is based on a corruption of ירחמאל; *i.e.* we are told to read 'לוקני ירח'. In defence of the ordinary rendering Driver appeals to שסוה in xiv. 48. But there, too, the text is corrupt (see note).

xxx. 28. ערער, a corruption of עָרָד or of עָרַב (see on Dt. ii. 36).—שפמות (Ginsb.) or שפמות (Baer) is connected with שפם, a place in the Negeb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Siphmoth').—אשתמע. Arabic resemblances must not lead us astray. 'Eshtemoa' is related to 'Shema' (see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*) as 'Eshtaol' is to 'Shaul'.

xxx. 29. רָגַל. Read נְרָמַל (see $\text{\textcircled{G}}$) = ירחמאל. 'The cities of the Jerahmeelites' follows.

xxx. 30. חרמה. See on Num. xxi. 3.—בורעשן (Ginsb., Baer). $\text{\textcircled{G}^{BL}}$ gives 'Beer-sheba.' The correction of שבע into עשן is not impossible. But more probably both Sheba (Shema) and Ashan with similar names (cp. on 'Shunem,' xxviii. 4), are independent though mostly distorted representatives of the ethnic 'Ishmael' (שאן, צין, צאן, etc. are among the recurrent corruptions of that name). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ir-nahash.'—עֲתָדָה has been much discussed (see *E. Bib.*, 'Athach'); Klost. would read עָרַב, and H. P. Sm. עָרָד. But the clue is given by $\text{\textcircled{G}}$'s *κιμαθ*, an insertion in *v.* 29. Both forms, like חמטה and חמת, certainly represent מענת. The *σοο*, *νομβε*, and *ναγεβ* of certain MSS. of $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ represent גבעון (a place in the Negeb).

CHAP. xxxi. 2. 'Abinadab' and 'Malchishua' are suspicious. In 1 Chr. viii. 33 the names of Saul's sons are given as Jonathan, and Malchishua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal. Here it is probable that we have doublets, Jonathan and Malchishua corresponding to Abinadab and Eshbaal. 'Malchishua' is probably an unreal name, produced by a combination of מלכי = ירחמאל, and [שאן]—an

early scribe's error (see *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 6). The real name was 'Jerahmeel,' and an alternative form of name was אשבעל = ישמעאל, *i.e.* Ishmael. 'Abinadab' is no doubt in itself a plausible name for a son of Saul ('Abner' comes from 'Abinadab'). It is possible, however, that, as G^b reads in our passage, we should rather read 'Jonadab,' which is an easy corruption of 'Jonathan.' It is, of course, an error to say that Jerahmeel (Malchi) or Ishmael (Eshbaal) fell at Gilboa, and the famous dirge in 2 S. i. only laments over Saul and Jonathan.

xxx. 3. It was needful to begin by correcting the text on the supposition that *v.* 3^b was, at any rate, a real sentence. But now that we have found so many glosses consisting of synonyms for obscure ethnic terms, we are no longer entitled to assume this. I therefore withdraw the emendation, partly based on Klostermann, given in *E. Bib.*, col. 4312, note 3, because a definitive correction, based on the new assumption, is possible. Read ירמזאהו [ירחמאלים] ירחמאלים וְנָשִׁים ירח' אַרְבִּים ירחמאלים. 'Jerahmeelites' might, in fact, be variously explained; Saul and David themselves were in one sense Jerahmeelites. Hence the glosses; ארמים and נשים, at any rate, explicitly declare the enemy to be not Israelites but N. Arabians. Cp. on 2 S. i. 6^b.

xxx. 4. ערלים. Read, as usual, ירחמאלים.

xxx. 7. For בעבר העמק ואשר בעבר הירדן Chron. has simply אשר בעמק. This may be original, thinks H. P. Smith, 'though it is difficult to see how it could give rise to the present text.' Budde agrees that the present text is impossible; how, indeed, could the Israelites 'beyond the Jordan' have deserted their cities? And what does 'beyond the plain' mean? He doubts, however, whether Chron.'s text is more original, but has no definite solution of the problem. H. P. Smith, on the other hand, inclines to adopt Klostermann's conjecture, בְּעָרֵי הָעֵמֶק. Truly the problem is insoluble from the older point of view. But from our present reforming point of view all becomes clear, not by imagining a new text, but by deciphering the true original. בעבר העמק and בעבר הירדן represent two variants, viz. בְּעָרֵי ירחמאל (see on xvii. 2, 2 S. v. 18) and בְּעָרֵי מֵעֵתָה

(see on xiii. 7). Let us select the former, omitting אשר, and read ויראו אנשי-ישראל אשר בערב מענת כי-נסו אנשי שאול, *i.e.* when the Israelites who occupied Maacathite Arabia saw that Saul's army was dispersed, etc., they deserted the cities in the Negeb, and the Zarephathites (Philistines) came and reoccupied them.

xxx. 9. בית עזביהם, a gloss on בית עשתרות (v. 10), which has inopportunately intruded here and spoiled the construction. Most critics follow Wellh. in reading את- for בית (so G, Chron.). But this is a pure guess. To put the 'idols' (H. P. Sm. and Bu. suggest אלהיהם 'their gods') on a level with 'the people' as needing a notice of the victory, is surely absurd.

xxx. 10. בית-שתרות. Originally, perhaps, בית-צרפת. See on Gen. xiv. 5, Dt. i. 4.

xxx. 13. After a suitable dirge had been raised (ויספדו, Klo., Bu.), the bones of Saul and his sons were honourably buried תחת האשרה 'under (at the foot of) the asherah.' On the questionable word אשל (cp. xxii. 6) see *E. Bib.*, 'Tamarisk.'

ADDENDUM

CHAP. xv. 5. Dr. H. Winckler has kindly communicated to me the suggestion that עיר עמלק may be a gloss, and that [ירב] may represent a place-name, viz. ירב, and he connects this with מלך ירב in Hos. v. 13, x. 6. He further holds that xv. 5, thus corrected, belongs to xiv. 47. This is helpful, but the reference must surely be to some well-known place. It would be better to read ירים, one of the current popular corruptions (cp. קרית ירים) of ירחמאל. But בנחל remains a difficulty. I would therefore propose, neither ירב nor ירים, but ירב or ירבים, and read ירחמאל עד עיר ירחמאל (cp. נחל הערבim, Isa. xv. 7; so point). Such transpositions are not very uncommon. We have thus got rid of the difficulty of the unnamed נחל.

SECOND SAMUEL

CHAP. i. 6*b*. בעלי הפרשים, 'a singular and suspicious expression for "riders"' (Wellh.). 'Everywhere else we find בעלי פ' joined with רכב. Possibly, some one started to write בעלי חצים (Gen. xlix. 23), and afterwards discovered פרשים in his text' (H. P. Sm.). This would accord with the mention of המורים in 1 S. xxxi. 3. So also would Wellh.'s בעלי קשת, but both readings are far away from the text, unless we follow Wellh., who finds קשת misplaced in *v.* 18 (see his note on that verse). Budde retroverts Θ 's *ἰππάρχαι* into ב' סוסים, to which הפר' would be an explanatory gloss. But after restoring the text of 1 S. xxxi., we can perhaps discover a better remedy. Surely בעלי as often is a fragment of ירחמאלים, and הפרשים is a corruption either of צרפתים, or rather perhaps of פלשתים, indicating that the 'Jerahmeelites' spoken of were the same as the 'Philistines' (= Zarephathites) mentioned above. הרכב is possibly another corruption of ירחמאלים. The passage now agrees with 1 S. xxxi. 2*a*, וידבקו פלשתים, beside which we have Saul's phrase in *v.* 4, 'these Jerahmeelites.'

i. 8. 'It is strange that an Amalekite should get so far north; even as גר (*v.* 13) he can only with difficulty be imagined' (Budde). Certainly, from the traditional point of view, it *is* strange. But, for us, 'mount Gilboa' (1 S. xxviii. 4) is 'the highland of Jerahmeel.' The only real strangeness is in the intercourse between David and an Amalekite. Evidently the tradition has been manipulated. The Amalekite must have had good reason to expect a friendly reception, and perhaps he had one.

i. 9. All that follows כי is suspicious, as H. P. Sm.

admits with regard to נפשי כל-עוד נפשי. כי ought to be an ethnic; יושב often represents ישמעאל; צ may have sprung from מ. Read probably כִּי-אֲחֻזֵי יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים; יִשְׁמ' also underlies צלמות, presupposed by G's σκοτός δεινόν (hitherto unexplained). What follows is probably a combination of readings; כִּי-כָל-עוֹד has come from יִרְחַמְאֵלִים,¹ and נפשי בי either from צַפְנִיִּים, 'Zephonites,' or more naturally from יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים, 'Ishmaelites.' Cp. 'Ishpan,' 1 Chr. viii. 22. Thus we get 'slay me because the Ishmaelites (are about to) seize me [Jerahmeelites, Ishmaelites].'

i. 12. H. P. Sm. remarks, 'ועל עם יהודה ועל ב' ישראל is tautology, and is relieved by G, which reads for the first clause "and over the people of Judah."' He adds that 'probably even this one clause is an interpolation.' Wellh. inclines to read simply ועל עם יהודה; Budde assents. But in this case, should we not expect ועל ישראל (without בית) to follow? Cp. 1 K. ix. 6. It seems better (with Klost.) to read ועל עם יהודה, retaining the parallel words. Tradition supposed that Israel and Judah were in alliance under Saul. David would naturally put 'Judah' first.

i. 10. כִּי יִדְעָתִי כִּי לֹא יִחְיֶה אֶחָד מֵאֲחֵרֵי כָפְלוֹ, 'an apology for his deed on the part of the murderer' (H. P. Sm.). An apology hardly worth giving! Read כִּי יִד' כִּי לֹא יִחְיֶהוּ יִרְחַמְאֵלִים. So v. 10 harmonises with the most probable text of v. 9. חָהָה, 'to save alive,' as 1 S. xxvii. 9.

i. 17-27. 'A conjecture as to the period of those collections (the 'Book of Jashar' and the 'Book of the Wars of Yahwè') depends on our conjectures relative to their contents' (Holzinger, *Einl. Hex.* 228). It is, therefore, important to get the best text that we can. The help given by the versions is of doubtful value (see e.g. G^L, vv. 25 f.). David's elegy can only be restored to something probably not unlike its original form by using the experience of the habits of the scribes and of recurrent types of corruption gained elsewhere. In *E. Bib.*, col. 2334, a step in advance was taken; it is hoped that the present restoration is an improvement upon that. The verses are trimeters; Sievers (*Metrische Studien*, 422 f.) seems to me to have attempted more than was possible with the MT.

¹ For a similar corruption see on Ps. lviii. 3a (*Ps.*⁽²⁾).

- 18 לבני ירחמאל
הנה כתובה על-ספר אֶשְׁחֹר :
19 על-במותיך ירחמאל
איך נפלו גבורים :
- 20 אל-תגידו ברחובת
אל-תבשרו בחוצת אשקל
פן-תשמחנה בנות פלשתים
פן-תעלונה בנות ערלים :
- 21 חרבו הרי ירחמאל
ואל-ימטר עליכם
ושדה כרתים ישם
יבלו נושם וישמעאל :
- 22 בגאל מגן שאול
מִדָּם ירחמאלים
נִקְתָּה קשת ישמעאל
וחרב ירחמאל תִּשָּׁבֵר :
- 23 שאול ויהונתן הנאמנים
על-במות ירחמאל נפלו :
- 24 בנות ישראל בכינה
אל-שואל * *
המלבשכם סדינים
המעלה זהב על-לבושכן :
- 25 איך נפלו גבורים
על-במותיך ירחמאל :
- 26 עליך [אבלתי] אחי
יהונתן נעמת לי מאד
- For the b'ne Jerahmeel.
Verily it is written in the book of
Ashhur.¹*
- Upon thy heights, O Jerahmeel,
How are the heroes fallen !
- Report it not in Rehoboth,
Declare it not in Eshkol,
Lest the Philistine women rejoice,
Lest the Archite women triumph.
- Be ye parched, O mountains of
Jerahmeel !
Let him not rain upon you ;
Let the highland of the Chere-
thites become waste,
Let Cusham and Ishmael fade.
- The shield of Saul has been defiled
With the blood of Jerahmeelites ;
The bow of Ishmael is snapped,
The sword of Jerahmeel is broken.
- Saul and Jonathan, the trusty,
On Jerahmeel's heights have
fallen.
- Ye women of Israel, weep
For Saul * *
Who clothed you with linen
vestures,
Who decked your raiment with
gold.
- How are the heroes fallen
Upon thy heights, O Jerahmeel !
- For thee [do I mourn], my
brother !
Jonathan, thou wast very dear to
me,

¹ According to a probable conjecture of Budde (*KHC*), v. 18b originally stood at the end of the elegy.

נפלאתה אהבתך לי	Peerless was thy love to me,
: [מתקה] מאהבת נשים :	[Sweeter] than the love of women.
איך נפלו גבורים ²⁷	How are the heroes fallen,
: ויאבד חיל ירחמאל :	And the host of Jerahmeel perished !

First, as to the passage (*v.* 18) under which, according to the above restoration, lies the heading of the elegy, and perhaps also the editorial postscript (*v.* 18*b*), stating the source from which the elegy comes. The riddle in *v.* 18*a* is really not so hard. *ריאמר* is an innocent-looking word, but really it covers over *ירחמאל*, as it may perhaps do in xxii. 2 (= Ps. xviii. 2), where *ירחמאל* would be a likely variant to the preceding *ישמעאל* (underlying *שאול*); cp. also Jer. iii. 1, where *לאמר* represents a marginal '*ירח*' (see note). *ללמד*, as also in Ps. lx. 1, represents *לירחמאל*; so does *יהודה* (as *e.g.* in Judg. xvii. 7, etc.). *קשת* might = *נשם* (cp. on Ps. lx. 6), but here it more probably represents *חשור* = *אשחור*, a marginal correction of *הישר*. 'The book of hayyašar' in *v.* 18*b* should be 'the book of Ashhur.' The book contained songs and perhaps other old records relative to the Negeb. Another name for it may have been 'the book of Jerahmeel' (see on Num. xxi. 14).

V. 19. *הצבי* is almost certainly a corruption of *ישמעאל* (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ziba'). Both this word and the following word *ישר* are glosses on *הישר*. The correct gloss is that in *v.* 18*a*; *i.e.* *הישר* is to be read *אשחור*, not '*ישמ*', and not '*ישר*'. *חלל* = *ירחמאל* (see on xxiii. 8); so *v.* 22.

V. 20. *גת* comes from *רחובת* (cp. on xxi. 18-20; *אשקלון* from *אשקל* = *אשכל* (1 S. vi. 17). '*פל*' and '*ער*' need hardly be explained again. The corruptions arose early.

V. 21. On *בלבע*, see on 1 S. xxxi. 1. *קרבי* (Isa. xliv. 27) was suggested by Klost., but this suggestion is incomplete; *הרי* is wanted. On the other hand, *אל-טל* is superfluous; it comes from *ירחמאל* (*ט* from *ם*). *ימטר*; the implied subject is *Yahwè*. *Θ*'s *ὄρη θανάτου* is misleading. We expect a name (*נרתים* = *רהבתים*); the *נ* in *ני* belongs to the preceding group of letters. *גבורים* comes from *v.* 22. *משיח* and *שמן* are current corruptions of *נושם* and *ישמעאל*.

respectively (see on xxiii. 1, Isa. x. 27). יבלו = בלי. נגאל is obvious.

V. 22. The text reading is extraordinary. מחלב (as well as חל) represents [ירחמאלים]; cp. on מחבל, Josh. xix. 29. גבורים is a gloss. יהונתן is cleverly superimposed on an ill-written נחמה (Ps. xviii. 35). ישמ' = לא נשוג (the final ג comes from נ, dittographed); ריקם and אחור, of course, = 'ירח. לא שאול = ישמ'.

V. 23, as it stands, is incoherent. והנעמים has already been challenged by Sievers (p. 423, but cp. p. 578) as a gloss on הנאהבים. It is, however, rather a variant, and putting the two readings side by side we can detect a more probable reading than either, viz. הנאמנים (cp. 'נ' in Job xii. 20). בחייהם, like other expansions of חי, represents 'ירח. ובמותם has been transposed and manipulated by the editor. לא is to be taken with בחי, and נפרדו covers over נפלו. ישמ' has grown out of a corruptly written מנשרים. קלו and מאריות both represent 'ירח. גבור may represent גבורים, a gloss on נאמנים.

V. 24. Transpose אל ש' and בנינה (metre). For עדנים Grätz (*Gesch.* i. 192) and Klost. read סְדָנִים, but this is not enough. Did the Israelitish women wear scarlet? Prov. xxxi. 21 is probably corrupt. שני עם also springs from סְדָנִים (ד and ע, ס and ש confounded). So metrical correctness is restored. Omit עדי, a relic of a repeated עדנים.

V. 25. בתוך המלחמה. מלחמה is a frequent corruption of ירחמאל (cp. *eg.* on Hos. i. 7). במותיד = בתוך. Such abbreviations are common. Perhaps the interior letters had become effaced, and the exterior ones were drawn together. יהונתן has intruded from v. 26; על-ב' ח' is either dittographed or a correction.

V. 26. צר-לי, Ⲫ ἀγῶ. But this says too little; anxiety is precluded by destiny. Klost. צָרָה לְבִי, 'my heart was bound (to thee)'; cp. Gen. xlv. 30. Rather צר-לי comes from ישראל (as ch. ii. 3), and this from ישמעאל, a variant to ירחמאל. After עליתי, אבילתי may have fallen out, and, before מתקה, מאהבת (the latter proposed by Budde). Resemblances of letters would account for the omissions.

V. 27. כלי מלחמה, *i.e.* (figuratively) Saul and Jonathan

themselves¹ (Driver, with Vatablus, Ewald, H. P. Smith, Budde). But such an artificial expression is improbable, and elsewhere מל' = ירחמאל. Possibly נלי comes from חיל, 'army.'

CHAP. ii. 4*b*-7. אשר in *v.* 4*b* is baffling. Read, perhaps, קברו את־שׂאול תחת האשׁרה; see on 1 S. xxxi. 13. For מלאנים read perhaps שְׁלֵמָנִים,² 'presents' (Isa. i. 23); ש fell out, נ became ג. Note הטובה הזאת, *v.* 6. See *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 4.

ii. 8 *f.* Two points strike us at once as peculiar—(1) that Ishbosheth's capital should be at Mahanaim (on the E. of the Jordan?), and (2) that his kingdom should comprehend such an extensive territory. Was Saul really king of 'all Israel?' Next, we are puzzled by the selection of the names of Israelite districts. Is it really true that 'Ashurite' is miswritten for 'Asherite,' and that the latter name was given to the country N. of the Plain of Jezreel? Our experience in the legends of the Book of Judges, and still more in those of 1 Samuel, may induce us to suspect that there has been a great misunderstanding of the original tradition. In fact, the story of David's relations to Ishbosheth first becomes clear when we assume that Ishbosheth's kingdom, like his father's, was mainly, at any rate, in the Negeb. Every one of the names in *v.* 9 is found applied elsewhere to districts in the N. Arabian border-land. It may be just possible to understand 'Benjamin' as meaning the territory which commonly bears that name. But this is not absolutely necessary, for even as late as the time of Jeremiah (see on Jer. vi. 1) we find בנימן applied to Israelite clans in the Jerahmeelite Negeb. We cannot deny that 'Israel' was applied to the tribes of central and northern Palestine, but we must also hold that either the name could be used ἀπλῶς of the Israelites in the much-prized territory of the Negeb, or that very often ישראל has been miswritten for ישמעאל (cp. on xvii. 11). But if so, what does 'Mahanaim' mean? For the answer see on Am. vi. 13 *f.* Mahanaim, like Karnaim (Am., *l.c.*, Gen. xiv. 5), is one of the popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' Whether Ashtor- or

¹ For a similar corruption see *Ps.*⁽²⁾ on Ps. lviii. 3*a.*

² Ass. *šulmānu* (see *Ges. Lex.*⁽¹³⁾).

Ashhur-jerahmeel (Og's city, see on Dt. i. 4, and cp. on iii. 17) is meant, we cannot say. But it is at any rate clear that Mahanaim was in proximity both to the southern Gilead and to the southern Ephraim, and that it was on the further side of the torrent-stream called Jerahmeel; it was also near an important place called Beth-gilead, the possession of which was equally coveted by the Israelites and the Aramites or Jerahmeelites (see on xvii. 24, Josh. xiii. 26, and Am. vi. 13 f.). In harmony with this general view is the true name of Saul's successor, viz. Ishmael. This name was corrupted into Yebōsheth (see **§** readings, *E. Bib.*, col. 2209), Ishbosheth, and Ishbaal. Cp. the ethnic Yebūsī, which has the same origin, and note that ישרי in the traditional text frequently represents ישמעאל, also that בעל often represents the latter part either of ירחמאל or of ישמעאל. See, further, on iv. 4.

ii. 12 f. Note the N. Arabian personal names. Abner (or Abiner) = 'Arāb-nadab. Ishbosheth = Ishmael. Joab = 'Arābī (cp. on אירב, Ezek. xiv. 14). Zeruiah = Mišri. So Abishai = 'Arāb-ishmael' (v. 18). [*BDB*, followed by White in *Hast. DB* i. 10a) explains Abishai, 'My father is Jesse'; Lidzbarski (*teste* Mrs. A. S. Lewis, *Exp. T.*, Nov. 1902, p. 95), 'a diminutive of Absalom'; others, 'my father was something' (*ibid.*). But Jesse, Abishai, and Absalom all are, or contain, ethnics.]—18. Abishai. See preceding note.

ii. 24. The difficulties of the text arise from an incorrect view of the geography and from textual corruption. Ingenuity has been displayed in dealing with the corruptions (see *E. Bib.*, 'Ammah,' 'Gibeah,' § 2, 6; and Klost. and Budde, *ad loc.*), but it is only a rectified geography which here, as elsewhere, supplies the right key. First, אמה, like האמה in 2 S. viii. 1, and מאה pretty often (e.g. 1 K. xviii. 4), represents an original ירחמאל. Next, גיח is obviously a mutilated form of some well-known place-name in the Negeb. Nothing seems to depend on the right reading of it, but [מ]כורח seems not unplausible (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Manahethites').

ii. 29. The geography has been skilfully adapted to the view that Ishbosheth resided on the E. of the Jordan. The original text probably spoke of Abner as going through ערב (*i.e.* 'Arab-jerahmeel, cp. on xvi. 14, Dt. i. 1), passing over

the יַאֲד, *i.e.* one of the torrent-courses which served as boundaries in the Negeb (cp. on Gen. xli. 1, Dan. xii. 5), going through the valley of the *botnim* (בֹּתְנִים), and so coming to 'Mahanaim' (v. 8). The *botnim* are pistachio-trees; in Josh. xiii. 26 we read of a place in Gad, near 'Mahanaim,' called בַּטְנִים. Now in Josh., *l.c.*, as elsewhere in that part of Joshua, the account is almost certainly based on a geographical record of the Negeb. Before בַּטְנִים in Josh. comes the place 'Ramath-mizpeh,' which probably is = Zarephath of Jerahmeel (cp. on Gen. xiv. 5). The superficiality with which הַבְּתְרִין has been treated, as if ב' meant 'cleft,' *i.e.* side-valley, is surprising.

ii. 32. Beth-lehem = Beth-jerahmeel. Another of the places formerly settled by Jerahmeelites, and denominated from this circumstance.

CHAP. iii. 2-5. When David went to Hebron he had but two wives (ii. 2, cp. 1 S. xxv. 43). In iii. 2-5 four more are mentioned. The names of the six Hebron sons and their mothers prove David's close connection with the Negeb, and the names in the supplementary list (v. 14-16) abundantly confirm this. I. (a) אַמְנוֹן or (2 S. xiii. 20) אַמְנוֹן, or (1 Chr. iii. 1) אַמְנֹן, probably comes from אִמֵּן (cp. אַמְנָה) = יִמֵּן, a shorter form of יִרְחַמְאֵל. For less probable views, see *E. Bib.*, cols. 3298, 3450. Note that in 1 Chr. iv. 20 an Amnon is a son of Shimon (*i.e.* Ishmael).

(b) אַחִינֹעַם combines the tribe-name 'Jerahmeel' and the clan-name 'Naam' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Naam').

iii. 2. (a) כְּלֵאב, but in 1 Chr. iii. 1 דְּנִיאֵל. As to 'Daniyyel,' see on Ezek. xiv. 14 where דְּנֵאל (Kt.) or דְּנִיאֵל (K_r) is traced to an original יִרְחַמְאֵל. Some prefer one, some the other of these names as the starting-point of an inquiry into the original name of the person. The truth is, however, that both כְּלֵאב and דְּנִיאֵל are most probably corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵל. (Cp. כְּלֵאב with חֵלְאָם, 2 S. x. 17; ב' is due to the influence of לְאֵבִיגַל). But exactly what form the name took in the original tradition we cannot say.

(b) אַבִּיגַל or (1 S. xxv. 3) אַבִּיגַיִל probably comes from עַרְבַּ גִּלְעָד (cp. Ga'al = G^{BA} γαλααδ). Carmel and Gilead both stand for districts of the Jerahmeelite Negeb. Cp. on 1 S. xxv. 3.

iii. 3. (a) אבשלום or אבי' (1 K. xv. 2, 10) probably from ערב ישמעאל. Cp. Lidzbarski's connection of Absalom with Abishai (on ii. 12 *f.*). (b) מעכה, the name of a N. Arabian district (see *E. Bib.*, 'Maachah'). 'Talmi,' 'Geshur,' see on xiii. 37.—4. (a) אדניה. This is not a religious name, but was originally a simple or more probably compound ethnic. The former view implies that the final יה is simply emphatic; the latter, that the second part of the name is weakened from יה = ירח; ירח of course represents ירחמאל. עדן was probably the name of a part of the N. Arabian border-land (see on Am. i. 4, and cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3575). In spite of the initial א, we may consider אדנ in אדניה to have the same reference. How early the modification אדניה arose we cannot say. But David's history forbids us to assume that the name in question had, in his time, ceased to be in the fullest sense a N. Arabian name. Cp. on 2 S. xxiv. 16. The objection drawn from the Phœnician names אדנבעל, אדנאשמן (themselves, it may be, of N. Arabian origin), cannot stand against the abundant counter-evidence from the OT.

(b) חגית. *BDB* explains 'festal'; Nöldeke (*E. Bib.*, 'Names,' § 72), 'born on the feast-day,' comparing Shabbethai (Ezra x. 15, Neh. viii. 7, xi. 16), which = 'one born on the Sabbath.' But this meaning of Shabbethai is very improbable (see on Ezra x. 15), and in explaining the group of names to which חגית belongs (the other names are Haggi, Haggiah) we must start from those which occur in larger groups, *i.e.* in genealogies. The clan-name חגית occurs in a list of the clans of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16, Num. xxvi. 15), where it stands beside Ziphion or Zephon (צפון, צפירון). Now צפון is the name of a frequently-mentioned district in N. Arabia (see on Jer. i. 14). The presumption is that near or in Zaphon (צפון) was a district originally occupied by the clan חגית. That the Israelitish tribe called Gad (more properly גד, from גדש = קדש) had a territory in the Negeb we have seen already (*e.g.* on Num. xxxii. 33), and we shall see again (*e.g.* on 1 Chr. v. 11). In particular, it is noteworthy that according to 1 Chr. xii. 8 David, when a freebooter in the Negeb, was joined by a number of Gadite fighting men. No supposition is more plausible

than that David's wife Haggith belonged to the Gadite clan known as Ḥag or Ḥaggi. Another N. Arabian clan (at least in later times) was called Ḥagabah or Hagaba (see on Ezra ii. 45). The names may be connected, and if so, Hagab will of course be more original than Ḥag. The clan may possibly have been thought of as the Locust-tribe, but not improbably חגב, like חבקוק, is really a popular distortion of some shorter form of ירחמאל. At any rate, Haggith is beyond doubt to be included among N. Arabian names.—5. (a) שפטיה. Again the prevalent view has to be rejected. The name is nothing but a travesty of צפתי, 'Zephathite.' It should be grouped with שפט, the clan of which Elisha was a 'son,' and which, according to Num. xiii. 5, was Simeonite, and according to 1 Chr. v. 11 (original text, see note) was Cushanite, *i.e.* of the N. Arabian Cushan or Cush. The other occurrences of 'Shephatiah' (*E. Bib.*, *s.v.*) equally point to this view; notice, *e.g.*, 1 Chr. xxvii. 16, where 'Shephatihu, son of Maachah,' *i.e.* the Maachathite tribe of Shephatites, is reckoned to the Simeonites. Cp. also Shabbethai, referred to above, under 4*b*. (b) אביטל; the onomatologists still repeat the absurd explanation, 'my father is dew.' Looking at אביטל by itself, we might take it to be miswritten for בתואל or אתבעל (cp. on Gen. xxii. 22). Right method, however, points rather to the view that אביטל represents ערב-הבל, 'Arab-tubal, *i.e.* Tubalite Arabia; cp. חמיטל = Jerahmeel-tubal, תל מלח = Tubal-jerahmeel and תובל קן *i.e.* Kenite Tubal (Gen. iv. 22).—6. (a) יתרעם. A divine title עם is improbable, and the names beginning or ending with עם can be explained on a better theory. Regarded by itself, יתרעם might be miswritten for ירימות; in fact, this error may conceivably have been made in 2 Chr. xi. 18 (see *E. Bib.*, col. 2295). Right method, however, requires another view. יתרעם is compounded of יתר (see on xvii. 25) and עם, *i.e.* חם, a fragment of ירחמאל. Cp. רחמיה for רעמיה (Neh. vii. 7), and perhaps עמון for חמון (on Gen. xix. 38). (b) עגלה, 'young cow,' according to the onomatologists. Analogy, however, requires some ethnic. If געל (Judg. ix. 26) comes from גלעד, so also may עגל[ה]; cp. on 2 (b). If, however, we may compare 2 Chr. xi. 18, where Jerimoth, son of David, is husband of Abihail (Abihail?), it is barely possible that

Eglah is a corruption of Abihail, another form of the name generally read (or misread) Michal (see *E. Bib.*, 'Ithream'). The writer of 2 S. iii. 5 may have held that there was no good reason for asserting the childlessness of 'Michal.' 'Wife of David' is no doubt surprising. Possibly דוד arose out of an imperfect עדרִיאל (see on 1 S. xviii. 19). Wellh., Driver, Budde, etc., are themselves of opinion that דוד here is correct, but what well-known name except עדרִיאל can be thought of as the original of דוד? Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Ithream,' 'Michal.'

iii. 7. The name of Saul's concubine (רצפה; cp. on רצף, 2 K. xix. 12) marks her out as belonging in some way to Zarephath in the Negeb; her father's name איה (from ערביה?) points to a Zibeonite stock (see on 'Zibeon,' Gen. xxxvi. 20, 24).

iii. 8. Much misunderstood by H. P. Smith and Budde, who keep 'dog's head,' and omit, the one ליהודה, the other 'אשר לי' (reading העשה), and also by Klost., who reads 'איש נלב', and renders, 'Am I one of the Calebites, as they are in Judah?' חסד, which occurs in MT after אעשה, is a correction of ליהודה; היום = אלהים (cp. on Ps. ii. 7, lxi. 9). Read 'הָאִשֶׁר חִילָהּ אֲנִי אֲשֶׁר חָסַד אֱלֹהִים אַעֲשֶׂה', 'Am I the captain of thine army (xxiv. 2), who show sacred loving-kindness' (ix. 3). So *E. Bib.*, 3254 ('Nabal').

iii. 10. Budde would omit all that follows 'David.' He may be right. Certainly 'Judah' was not as yet more than a tribe like the 'Cherethites' or the 'Jerahmeelites' (using the latter name in its narrower sense). It is also a mistake to suppose that the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' is a description of the whole of Palestine with the exception of the Negeb. The truth is that the phrase means the Israelitish Negeb (see on iii. 20, vi. 19).

iii. 14. Read 'במאה גלגלות ירחמאלים [פלשתים]', 'for a hundred skulls of the Jerahmeelites [Philistines].' 'גלב' was displaced by ערלות (originally from ירחמאלים). Cp. on 1 S. xviii. 27.

iii. 15 f. 'Paltiel, b. Laish.' See on 1 S. xviii. 19. בְּחָרִים. If Saul's clan resided in the Negeb, it follows that Bahurim, like Laish and Gallim (see on 1 S. xxv. 44), was also in the Negeb. Possibly בחרים represents בית = חרים

ירחמאל, unless בחרים is a modification of בכרים; cp. 2 S. xvi. 5.

iii. 26. בור קסרה. Presumably הסרה covers over some ethnic. If 'Hebron' in these narratives should really be 'Rehoboth,' it will be natural to think of אשחר (one corruption of which is חרם; see on Judg. i. 35). According to ii. 9, Ishbosheth reigned over the Asshurites; the well of Ashhur would be within his territory. Cp. on 'Hareth,' 1 S. xxii. 5.

iii. 29. מחזיק בפלך. The difficulty of this is generally recognised. Driver learnedly defends the sense of 'spindle' for פ', but does not go on to draw the necessary exegetical inference that the text is corrupt. The sense required is 'on a crutch'; Ἔ , *κρατῶν σκυτάλης*. An easy correction is במקל (מ became פ, ק - כ).

iii. 38 f. V. 38 in the text is too vague for the occasion, and apart from this, it does not connect well with v. 39. It is true v. 39 is also suspicious, so that we must begin by examining the text of v. 39. Here we notice רך and משוח; רך may be a fragment of ירחמאל (cp. חדרך, Zech. ix. 1; ורקן, Josh. xix. 46), and משוח (cp. חושם, 1 Chr. i. 45) may come from נושם. In v. 38, שר וגדול (Ἔ omits ו) agrees with these ethnic references if גדול (as e.g. in Gen. xv. 18, and cp. גלעד = גדליה) may be taken to represent גלעד. That, probably, none of the hitherto proposed corrections hits the mark, is frankly admitted by Budde. Certainly we want a less sentimental speech for David, one which connects itself with his circumstances. It is very possible to read in v. 38, וראני היום מלך ירחמאל והאנשם האלה, שר גלעד, and as v. 39, בני מצרי קשים ממוי וגר'. David points out to his 'servants' that the man who has fallen is virtually prince of Gilead, and that his death makes David the hardly disputed sovereign of the whole of the Negeb ('Jerahmeel and Cusham'). But not for this would he have lifted his hand against Abner; these men, children of a Miṣrite, are too cruel for me; let the doer of the deed suffer Yahwè's vengeance. It was, in fact, the death of Abner which made Ishbosheth's position untenable, and virtually placed David on the throne of Israel (cp. xix. 22, end).

CHAP. iv. 2 f. 'Ba'anah' (cp. Bani, Benaiah), 'Rechab,'

and 'Rimmon' (= Jerahmeel) are all Negeb names (see the occurrences, *E. Bib.*, *s.vv.*). 'Beeroth' (possibly from רחבת) was a Gibeonite city, but is reckoned to Benjamin (so, too, Josh. xviii. 25). It is certainly the Benjamin in the Negeb that is meant (cp. on Jer. vi. 1); this suits the mention of Gibeon (see on Josh. ix.). 'Gittaim' is generally identified with Gath-rimmon, which in Josh. xix. 45 is a Danite city. 'Gath-rimmon' may nevertheless have been in the Negeb (see on Josh. *l.c.*), and the list in Neh. xi. 25-35, which includes Gittaim (*v.* 32), is most probably based on a list of places in the Negeb. Gittaim, too, was the city of one of the old Edomite or Arammite kings (Gen. xxxvi. 35, 6). Rechab and Baana are of the old Gibeonite or Jerahmeelite stock.

iv. 4. According to Budde, *v.* 4*b* should be placed after ix. 3 (not *v.* 4*a*, because it is only a slight modification of ix. 3*a*). The reason is that *v.* 4*b* gives the cause of the lameness of Mephibosheth referred to by Ziba. This is plausible; but how shall we account for the misplacement? Budde answers, The glossator thought it of importance, in mentioning the death of Ishbosheth, to show that the house of Saul was not thereby annihilated. A better explanation can be obtained by examining the names. The apparent confusion between Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth in 6 of chaps. ii. and iii. has often been remarked. It is possible, however, that in the original story there was no confusion, and that both Saul's younger son and his elder son's son bore the same name. This name may have been either Ishmael or Jerahmeel (the two names are equivalent). We have seen already (on ii. 8) that Ishbosheth (איש-בשת) is an expansion of ישב or יבש, a fragment of ישמעאל, 'Ishmael.' It is probable that he was also called 'Jerahmeel'; he may very well be the מלכי[שוע] mentioned in 1 S. xxxi. 2, for which form we should, on critical grounds, substitute ירחמאל. 'Mephibosheth' is also called Meribbaal (1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40*a*) and Meribaal (1 Chr. ix. 40*b*). On grounds of analogy, 'Meribaal' represents 'Jerahmeel.' What 'Mephi' in 'Mephibosheth' means, the older textual criticism was unable to explain; 'bosheth,' of course, it represented as a later substitute for 'baal.' 'Mephi,' however, can very easily

be explained. If we may suppose that here, as elsewhere, פ is miswritten for רי, there is no difference between the first part of מַמְבֹשֶׁת and the first part of מַרְיָבֶעַל מַרְיָבֶשֶׁת (a preferable reading) represents a combination of רַח (= Jerahmeel) and יִבְשָׁת (= Ishmael, see on ii. 8), and so attests the fact that a grandson, as well as a son of Saul, bore the two alternative names Jerahmeel and Ishmael. It would therefore not be surprising if a story relative to the birth of Saul's son was wrongly transferred to the birth of his grandson. And this, as we shall presently see, was quite possibly the case.

As the story of Ishbosheth stands in the ordinary text, we can only afford him a somewhat contemptuous pity. Never does he strike a blow for himself, and he meets his death while taking his siesta. The original narrative, however, must have been fuller, and if we assume that *v.* 4 in its original form referred to the first Jerahmeel, *i.e.* Saul's son, and not to the second, *i.e.* Saul's grandson, we account both for his not having fallen on 'Gilboa,' and for his physical incapacity when placed on a tottering throne. On this supposition, the passage would originally have begun with the words 'Now Saul's son was "smitten in his feet."' How his lameness was accounted for, we do not know; a later writer must have changed the circumstances to suit the son of 'Ishbosheth.' But the closing words, 'and he became lame' (וַיִּפְסַח) are no doubt original, and, according to analogy, we may presume that they accounted for the name of the son of Saul, which must have been given in this narrative as פֶּסַח. What פֶּסַח is, we know. It occurs as a personal name in 1 Chr. iv. 12, and Ezra ii. 49 (Neh. vii. 51), and is no doubt, like פְּנַחֶם, a corruption of יִרְחֵמָאֵל (פ = רי, ס = מ); cp. on Isa. xxxiii. 21, Jer. xlvi. 15. The story of Ishbosheth's lameness, therefore, is simply due to the circumstance that in certain records his name was corruptly given as פֶּסַח. A later writer, interested in the son of 'Ishbosheth,' altered the story of the lame child, but did not take the trouble to transfer the altered story to its natural place after ix. 3.

To some the substitution of the name of Saul's son for that of Saul's grandson may appear too bold. Let it,

however, at least be granted that no other adequate explanation of the presence of the story of the lame child in chap. iv. is forthcoming. Let it also be admitted that the anecdote accounting for the lameness of 'Mephibosheth' (if 'Mephibosheth' is really to be the subject) can only have arisen in such a way as has been suggested, viz. by the attribution to 'Mephibosheth' of another name which appeared to mean 'lame.' As Winckler (*GI* ii. 203) remarks, 'the lameness on both feet (ix. 13) gives food for thought.' See, further, on v. 8.

iv. 5-7. 'What a strange medley of carelessness, of fatalism, or of blind confidence, to be found in a king threatened with desertion, surrounded by traitors, but still powerful because he possesses a kindgom, and is in command of an army! It is to the maid-servant who every day prepares his bread that the monarch entrusts the charge of watching over his life.' 'Instead of guards and officers, of an army of serving-men, they find one slave. This woman, leaning against the wall, is winnowing wheat, and she too has fallen asleep over her work.'¹

'A scene from quiet home-life which, in contrast to the shameful assassination, produces the impression of great faithfulness in the report.'²

'A king of purest *petit bourgeois* type! From what legend has this little *genre-picture* been brought?'³

Dieulafoy and Budde appear to be too easily satisfied, while Winckler sees how improbable this anecdote is, but omits to test the readings of the text,—indeed, had he attempted it, the want of a clue would have condemned him to failure. Budde and (in one important detail) Dieulafoy put their faith in Θ , which gives (for v. 6), *καὶ ἰδὼν ἡ θυρωρὸς τοῦ οἴκου ἐκάθαιρεν πυροὺς καὶ ἐνύσταξεν καὶ ἐκάθευδεν* (L, *καὶ ὑπνωσεν*), *καὶ* P. *καὶ* B. *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διέλαθον* (*καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν οἶκον*), i.e. *וְהַבָּה שֶׁעָרָה הַבָּיִת סָקְלָתָהּ וְהָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה* (so Wellh., Driv., H. P. Sm., Bu.). Klost. does not care to retrovert, for his opinion is that the idyll of the portress cleaning wheat and nodding over her task, has been

¹ Dieulafoy, *David the King*, E.T. 128.

² Budde, *Samuel*, on iv. 6.

³ Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* ii. 196.

invented by **Ⓔ** on the basis of the two words **חַטִּים** and **בֵּית**. He himself ventures on a reconstruction, not without some plausibility, but falling short of complete verisimilitude. We need not give it here, because we have a clue, and can provide a better remedy, and one which enables us to account both for the (doubtless impossible) traditional text and for the 'schöne Wortlaut' (Budde) or the 'Genrebildchen' (Winckler) of **Ⓔ**. Let us remember that, as we have seen already, 'Ishbosheth' resides in the Negeb, at a place popularly called 'Mahanaim,' but more correctly 'Jerahmeel,' and Rechab and Baana are of the old Jerahmeelite stock (see on ii. 8 *f.*, iv. 2 *f.*). We shall then not think it unplausible in *v.* 6 to read thus, utilising our experience of many similarly corrupt passages, which editors have done their best to embroider with the help of the imagination,—

וְהָפָה בְּאֵי עַד-מִעֲקַת בֵּית יִרְחֵמָאֵל [מַעַת יִרְחֵמָאֵל נָשָׁם] וְרָכַב
וּבְעֵנָה אַחֲרָיו יִרְחֵמָאֵלִים :

וְהָפָה (not וְהִזָּה, nor וְהִנֵּה) connects with *v.* 2*a*; *sv.* 2*b* and 3 are glosses, *v.* 4 is a digression, and *v.* 5 is an early editorial insertion (in which, perhaps, the superfluous **כַּחַם הַיּוֹם** is a corruption of **יִרְחֵמָאֵל** = **מַחֲנֵים**). **תוֹךְ** for **מַעַת**, cp. on Ps. lv. 12, lxxii. 14. **יִרְחֵמָאֵל** = **לִקְחָיו** (cp. on **חֶלֶק**, Josh. xi. 17). **חַטִּים** for **חַמַּת** = **מַעַת** (cp. on **חַטָּה**, Ps. lxxxii. 17). **הַ** **נָשָׁם** = **חַמַּשׁ** (cp. on **וַיִּכְדּוּ אֶל הַ**, *sv.* 39). **נִמְלָטוּ** comes from **גַּמְלִים**, *i.e.* **יִרְחֵמָאֵלִים** (cp. on Judg. viii. 21, 26, Ezra ii. 67, also on **בַּמְלָט**, Jer. xliii. 7). The sense of *sv.* 6, 7 is, The persons spoken of in *v.* 2 reached Beth-jerahmeel in Maacath without hindrance, and proceeded to the house of 'Ishbosheth.' To understand this action, be it remembered that Rechab and his brother Baanah were of the Jerahmeelite race, with which Saul was at war. Upon entering the house, they found the king on his couch, taking his siesta. The assassins fell upon him, slew him, and beheaded him, and then returned by the route of 'Arab, *i.e.* 'Arab-jerahmeel (cp. on Dt. i. 1). In *v.* 7 for **הַבֵּית** read **בֵּשֶׁת** (or **אִישׁ בֵּשֶׁת** (or **יִשְׁמַעְאֵל** = **יִרְחֵמָאֵל**), and for **הָעֵרְבָה** read **עָרַב**.

But we have still to refer in detail to **Ⓔ**. Applying our clue, we can discern the underlying Hebrew text. The text was, of course, badly written, and the translator had to form

imaginative conjectures, leaving out those groups of letters which were hopelessly illegible. This is what the words still partly legible represent, **מענת בית-ישמעאל מענת בית-שונם**. For most of the alterations no one, I think, could possibly account unaided. For 'Beth-shunem' we might almost as easily, and perhaps rather more probably, read **בית-נושם**. **בית-ישמעאל** is, of course, the equivalent of Beth-jerahmeel, *i.e.*, not certainly but possibly, Mahanaim. For the corrupt **סקלה** (Wellh., **סקלה**) cp. **שקל**, Isa. xxxiii. 18, which certainly comes from **ישמעאל** (see 'Addenda,' pt. i., p. 49). **Θ**'s **διέλαθον** is no justification of the rendering 'slipped through' (for **במלטו**); it represents rather **מעלו** (cp. Lev. v. 15, **λανθάνω** = **מעל**), *i.e.* **ירחמאל**.

CHAP. v. 1. 'All the tribes of Israel,' *i.e.* perhaps the Israel in the Negeb and in Caleb (Hebron).

v. 6-8. One of the most difficult passages in the O.T. The general sense, however, can be settled with a far nearer approach to certainty than before. First, **עור** and **פסח** can be explained with confidence. **עור**, like **עירא** (2 S. xx. 26) and **יאר** (Judg. x. 3), is a fragment of **ירחמאל**; **פסח**, too (see on iv. 4), is a corrupt distortion of the same ethnic name. That the early population of Jerusalem was Jerahmeelite (= Ishmaelite) appears from Ezek. xvi. 3, 45, 'Thy father was an Arammite (so read, for 'Amorite'), and thy mother a Rehobothite (so read, for 'Hittite'). Cp. also Isa. xxix. 1 *f.*, 7, where **אריאל** probably comes from **ירחמאל** (see note, *ad loc.*). We can now see the true meaning of **יבסי** ('Jebusite'), which, in accordance with many parallel corruptions, comes from **ישמעאלי**. Thus, here again it is clear that the early population of 'Jerusalem' was Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite; in fact, the true (though doubtless, in course of time, forgotten) meaning of Urusalimmu and **ירושלם**, not only can be, but is, 'city of Ishmael'; **ציון**, too, like **צין**, most probably comes from the ethnic **ישמעאל** (see *E. Bib.*, 'Zion'). But let us at once put forward our reconstruction (not always equally near certainty) of *vv.* 6b, 8—

ויאמרו ירחמאל ואשתור לדוד לא-תבוא הנה : ויךם דוד ביום
ההוא על-מנת יבסי ויגש בציון ואת-ירחמאלים קבש דוד על-כן [דור]
ירחמאלים לעבדים לבית יהודה :

Jerahmeel and Ashhur are here represented as the lords of Jerusalem. They defy David to make good his entrance. (But David succeeds in taking the fortress of Zion.) It was a great triumph for David—this heavy blow to the Jebusites. From Zion as his centre he subdued the Jerahmeelites. This, the narrator adds, is the reason why the temple-servants are Jerahmeelites.

Now as to the textual details, without repeating what all the commentaries accurately and convincingly tell us. Note first ויאמרו of Chron. ; also that לאמר is wanting both in Chron. and in פ. לאמר would, in fact, be superfluous, but surely underneath it is ירחמאל (similarly, Jer. iii. 1). The scribe, however, omitted one important ethnic. To repair this error, he wrote the two subjects of ויאמרו after הַקָּה, viz. ירחמאל ואשחור, which unhappily became corrupted into כי אם הסירך (cp. אשחור סרה, iii. 26, and סיר in Ps. lx. 10). The enigmatical העורים והפסחים, as we have seen, comes from ירחמאלים, originally an alternative subject to ויאמרו. In v. 8 the first serious trouble is caused by צנור. This word occurs again with plur.-suff. in Ps. xlii. 8, where, however, if genuine, it cannot (if Wellh. will allow me to say so) have any meaning that would also be suitable in the account of the capture of a fortress. Chron. has, instead of בראשונה, ויגע בצנור. But this cannot be right; it would require, not כל-מ', but הַמְּקָה. If כל-מ' is right, Budde's ingenious correction ויגע בצנורו seems the only possibility. The sense, however, is not satisfactory. Why is there no mention of a ברית in connection with this strong statement? and why 'touches his own neck'? Try some other course, then. על and כל are frequently confounded, and ויאמר is at least sometimes miswritten (e.g. Gen. iv. 8). Do we not expect to hear something of the greatness of David's achievement in conquering Zion? Read בציון, and we shall then (with the revised text) have a suitable sense, viz. 'David was triumphant that day because of the blow to the "Jebusites," and held sway in Zion.' Then comes that obviously impossible phrase, 'and the lame and the blind that are hated of David's soul' (or, 'that hate David's soul'). Budde, at his wits' end, proposes, 'the lame and the blind David's soul hateth [not]'; i.e. David forbids slaughter after

the conquest. But these diseased people are mere moonshine; עור and פסח represent ירחמאל, and שנה (like צין, צאן) is one of the current corruptions of ישמעאלים; ישמעאלים is, in fact, a gloss on ירחמאלים. נפש דוד should perhaps be emended into דוד נפש.

This is followed (apparently) by a reference to the exclusion of the blind and the lame from the sanctuary (cp. Lev. xxi. 18). According to Budde, it is a gloss, and owes its existence entirely to the unintelligibility of the preceding words. Surely there ought, from our point of view, to be a better explanation. Nor are we disappointed. יאמר may be, and in this context must be, a corruption of ירחמאלים, originally perhaps a gloss on עור ופסח. לא יבוא אל-הבית. עור ופסח can hardly be right. The context suggests and presupposes בית יהוה, which is a gain. לא יבוא may have come from לעבדים, and by prefixing הוּי and reading at the end לבית יהוה we get a completely satisfactory text. In fact, even down to the times of Ezra, the temple-servants were of the N. Arabian race (see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon's servants').

Observe that עיר דוד is a gloss. In David's lifetime the term 'city of David' also belonged to Kirjath-jearim, where in fact he chiefly resided. See on vi. 1.

v. 9. המלוא is, from our point of view, beyond doubt a corruption of ירחמאל. It may represent the oldest part of the fortifications (perhaps the citadel). For parallels see on Judg. ix. 6, 2 K. xii. 20, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Millo.' At the same time, it is very possible that המלא represents a part of the original name of Jerusalem. Budde seems right in favouring the text of 2 Chr. xi. 8 (*ad init.*); only we should perhaps go further, and read עיר ישמעאל (עיר סביב) being often a corruption of 'ישם'), after which one might continue (transposing), ויקרא לה עיר דוד. מן-המלא וביתה may be a corruption of בית ירחמאל, a variant to 'עיר ישם'. Cp. on 1 K. v. 25.

v. 11. חירם comes from ירחם, as אחירם from ירחמאל (see on Num. xxvi. 38). David could not have rejected the help of the neighbouring king of Mišsur. According to the most probable text of viii. 2 *f.* David had conquered Mišsur, and received tribute from the Mišrites. If so, it would be natural that timber and carpenters, stone and masons should be sent from the highlands of Mišsur to the

suzerain at Jerusalem. See, however, *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 3*b*.

v. 14. David's sons at Jerusalem have Negeb names (cp. on iii. 2-5). (1) שמוע; cp. שמואל and שמעיה. (2) שובב, like סביר and יבוס, ultimately goes back to ישמעאל. See on שובבים, Jer. i. 6, and *E. Bib.*, 'Shobab.' In 1 Chr. ii. 18 Shobab is a son of Caleb. (3) נתן. The other occurrences mark this out as a N. Arabian name (see *eg.* 1 Chr. ii. 36). Like נתינים, it may be connected with איתן. (4) שלמה, probably connected with שלמון (see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 1). (5) יבחר. Cp. the clan-name קבר (Kenite, Asherite, Judahite, Benjamite). By all these connections (including even Asher = Ashhur) it is a true Negeb name. (6) אלישוע. Cp. the Kenizzite name שוע (see on Gen. xxxviii. 2). Jeshua and Joshua may also be Negeb names. (7) נפג. Cp. Ex. vi. 21, where Nepheg is a son of Izhar (a Levite clan-name). (8) יפיע. Cp. Josh. x. 3, 'Japhia king of Eshcol' (so read). (9) אלישמע. Cp. the place-name and clan-name Shema; also 2 K. xxv. 25 (see note), where 'Elishama' is distinctly a Jerahmeelite name. (10) אלידע. But for the form בעלידע, sanctioned even by the pious Chronicler (1 Chr. xiv. 7), we might regard אלידע as = ידעאל, *i.e.* 'one belonging to the clan ידע'; ידע is a Jerahmeelite name (1 Chr. ii. 28, 32), and the mother of Jada' was 'Atarah (*i.e.* Ephrath in the Negeb). We also find the distinctly Negeb names ידיעאל and ידיה. 'Jediael' is a Gibeonite (1 Chr. vii. 6), and Gibeon (see on Josh. ix. 3) was in the Negeb. 'Jediah' occurs, nominally, in a Simeonite, but really (as the names show) a Jerahmeelite genealogy; in fact, the tribe of Simeon was, if names count for anything, of Jerahmeelite origin. Cp. also Jaddua, mentioned (Neh. x. 21) with Meshezabel (Ishmael) and Zadok (a southern clan-name); also Iddo and related names, and further the N. Arabian name 'Adah (see on Gen. iv. 19, xxxvi. 2). But though it seems to be clear that there was a clan-name or tribe-name of the Negeb in which the letters עד were prominent (cp. עדן), we must allow for the possibility that in some of the above names there has been a confusion between ד and ר, and in the case of אלידע this view is forced upon us by the existence of a second form בעלידע. Now

בעל and באל, as an element of personal names, can be shown to represent מאל in ירחמאל. Hence on the analogy of בית ארבאל (Hos. x. 14), and probably עדלם (= ארמל) and ארבאל from ירחמאל, it is probable that בעל־ידע comes from ירחמאל; cp. דיִעאל = ירחמאל, as suggested by the Palmyrene name ידעבל (Cook, *Aram. Gloss.*). This certainly suggests that ידע in 1 Chr. ii. 28 comes from ידע (= ירחמאל). עדה and ידו, however, will belong to another group. אל־ידע, too, must ultimately come from 'ירח'. For 'Jehoiada' see on 2 S. viii. 18. (11) אלי־פלט אל here is a transposed formative affix; in other words, the name comes from פלטיאל (see on iii. 15).

v. 17 *f.* David 'goes down' (from Rehoboth?) to the fortress ('Adullam'?). The 'Philistines' (Zarephathites) had 'spread themselves out'—where? In the plain of Rephaim? Rather 'in Maacath-ephraim.' Ephraim (a Negeb name) defines the portion of Maacath which is referred to (עמק often corrupted from מענת, e.g. Josh. x. 12, Ps. lx. 8). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rephaim.'

v. 20. בעל־פרצים, an ancient popular distortion of ירחמאל צרפתים (see on אל־ידע, v. 16). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Mulberry,' 'Perez,' 'Perazim.'

v. 23 *f.* Read מִמּוֹל בֵּית יִרְחָמָאֵל, 'opposite Beth-jerahmeel' (written ב' ירחם). See on Judg. ii. 1. So in v. 24, 'when thou hearest the sound of steps in the gate of Beth-jerahmeel' (בשער בית ירח).

v. 25. Ⓞ presupposes מנבעון (so, too, text of Chron.). Both Gibeon and Gezer were in the Negeb; that places of the same names (or should 'Gezer' here and in 1 K. ix. 15 *ff.* be 'Geshur'?) existed elsewhere does not affect this.

CHAP. vi. The proceedings with the ark (cp. Kusters, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1893, pp. 361-378; *E. Bib.*, 'Ark of the Covenant'; also Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 70 *ff.*).—The connection of this narrative with that in 1 S. vi. 1-vii. 2*b* is undeniable; it has been discussed with much acuteness by Kusters (cp. *E. Bib.*), but without an in all respects certain result, partly because Kusters omitted to criticise the text, and accepted e.g. the name 'Obed-edom the Gittite' unquestioningly. A new hypothesis must therefore be offered, based upon the

facts disclosed by textual criticism. It is most improbable that the ark was taken to Jerusalem by David; all that this king can have done was to take it to 'Kirjath-jearim,' or rather (see on 1 S. viii. 1 *f.*) Kirjath-jerahmeel, where (see on xi. 1, xv. 11) he appears to have chiefly resided, and which was therefore called 'the city of David.' The narrative in chap. vi. cannot be in all respects restored to its original form. Some important corrections, however, can be made. I mention first that which relates to *v.* 2. We know from 1 S. vi. 21, vii. 1 that the ark was conveyed from Bethshemesh, or rather (see note) Beth-cusham, to Kirjath-jearim, or rather Kirjath-jerahmeel. It was not, however, 'the men' of the latter place who brought up the ark but David, who probably planned to have Kirjath-jerahmeel as the capital of the Negeb, and wished it to be consecrated by the presence of the ark. Hence the large muster of the young warriors of Ishmael (so read in *v.* 1), even though the number 'thirty thousand' may have to be resigned. David's object was, as described in (probably) the true text of *v.* 2, להעלות את ארון האלהים אל-עיר אשר נקרא שמה קרית ירחמאל. The corrections are, no doubt, suggested by a hypothesis, but they are text-critically possible, and the hypothesis is a necessary one. We are now relieved of the difficulties arising from the prolix description of the ark and from the impossible position of עליו, and—what is much more important—of the grave difficulties attendant on the ordinary view of David's action—difficulties which will become more and more pressing as we go through the narrative of the life of David and the accession of Solomon. The prolix description of the ark is due to the redactor, who had before him a corrupt text; note especially how a mutilated and corruptly written ירחמאל suggested כרבים עליו, while an ill-written קרית became יהודה. יתרה and ישב are both familiar corruptions of ישמעאל, which is a variant to ירחמאל. I have put this first, in consideration of its extreme importance, and now resume the natural order of the notes.—בישראל שלשים-אלף. To understand this we must presuppose the result of criticism of 1 Chr. xiii. 5, which should, as I contend, run thus—'And David assembled all Israel from Ashhur-miṣrim to the entrance of Maacath.' This means that the persons

assembled were all the male Israelitish inhabitants of the Negeb, and suggests that there may be something underneath של' אלף, viz. ישמעאל (Ishmael = Jerahmeel = the Israelitish Negeb). The mention of the number of the men of Israel (or Ishmael) is quite superfluous, whereas the due comprehension of the narrative partly depends on our knowing that those who accompanied David were Israelites of the Negeb. Cp. on v. 19.

vi. 2. מבעלי יהודה. Chr. calls the place בעלה, and identifies it with Kirjath-jearim (cp. Josh. xviii. 14). Dozy, Kuenen, Wellh., Driver, etc., propose to read בעל יהודה, explaining the י in MT. as dittographed and the מ as implying a false view of בעלי as 'citizens.' This is plausible, but the whole truth has not been seen. How is it that Kirjath-baal (Josh. xviii. 14) and Baalath (1 Chr. xiii. 6) can be identified with Kirjath-jearim? Simply because בעל, בעלה, and ערים are all popular corruptions of ירחמאל (cp. on 1 S. vi. 21, viii. 1). And why is יהודה appended here to בעל[ן]? Why, too, in Josh. xviii. 14, does the name 'Kirjath-jearim' receive the gloss עיר בני יהודה? Simply because here, as elsewhere (e.g. Judg. xix. 1, 1 S. xvii. 1, 12), יהודה represents an original 'ירח', i.e. ירחמאל.

vi. 5. בכל עצי should of course be בכל-עו (as Chr.; cp. v. 14). But ברושים and בנענעים should give us pause. Comparing 1 S. xviii. 6 (see note), read באשורים ובירחמאלים ובנפתחים; it is the Israel in these regions of the Negeb which is meant, according to the gloss.

vi. 4. For אָחִיו read, not אָחִיו (Wellh.) nor אָחִיו (G), but יוֹאָח. This is a popular distortion of ירחמאל. The latter name was naturally suggested by קרית ירחמאל. עזה, on the other hand, may have a more interesting history. From v. 17-25, xxi. 15-22, xxiv. 8 ff. we gather that David won a great victory over the Zarephathites and the Rehobothites. It is probable that צרפת עזה (the name in the earlier tradition) became פרץ עזה (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Perez,' 'Uzzah'), and by a misunderstanding עזה was taken to be a personal name.

vi. 6. The ננון of MT. here and the נידון of 1 Chr. xiii. 9 may both be corruptions of נודב (G^b in Sam.). Nodab and Nadab are Jerahmeelite or Ishmaelite names.

— שמתו. Perhaps the residuum of הַתַּמַּטּוּ, 'wavered violently.'

vi. 8. 'Perez-uzzah.' See on v. 4.—'Obed-edom the Gittite.' The original name was probably עֶרְב אֶדֶם (cp. ערב נוש from רב-שקה). His true description probably is, not 'the Gittite,' but 'the Rehobothite.' Between 'Rehobothite' and 'Jebusite' there is no great difference, for 'Jebusite' = 'Ishmaelite' (*i.e.* 'Jerahmeelite'). It was the more natural that the Chronicler should make this man a Levite, because the Levites, like the Rehobothites, belonged originally to the Negeb.

v. 16. For מִפּוֹ וּמִכֹּרֶר read וּמִפֶּסֶח וּמִרְקָד. On פסח see Toy, *JBL* xvi. 178 *f.*; for רקד see 1 Chr. xv. 29. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Dance,' § 4.

vi. 19. This passage was seriously misunderstood even in early times. (a) לְמֵאִישׁ וְעַד-אִשָּׁה. The prefix ל, though not usual, is perfectly possible (see Driver), and the presence of women at sacrificial feasts is sufficiently proved (see Peritz, *JBL* xvii. 122 *f.* [1898]). Still, there is no apparent reason for the stress laid on the presence of the women just now, and in itself, assuming the story to be either historical or well-contrived, such presence is improbable (cp. נל-בחרו, v. 1). The words must be corrupt, and ⚭ (v. 19) gives us the clue to the true text. No critic has noticed this, but so it is. ἀπὸ Δαν ἕως Βηρσαβее is no mere interpolation, but an alternative reading to ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶς ἕως γυναικός. It shows that there was a second view of the original, according to which the people who received David's gifts belonged to the Negeb (cp. on v. 1). But מִדָּן וְעַד בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע cannot be the original reading; it must be a substitute for some earlier reading capable of becoming corrupted into לְמֵאִישׁ וְעַד אִשָּׁה. And one word in this reading is supplied by ⚭. Ἐσχαρίτην, which ⚭ gives for MT.'s אשפר, certainly represents אשכר, and this word must be a corruption of אִשְׁחָר. This suggests to us what לְמֵאִישׁ must be, viz. מִשְׁמַעְאֵל. (b) From the same source we obtain the key to חלת לחם, to אשישה, and to אחד and אחת. חלם לחם represents חלת לחם (both well-attested abridgements of ירחמאל). אשישה comes from 'אשח', *i.e.* אשחר. אחד and אחת (from אחר) represent ירחמאל (cp. on 1 S. i. 1, Isa. lxvi. 17). ירחמאל was a gloss on מִשְׁמַעְאֵל.

Thus the whole passage becomes *ישמעאל [ירחמאל] . . . ויחלק* 'and David gave portions (of the sacrificial meat) to all the people . . . from Ishmael [Jerahmeel] as far as Ashhur.' It should once more be noted that the Chronicler makes the two extreme points between which 'all Israel' was settled Ashhur-miṣrim and Maacath. Also that the help of *ס* is not, strictly speaking, necessary, for any experienced critic would suspect *ישמעאל* to lie under *למאיש* and *רשף* (*i.e.* *צרפת*) under the unintelligible *אשפר*. (*אשחור*, however, is better than *רשף*, because of the Chronicler.)

CHAP. vii. 8. *מִן-הַנְּהוּרָה מֵאַחַר הַצֵּאן* (Chron., *מִן-אַחַר*, *הַצֵּאן*). Here *מֵאַחַר הַצֵּאן* is transparent; it covers *מִירְחָמָאֵל* [*ישמעאל*]. See on 1 S. xvi. 11, Ps. lxxviii. 71, Am. vii. 15. *מִן-הַנְּהוּרָה*, however, is quite correct. The allusion is to 1 S. xvi. 11, where read *בִּישְׁמַעְאֵל*.

vii. 16 *f.* Bethel, Gilgal (= Gilead), Mizpah (= Zephath or Zarephath), Ramah (= Jerahmeel) are all Negeb names.

CHAP. viii. 1. *מֵתַג הָאֵמָה*. Budde (1902) is as much at a loss as H. P. Smith before him (1899). Yet the key had been offered him in *E. Bib.*, vol. iii., cols. 3065, 3179. One cannot, it is true, treat this passage by itself; the right view could only be obtained after a fuller study of related textual phenomena over large spaces of the Hebrew Bible and also of the rise of David. *מֵתַג* undoubtedly comes from *מַעַנַת*, and *אֵמָה* [ה] from *יִרְחָמָאֵל*. For the former cp. *עַמֶּק*, often for *מַעַנַת* (*e.g.* 1 S. xxxi. 7); for the latter, see on ii. 24. For the current purely conjectural views, see *E. Bib.*, 'Metheg-ammah.' We have still to explain *אֶת-גַּת וּבְנֵיהֶּ* in the || passage, 1 Chr. xviii. 1. Here *גַּת* represents *מֵתַג* (in the document on which Chron., *l.c.*, is based), and *וּבְנֵיהֶּ* represents *מַעַנַת*, originally meant as a correction of *מֵתַג*. *יְה* should be taken together with *מִד* which follows. The resulting group of letters *יְהמִד* represents *יִרְחָמָאֵל*, corresponding to *הָאֵמָה* in our text of 1 S. As to *פְּלִשְׁתִּים* we must either prefix *פְּ*, or excise the word as redactional. The latter course is preferable. After the notice of the subduing of the Philistines, we do not expect to be told that David took something 'out of the hand of the Philistines.' We can now give a still clearer view of 2 S. viii. 1. The explanation of 'Metheg-ha'ammah' offered above has been

confirmed by Chron., and in addition to this we have learned that מִיד represents ירחמאל, and that פלשתים in *b* is intrusive. And the sense of *v.* 1 becomes, 'after this David smote the Zarephathites, and took Maacath-jerahmeel.' See on *v.* 9. [We can but briefly refer to Winckler, *GI* ii. 206. Underneath האמה he suspects the name of a maritime city, not having noticed *Exp.T.*, Oct. 1899, pp. 47 *f.*, where it is proposed to read, 'and he took Ashdod the city of the sea (וַיִּקַּח אֶת-אַשְׁדּוֹד מִיַּד הַיָּם) out of the hand of the Philistines.' Cp. also *E. Bib.*, cols. 1027, 3065.]

viii. 2. The only critics who have shown any insight here are Budde and Winckler. The former questions the correctness of מואב (cp. 1 S. xxii. 3), and suggests that a late editor may have substituted מואב for בני עמון. The latter (*GI* ii. 206) that the excerpter misunderstood his document, the true text of which spoke of the measuring, not of the Moabites, but of the land of Moab, a proceeding which usually gave a third as the domain of the conqueror, while two thirds remained for the vanquished. But there is no room to doubt that the text has grown up out of the mistakes of the scribes; the recurrent types of corruption are manifest. מואב, as so often, has arisen out of מצור; the right reading was known to the writer of Num. xxiv. 17. Passing on, it may be stated that textual criticism dissipates the description of David's supposed barbarity into thinnest air. וימדד represents ירחמאלים; so וימדד = ירחמאל. [ב]חבל also, as often, represents the same name (cp. 1 K. iv. 13, Zeph. ii. 5). וימדד . . . להחיות . . . וינבש את-צרפתים השכב וג' is nothing but ירחמאל over and over again, except that שני (cp. צען, צין) is a corrupt fragment of a gloss or variant ישמעאל. Such repetitions of this name, so ill understood by the later scribes, are of common occurrence. It is remarkable that 1 Chr. xviii. 2 omits החיות . . . וימדד, which suggests that the brief text represented by these words was a later insertion. However, the text which underlies both MT. and (in the main) G's Hebrew text probably runs thus, וידך את-מצור ירחמאלים וינבש את-צרפתים וידו מצור וג', 'and he smote Mišsur of the Jerahmeelites, and subdued the Zarephathites, and those of Moab became,' etc.

viii. 3. The difficulties attending the translation of *b*

are well-known. Winckler finds himself compelled to alter the text. On the historical and text-critical questions compare Winckler, *GI* ii. 203 *ff.*, but note that Winckler does not go deep enough into textual criticism, nor has he the most tenable views on the history of David. We must start from the fact that David was in the closest possible connection with N. Arabia, and had, as his most pressing duty, to secure the hold of the Israelites on the Negeb. The name Hadad-ezer is in harmony with this fact, for it is not probable that a king of the N. Aram would bear a name which was half Hebrew.¹ As a matter of fact, 'Ezer (עֶזֶר) appears in Gen. xxxvi. 21 as a son of Seir the Horite (the Ashhurite), and in 1 Chr. iv. 46 as a son of Hur (Ashhur), the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem (Beth-jerahmeel). Hadad, too, in Gen. xxv. 15, is the name of the eighth son of Ishmael. צוּבָא has been learnedly and acutely discussed by Delitzsch and Winckler on the supposition that a N. Aramæan district was meant (see *E. Bib.*, 'David,' § 9, and note 2, with the references); two Aramæan Zobahs have been thought to be confounded. The view seems to be untenable. Credit, however, is due to Winckler for conjecturing that Zobah and Beth-rehob are designations of one and the same place (*GI* i. 141 *f.*). Reheboth was, in fact, Hadadezer's capital (see on *v.* 8). This realm was called צוּבָה or צוּבָא. Of this name two explanations are possible. צוּבָא may ultimately come from יִשְׁמַעֲלָל; the intermediate form would be צַבְעוֹן = שְׁמַעוֹן = יִשְׁמַעֲלָל. This is probably the explanation of the name צִבְאָה (see on ix. 2), and צִיבָא = יִשְׁמָ' may lie underneath מִצִּיב in xv. 12. Of course, צוּבָא, even if ultimately from יִשְׁמָ', may early have become regarded as an independent name. But there is a second theory, which at any rate deserves mention, viz. that צוּבָא, like צַבְעוֹן, comes from צַרְפָּת. Thus for מַלְכֵי צוּבָה in 1 S. xiv. 47 would be read, not יְרוּחְמָאֵל יִשְׁמַעֲלָל, but יְרוּחְ צַרְפָּת (? עַמְלָק).

We can now return to the question of the reading 'להשיב ידו וגו'. Budde prefers Chron.'s reading 'להציב', but admits that the expression is obscure. The true reading, however, is, from our point of view, obvious. בְּנֵהוּר in

¹ Cp. Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuch.* (1892), p. 73.

Chron. is followed by פרת. This is very plausible,¹ for some supplement to נהר is required. What we expect lies concealed under להשיב ידו, which should be 'ישמעאל ירח'. These are variants; ישמעאל = ישבל; ירח = ידו (see on 2 S. xxiv. 16). We may, therefore, read either 'בנהר ישם' or 'בנהר ירח'. But a small insertion has still to be made. 1 Chr. xviii. 3 reads חמתה בלכתו, as if 'Zobah in the direction of Hamath' were meant. Read rather בלכתו חמתה. Thus we get as v. 3, 'And David smote Hadadezer, a man of Rehob(oth), king of Zarephath (?), when he went to Hamath (*i.e.* Maacath) by the river of Jerahmeel.' We have already heard (v. 1) of David's conquest of Maacath. On his way thither he would seem to have defeated Hadadezer.

viii. 4 *f.* וילכד. Budde insists on reading ויהרג (cp. x. 18), because such a host of prisoners would have been unmanageable. But the change is too great. The truth, probably, is that וילכד was educed by an editor out of an ill-written ירחמאל (to be taken with בנהר in v. 3). As a consequence he had to omit the illegible remains of ויהרג (or perhaps ויד).—Read אָרם נוֹשֵׁם. We hear of a Cushite in David's army, 2 S. xviii. 21.—6. נציבים. The 'officers' in Aram-cusham are || to those in the Israelite Negeb (see on 1 K. iv. 7, ix. 23).

viii. 8. Hadadezer's city (*not* cities). בטח, but Chr. טבח; in Gen. xxii. 24 (see note), טבח. The underlying name is רחבות; note that Tebah is a son of Nahor by Reumah (= Jerahmeel).—ברתי. Another corruption of רחבות. Chr. gives מכו; this is a corruption of חמון = ירחמאל (cp. קמון, Judg. x. 5).—Thus the name of the royal city was Rehoboth-jerahmeel (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tebah'). This agrees with the description of Hadadezer as 'ben Rehob(oth)'. It is the place called Rehoboth-hamāhār in Gen. xxxvi. 37. Note also that in x. 16 Hadadezer and his allies are said to come to חילם; now ח' is a distortion of ירחמאל. As a consequence read, not עיר, but ערי.

viii. 9. In what sense David 'took Maacath-jerahmeel' (v. 1). On his way thither David had vanquished Hadad-

¹ If פרת were correct, it would mean (in the original narrative) אפרת, 'Ephrath.'

ezer; so To'i hastened to send tribute. To'i (Chr., To'u), however, is hardly right. Possibly we should read תַּלְמִי; cp. iii. 3 (Maacah, bath Talmai).

viii. 13 *f.* וַיַּעַשׂ דָּוִד שָׁם. Kittel, in Kautzsch's O.T., gives up in despair, and represents the original by five dots. The next word is בַּשְּׁבֵר, corresponding to which in 1 Chr. xviii. 12 is וַאֲבַשֵּׁי. Since the proper name 'Abshai' or 'Abishai,' and יִשָּׁב or יִבַּשׁ very frequently, represent יִשְׁמַעֵאל, and since the scene of David's best attested military operations is the Negeb, also having regard to 1 K. v. 27, מִסּוּ מִנְּל־יִשְׁמַעֵאל (so read), it is justifiable to read (for וַיַּעַשׂ דָּוִד שָׁם בַּשְּׁבֵר) (וַיַּעַשׂ דָּוִד שָׁם בִּישְׁמַעֵאל), 'and David imposed a *corvée* upon Ishmael' (*i.e.* the now fully conquered Jerahmeelite Negeb). מִדְּהַנּוֹתוֹ, which follows, means 'after he had smitten.' The 'Arammites' are the Jerahmeelites (1 Chr. and Ps. lx., title, wrongly 'Edomites'). הַמְּלָחָה, as usual, = יַרְחֵמְאֵל; the famous 'valley of Jerahmeel' was the scene of the battle. The closing words are probably a gloss on 'Ishmael.' אֲשֹׁר = עֶשֶׂר; יִשְׁמַעֵאל = שָׁמֶן. יִרְחָה = אֶלְפָּה. In Ps. lx. 1, שָׁמֶן, like שְׁמוֹנָה, comes from שָׁמֶן; there is no discrepancy. See on 2 S. xxiv. 1-9, 1 K. xi. 15 *f.*—*V.* 14 is a doublet of *v.* 6, but not badly placed.

viii. 10. יוֹרָם, Ἰορὰμ. 1 Chr. xviii. 10, הַדּוֹרָם (Ἰορὰμ). 'Joram' represents only 'Jerahmeel.' 'Hadoram,' however, comes from 'Hadad-jerahmeel' (cp. 'Hadad-ezer,' and see on Gen. x. 27), and is probably the original.—Chr. rightly omits תַּעֲרֵי (תַּעֲרֵי), an insertion which implies the false reading מְלָךְ הַחֶמֶת, for מְלָחָה.—Note the abundance of silver, gold, and copper in N. Arabia. Cp. Jer. x. 9, xv. 12.

viii. 12. A conglomerate of names, due to an early redactor; some of them (*e.g.* Aram [not, Edom], Ammon, Amalek; and perhaps Pelištim and Zobah) ultimately have the same origin.

viii. 16-18. David's officers. יוֹאָב (from יְעֹזָבָב?) was a Mišrite; צְרוּיָה is a corruption of מְצֻרִיָּה; cp. on צְרוּעָה, 1 K. xi. 26, and see *E. Bib.*, 'Zeruiah,' also on 2 S. iii. 39.—יְהוֹשָׁפָט comes from יַרְחֵמְאֵל-צַפַּת, 'Jerahmeel-šarephath' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shaphat'). His father's name is אַחִיָּלָד, *i.e.*

ירח'-גלעד, 'Jerahmeel-gilead.' צדוק, a N. Arabian clan-name (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zadok'); ירח'-תובל from אחיטוב (for other details of the text, see Wellh.). ירחמל combines two representatives of ירחמאל. ירחמאל comes from יתרו 'Ithrite Arabia.' שריה. An examination of the occurrences shows that this, too, is a N. Arabian name. Cp. שרי, but see on 1 K. iv. 3 (שישא). בניהו; see on xxiii. 20. כרתי (cp. on כרית, 1 K. xvii. 3) comes from רחבתי; cp. on xv. 18, 1 S. xxx. 14. פלתי represents פרחי, *i.e.* either אפרחי (1 S. i. 1; xvii. 12) or צרפתי. The analogy of כרתי gives plausibility to the latter view. The closing words of v. 18, and of the paragraph, are not only evidently incomplete but also under the suspicion of corruptness. The true text gave the name of the chief administrator of the Negeb. See on xx. 26.

CHAP. ix. 2. ציבא. Probably a worn-down form of צבעון (Gen. xxxvi. 2) = ישמעאל = שמעון; cp. on צובה, viii. 3. Ziba, like Doeg (1 S. xxi. 8), was a N. Arabian.

ix. 4 *ff.* Was 'Mephibosheth' really in the house of a private individual in an obscure trans-Jordanic town? See on xvii. 27. The place was, at any rate, in the Negeb; לו דבר represents בית גלעד (בר for בית, and misplaced). מכיר and עמיאל represent ירחם and ירחמאל respectively. Possibly the text has grown out of two contending variants בית ירחמאל and בית גלעד. 'Beth-jerahmeel' or 'Beth-gilead' (= Gibeath-jerahmeel) appears to have been the centre of Saul's clan. See *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 1; 'Mephibosheth.' See on iv. 4.

ix. 8. הקלב הפת. See *E. Bib.*, 'Dog,' and cp. on xxiv. 14.—12. מינא, an ancient popular distortion of ירחמאל.

CHAP. x. 1. Read בני ירחמאל. עמון and עמלק (ירח') are often confounded. So throughout. Cp. on xi. 1, xii. 26.—2. 'Hanun,' or 'Hanan' (cp. the 𐤇 readings). Hanan (see occurrences, especially 1 Chr. xi. 43) is a N. Arabian name. 'Nahash'; see on 1 S. xi. 1.

x. 5. 'Jericho.' See on Josh. iii. 1.

x. 6. בית רחוב, see on Judg. xviii. 28. איש טוב, not 'the people of Tob' (so now Winckler, *KAT*⁽³⁾ 231), but a compound name like Aram-cusham (viii. 6). 'Tob' comes from Tubal (תובל); see on Judg. xi. 3. 'Ish' probably

represents Ashḥur (אשחור). For earlier explanations see *E. Bib.*, 'Ish-tob.'

x. 7, 9. כל-הצבא הגבורים. Budde points out that צבא and גבורים represent different bodies—the one, all the fighting men; the other, the veterans. True; but the text is wrong. צבא, like צבע and אצבע (xxi. 20), comes, here at least, from ישמעאל; גב' (as xxiii. 22) from ירחמאלים. If so, in v. 9 read ישמעאל (= the Negeb). Cp. on כל ישר', xi. 1, and on את-חיל הצבא, 1 Chr. xxi. 1.

x. 16 f. חילם or חלמם (better חילמם) should be ירחמאל; see on v. 8, and on Ezek. xlvii. 16. The נהר is that of Jerahmeel (see on viii. 3) not the Jordan. But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Helam'; Winckler, *GI* ii. 215. שובב (Chr. שובב) may either be grouped with Ishbaḥ (1 Chr. iv. 17), Ishbak (Gen. xxv. 2), and perhaps Shobek (Neh. x. 25), or be read ישמעאל = שובב (see on v. 14). In either case the original narrator had a clear consciousness that the scene of his story was the N. Arabian border-land.—הירדן, as often, comes from ירחן = ירחמאל. The נהר ירח' (viii. 3), in x. 16 called the נהר, is meant.

CHAP. xi. 1. מלאכים (Kt.) or מלנים (Kr.; so Chr. and the vss.)? The former is preferred by Hitzig (the messengers sent out to announce the new moon) and by H. P. Smith (the messengers who had been sent by David to Hanun); the latter by Wellh., Klost., Driver, Budde, etc. Neither reading, however, is quite satisfactory, מלאכים is a corruption of עמלקים or ירחמאלים. Jerahmeelite raids on the Israelitish territory in the Negeb were almost the rule (2 K. v. 2). They had probably begun again after the insult described in x. 4. Hence at the return of the season for such raids David sent his fighting men under Joab to waste the territory of the b'ne Amalek (Jerahmeel). This they did; and the raid led up to the siege of the capital, named here and in xii. 27, 29 רבבה, but in xii. 26 רבתי עמון (see on sv. 26 f.). The traditional reading may be correct. But it is very possible that רבה or רבת should be רחבתי. Thus, since עמון represents ירחמאל, the full name of the city would be 'Rehoboth of the b'ne-Jerahmeel.' This slightly confirms the supposition that 'Nahash' and 'Achish' are distortions of the same original,

for 'Achish' was the king, probably, not of Gath, but of Rehoboth (see on 1 S. xxi. 10). We must, of course, distinguish this 'Rehoboth' from that referred to in viii. 8 (see note).—בִּירוֹשָׁלַם. Read, probably, בִּישְׁמַעֲאֵל (= 'בִּירוֹחַ'). The place meant may be Kirjath-jearim (*i.e.* Kirjath-jerahmeel), where the ark apparently still was. It is, at any rate, in the Negeb. For Joab (xii. 28) urges the king to collect 'the rest of the people' and finish the capture of Rabbah (Rehoboth). Now it is the Israelites in the Negeb who are specially concerned in the overthrow of Rabbah; indeed, 'כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל' should probably rather be כָּל יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל (cp. on x. 7, 9). To be able at once to collect 'the rest' of Israel in the Negeb implies that David too was in the Negeb. Cp. on xv. 11.

xi. 3. The true name of Uriah's wife is not given. This was probably Abigail, whose son in iii. 3 is named Chileab, and in 1 Chr. iii. 1 Daniel—names which probably come from 'Jerahmeel.' Something in the nature of a designation is given to Uriah's wife; she is בַּת-שֶׁבַע = בַּת-יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל = בַּת-יִרְחֵמְאֵל, *i.e.* Ishmaelitess, and בַּת-אֵלְעִים = בַּת-יִרְחֵמְאֵל, *i.e.* Jerahmeelitess. Just so, as criticism shows, the son of David and 'Bathsheba' is called שְׁלֹמֹה, which suggests Ishmaelite or Salmæan affinities, and יִרְחֵמְאֵל (MT. יִרְחֵמְאֵל), *i.e.* Jerahmeel. See *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 2.—'Uriah the Hittite.' חַתִּי, as elsewhere, probably comes from רַחְבֵּתִי. Uriah was a Rehobothite in the wider sense; *i.e.* he was not a native of the Rehoboth of Nahash, but a member of the wide-spread race called sometimes Rehobothite, sometimes Zarephathite. אֲרוּרִיָּה is an expansion of אֲרוּרִי, *i.e.* probably אֲרֻרִי (see *E. Bib.*, col. 5228). David's warriors all came from the N. Arabian border-land.

xi. 21. Abimelech בֶּן-יִרְבֵּשֶׁת, but Ⲡ ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲃⲟⲁⲗ [L], ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲃⲟⲁⲙ [BA]. בַּשֶּׁת here is supposed to be a contemptuous substitute for בַּעַל. Our experience with Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth, however, may warn us against accepting this view. יִרְבֵּשֶׁת is a scribe's arbitrary correction of יִרְבֵּשֶׁת, which, as Ps. lxvi. 6, xc. 5 show, can be a corruption of יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל. The true name of Abimelech's father, according to tradition, no doubt was יִרְחֵמְאֵל = יִרְבֵּעַל. But 'יִרְחַ' and 'יִשְׁמַ' were used as synonyms, so that Abimelech could be said to have been the son of Ishmael.

CHAP. xii. 24. Various explanations have been given of this difficult passage; see *E. Bib.*, 'Jedidiah.' But the true key has been missed. שלמה being obviously connected either with שלמה or with ישמעאל, it may be presumed that the child's second name had a similar origin. Now ידידיה certainly can be a corruption of ירחמאל, and so too can בעבור יהוה and ויהוה אהבו. The circumstances of the case render it extremely probable that these corruptions actually took place. This leads to the conclusion that *v.* 24 *f.* originally ran thus, ותלד בן ויקרא את-שמו שלמה, and that there was a various reading, ויקרא את-שמו ירחמאל. In the latter reading ירחמאל, written 'ירח', became corrupted into ידיה, and this into ידידיה (by dittography). The second ויקרא clause found its way into the text, and had to be connected by some intermediate words with the first. This the editor effected by manipulating another corrupt marginal reading (producing ויהוה אהבו), and by modifying a clause relative to Nathan; the corrupt בעבור יהוה was added. The Nathan-clause originally ran וישלמהו ביד נתן הנביא (so Wellh., Budde), preparing the way for the prominent position of Nathan in 1 K. i.

xii. 26 *f.* עיר הפלונה, עיר הפים. As Wellh. saw, the two phrases must be synonymous; he himself would read עיר הפים in both verses. This, however, is an improbable phrase; hence in *Exp. T.*, Dec. 1897, pp. 143 *f.*, I proposed עיר מלכם for both verses. This was a step in the right direction. If 'Milcom' was the god of the Ammonites, what more natural as the second name of the capital than 'city of Milcom'? But it now appears (see on 1 K. xi. 5) that מלכם is but a corruption of ירחמאל, which name the Israelites applied both to a people and to its god. And the analogy of the corrupt phrase הפלונה, זרע הפלונה, 2 K. xxv. 25, Jer. xli. 1, from זרע ירחמאל, and of מים in 2 Chr. xvi. 4, and Ps. lxxv. 10, from ירחמאל, justifies us in reading in both verses עיר ירחמאל.

xii. 30. No explanation of the text is very satisfactory. Chron. makes things easier, but the meaning that only the 'precious stone' in the 'crown' was put upon David's head, is not clearly conveyed. Budde remarks, 'one must suspect either deep corruption or intentional distortion,' and adds

that 'this is most easily explained if such a statement as that of an idol's crown had to be got rid of.' I think that experience of the ways of the scribes elsewhere enables us to explain this strange passage. A very different text underlies it. *אפרת ירחמאל עמרת-מלכם* comes from *אפרת ירחמאל*, 'Ephrath-jerahmeel'; cp. Atroth [Ephrath]-beth-joab, mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 54 in a Calebite connection. *מעל*, which follows, comes from *ירחמאל*, a correction of *מלכם*. Under *ראשו* *ומשקלה* should lie the names of other places (note 'all the cities,' *v.* 31); read *ואשור וישמעאל* (cp. *אלקש* and *אשכל* from *ישם*). *יקרה* and *נכר* naturally represent *ירחמאל* (cp. on Gen. xiii. 10), and *אבן* comes from *בני זדה* probably represents *ישמעאל* (see on Dt. i. 1). The statement, 'and it was (placed) on David's head,' is editorial expansion. The Chronicler is less trustworthy. We must of course suppose that *v.* 30 comes from another place in the original document, for *vv.* 30^b and 31 refer to the Jerahmeelite capital.

xii. 31. A difficult passage. Yet if we take due account of the three verbs *הוציא*, *וישם*, and *והעביר*, the general sense should be clear. The people of 'Rabbah' were 'brought out' from their city and 'placed' in other parts of David's realm; so he 'made them to pass (cp. *העביר*, Gen. xlvii. 21) from [Rehoboth]-jerahmeel.' *חריצי*, *מגרה*, and *במגורות* ought to represent place-names. Nor is it difficult to find these. *חריצי* and *מגורות* (the initial *מ* is due to the influence of *מגרה*) both represent *הצרות*; *מגרה*, like *מגדו*, has come from *מגרון* (ultimately = *ירחמאל*). *ברול* (cp. on 'Barzillai,' xvii. 21; also Isa. x. 34 where *ברול*, *i.e.* *ישמעאל*, is a variant to *היער* = *ירחמאל*) comes from *ישמעאל*. For *במלכן* read *מירחמאל* (cp. on *מלוכה*, *v.* 26). Render, 'and the people that were there he brought out, and placed in Migron and in Hazeroth-ishmael; he transferred them from [Rehoboth]-jerahmeel.' Note that Kt. *מלכן* is a compromise between *מלכם* and *מלבן*.

CHAP. xiii. Note in *vv.* 1, 3, 4 the strictly Jerahmeelite names. Tamar = Ramath; Amnon or (*v.* 20) Aminon (see on iii. 3; Jonadab, or (*v.* 5) Jehonadab, or (as Ⓢ^4) Jonathan, containing the N. Arabian clan-names Nadab and Nathan (= Ethan?) respectively; Shimeah (see on 1 S. xvi. 8 *f.*);

Absalom (see on iii. 3). Note the Jerahmeelite name of Absalom's daughter (xiv. 27).

xiii. 18 *f.* כְּתֹנֶת פְּסִים; again in Gen. xxxvii. 3. $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ here, χιτῶν καρπωτός (with sleeves to the wrist), or rather ἀστραγαλωτός (reaching to the ankles; so $\text{\textcircled{G}}^L$; Aq. χ. κ.); but in Gen. χιτῶν ποικίλος (Aq. ἀστραγάλων; Sym. χειριδωτός [sleeved] or καρπωτός). The most interesting rendering is χ. ποικίλος, not for Lagrange's reason (*Études*, 1903, p. 403), but because, using the analogy of $\text{\textcircled{G}}$'s ψιλὴ ποικίλη for אדרת שנער in Josh. vii. 21, we are permitted to detect underneath ποικ. the name of some one of the countries famous for embroidery. One of these countries was Egypt (*E. Bib.*, col. 1286). If, therefore, there is any Hebrew name recognised in $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ as a name of Egypt, or of a part of Egypt, which could become corrupted into פְּסִים, we may suppose that the translator of Gen. and 2 S. in $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ read this word instead of פְּסִים. One such name there is—פְּתָרִים, the name of a son of Mizraim [Egypt], according to Gen. x. 14; for it is clear that $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ agrees with MT. in pronouncing *Mizraim*. I conclude that it is very probable that the tunic of honour worn by Joseph and by Tamar was, according to the original text, a tunic from Pathrusim, or from some other region whose name may underlie Pathrusim. And since the region which had the closest relations with S. Palestine (including at present the Negeb) was N. Arabia, and in fact the scene both of the Joseph-story and of the Tamar-story was in N. Arabia, I conceive that we have a right to restore both in Gen. and in 2 S. the reading כְּתֹנֶת צִרְפָּתִים, 'a tunic of the Zarephathites,' *i.e.* a N. Arabian tunic, embroidered in various colours, and analogous to the mantle of Achan in Josh. vii. 21. This suggests a correction of the difficult נער in Gen. xxxvii. 2. See next note.

'For so the king's daughters that were virgins were apparelled מעילים,' $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ τοὺς ἐπενδύτας αὐτῶν. Wellh. emends, מעולם. But even, if this be a gloss, we do not expect מעולם (from antiquity) in such a connection; the right word would be לְפָנִים (1 S. ix. 9). Even then, however, the gloss would be inadequate, for the reader would surely desiderate some hint as to the reason for such an exceptional dress. And if we turn to the only other passage in which the term פ' כ'

occurs (Gen. xxxvii. 3), we are astonished that the gift of a 'mere tunic with sleeves' (so most render) should lead to envy and murder. Gunkel (*ad loc.*) thinks it enough to say that this effect of such a modest distinction is 'characteristic of the simplicity of the circumstances presupposed.' But Joseph's father was at any rate not in the meanest circumstances. The true explanation is very different. Joseph's brethren envied him because his tunic was beautiful and expensive, and put him in a class apart from the rough shepherd life—the class to which the women of the family belonged. But if so, how is it that in 2 S. xiii. 18 the robe in question is appropriated to 'the king's daughters'? The answer is that the text is corrupt, and that the clue to the true reading is furnished by that impossible word מעילים which Wellh. attempted to correct. מעילים (like מעולם in Gen. vi. 4, Ezek. xxxii. 27) should be ירחמאל, and that this word is a correction of the corrupt המלך in 'בנות המ', which, as in the || phrase, בן המלך in 1 K. xxii. 26, Jer. xxxvi. 26, xxxviii. 6, Zeph. i. 8, should be ירחמאל. The point of the gloss before us is that 'this robe was worn by women of Jerahmeel while they were virgins,' so that Tamar was reckoned as at once an Israelitess and a Jerahmeelitess, *i.e.* she belonged to a Jerahmeelite family—that of David, but also to the larger folk of Israel. As a Jerahmeelitess she wore a richly embroidered Zarephathite robe. Note in this connection the fondness of the later kings of Israel for a residence in the Negeb (Shimron, Jezreel) disclosed by the criticism of the Books of Kings. It is possible, too, that David himself, and his family, sometimes resided in the Negeb (see on xv. 11).

xiii. 23. 'Baal-hazor which is beside Ephraim.' Absalom's close connection with the south (see on *vs.* 37 *f.*) makes it practically certain that it is a southern Ephraim which is meant; cp. 'Har-ephraim,' 1 S. i. 1. This is quite consistent with holding that the place here (and in Isa. vii. 2) called אפרים is that called in 2 Chr. xiii. 19 עפרון, and mentioned with Bethel and Jeshanah (*i.e.* Shunem), both places in the Negeb. Baal-hazor has probably come through a misunderstanding from Hazor-baal, a distortion of Ashhur-jerahmeel (see on 1 S. x. 27). It is the Hazor or rather

Ashhur of Solomon (see on I K. ix. 15) which is meant. If our view of Ephraim is correct, Absalom's estate was at no very great distance from the residence of David. At any rate 'Mount Ephron' was not far from Kirjath-jearim (= Kirjath-jerahmeel) according to Josh. xv. 9.

xiii. 34. See Wellh., p. 189; Rothstein, *ZDMG* lvi. 196. Neither critic has seen that מצד החרר comes from מאֲשַׁחֲרִי, מדרך חרנים ||

xiii. 37. The improbability of a flight of Absalom to Geshur in the NE. of Palestine has been pointed out in *E. Bib.*, col. 1711 f. His chief supporters, Ahithophel (see on xv. 12) and Amasa (see on xvii. 25), belonged to the Negeb; where the scene of his warfare against David was, we cannot yet consider. Turning to the names in v. 37 and in iii. 3 we find that Talmai (תלמי) elsewhere is the name of the eponym of one of the three clans of Kirjath-arba, i.e. Kirjath-'arāb = Rehoboth (see on Num. xiii. 22), and that Maacah is elsewhere the name of a concubine of Caleb (I Chr. ii. 48). Note also how easy a journey it would be from Geshur in the Negeb to Jerusalem (cp. xiv. 23), assuming that the reading 'Jerusalem' in v. 37 is correct. It is true that in xv. 8 Absalom speaks of his temporary home 'in Geshur in Aram,' but 'Aram,' as we find again and again, is the short for 'Jerahmeel,' and as a rule designates the Jerahmeelites of the Negeb (cp. on Gen. xxii. 21 where קמורא comes from ירחמאל). How convenient a flight to the S. Geshur (= Ashhur) for an intending revolter would be need hardly be pointed out. The name Talmai (like the place-name Telem or Telam, see on I S. xv. 4) comes from Temūl = Ishmael. For Ammihur ⚡ reads Ammihud. Both names are possible. 'Ammihur' = Jerahmeel-ashhur; 'Ammihud' = Jerahmeel-jehud. Both Ashhur and Jehud (see on Josh. xix. 45, and note Jehudi, the descendant of Cush, Jer. xxxvi. 14) were Negeb names. And there is at least some probability in the view that ירושלם is miswritten for ישמעאל, 'Ishmael' = Kirjath-jerahmeel (see on I S. xvii. 54).

CHAP. xiv. 2. 'Tekoa' (cp. on 'Koa,' Ezek. xxiii. 23, see the evidence in *E. Bib.*, 'Tekoa') was in the Negeb. Perhaps we should read 'Maacath'; 'Maacath' and 'Geshur'

were evidently connected. Absalom was a son of Maacah (iii. 3). Cp. on xx. 14.

xiv. 13. Read probably עם ירחמאל = על (cp. on Judg. xx. 2, where, however, it is 'האל'). The Israelites in the Negeb might be called 'the people of Jerahmeel,' just as an individual might be called 'בן-ירח' or 'בת ירח' (see on xiii. 18 f.). This correction may supply the key to the troublesome intermediate clause which so grievously interrupts the sense.

For באבשלום Hitzig (*Hiob*, 299) suggested נאשם. More probably נאשם should be ישמעאל. Omit ומדבר as redactional, and read following words thus, ירחמאל הדבר הזה כישמ', [ה]מלך, as often (cp. on v. 26), is a corruption of ירחמאל, which was originally a correction of אלהים. The next words are, 'this word is like Ishmael'; i.e. Jerahmeel and Ishmael are synonymous. Cp. the parallel glosses in Ps. lxxv. 7 (see Che., *Ps.*,⁽²⁾ *ad loc.*).

xiv. 25. להלל מאד. Budde remarks on the imperfect connection, and would have preferred מְהַלֵּל. But the remedy is plain. Read ירחמאל, a gloss on, or correction of, ישראל. To the original narrator, as well as to the wise woman of Tekoa, Absalom belongs to the 'people of Jerahmeel.'

xiv. 26. Driver (*ad loc.*) has shown that the Hebrew of this verse as a whole is possible, but not that it is probable, and though late post-exilic writers were capable of gross exaggerations, yet I hesitate to account for the present text on the hypothesis that v. 26 is a late interpolation. Experience elsewhere warns us to look for an underlying text. That text is probably neither more nor less than בְּנֵי יִרְחָמָאֵל וְאֲשֻׁר, a correction of ישראל in v. 25. Remembering that לחי in Judg. xv. 9 (see note) represents ירחמאל, we see that ובגלחו may have come from בני ירחמאל. That ראשו and שער may represent אשור (the southern Asshur = Ashhur), and that שקל and שקלים may have come from ישמעאל (a gloss on ירחמאל), and מאתים from ירחמאל, is evident. באבן המלך finally sums up the various emendations, for it doubtless represents בבני ירחמאל (cp. on xiii. 18 f.). The editor who, on the basis of corrupt glosses and corrections, produced the present Midrash-like passage, was under the influence of a wrong interpretation of xviii. 9. (The ordinary explanation

of נאבן המלך, 'after the king's weight' [see *E. Bib.*, 'Weights,' § 4, end], must at any rate be abandoned; 'the king' should be 'Jerahmeel.')

CHAP. xv.—xix. The revolt of Absalom. The geography has been throughout manipulated, but there are traces of the original representation which confirms the view suggested by the story of David thus far that the Negeb is the true scene of the narrative.

xv. 2. 'I am from this or that tribe of Israel.' The region meant is the Negeb together with Judah (including Hebron and Jerusalem); cp. on ii. 8 *f.*, xvii. 11. 'All the tribes of Israel' (*v.* 10) has the same meaning.

xv. 11. 'From Jerusalem.' Was David really residing at Jerusalem? The kings of Judah (see on Kings) dwelt very often in the Negeb. David's own children (*e.g.* Tamar) called themselves Jerahmeelites. We also often find 'Jerusalem' and 'Ishmael' (= 'Jerahmeel') confounded; see *e.g.* Zech. xiii. 1. It would not be very surprising if there were such a confusion in many parts of David's story. There may be a trace of it *here* in the word לתמם (and in xxiv. 24, end). Is it at all probable that these two hundred men (of the best families, we may presume) knew nothing of Absalom's ambitious programme. Can the reading be correct? In 1 K. xxii. 34, almost beyond doubt, לתמו comes from תמול, and this (as usual) from ישמעאל or ירחמאל. Most probably then לתמם has the same origin here; probably, too, קראים, if not also ודולנים, has come from a miswritten ירחמאל. David's true home at this period was probably at a place called Beth- or Kirjath-jerahmeel, *i.e.* perhaps 'Kirjath-jearim.' Cp. on *vs.* 17, 24, 27, 2 S. xxiv. 8, 24. The closing words of the verse may be put down to the late redactor.

xv. 12. אחיתפל, *i.e.* Jerahmeel-peleth. Cp. Eliphalet, v. 16, and cp. Num. xvi. 1 (Peleth).—For בובחו את-דובחים read perhaps, with Klost., בְּבָרְחוּ אֶל-הַיְיָסִים (see 1 S. xxiii. 19). This is connected with a plausible correction of the former part of the passage, 'Absalom had made a league (וַיִּשְׁלַם) with Ahithophel the Keilathite (הַקַּעֲלִיטִי, or ? הַקַּעֲלִיטִי), the counsellor of David, who caused him to escape (מִעֲבָרוֹ) from Keilah.' Should 'Giloh' be 'Keilah' in Josh. xv. 51? See *E. Bib.*, 'Giloh.'

xv. 17. **בְּבֵית הַמְּרוֹחַק**, ἐν ὄλῳ τῶ μακρῶν. Read probably **בֵּית-יְרַחְמֵאל**, in the Negeb. See on Jer. vi. 1 *f*. Probably this is the name of the place where the king and his family resided. Was it the same as Kirjath-jearim, *i.e.* Kirjath-jerahmeel, which was in the Negeb, and for a time the seat of the ark? Cp. on 1 S. vi. 21.

xv. 19 *f*. **תְּמוֹל**, לְמַקְוֶמֶךָ. The former of these words the versions arbitrarily change into מֶ. The latter they, and the moderns, render 'yesterday.' Yet there is a group of passages (see on 1 S. iv. 7) in which ת' and אַת' are certainly corruptions of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (or יְרַחְמֵאל), and מְקוֹם has sometimes sprung from יְרַחְמֵאל (see *e.g.* Isa. xxviii. 8). עֲמָנוּ and לִלְכַת are also somewhat suspicious; the former with ל' may represent יְרַחְמֵאל (see on Isa. vii. 14), and the same origin is possible for לַכַּת (cp. יִקְתָּאֵל). בּוֹאֵךְ is a dittogram of אֲנוּעֵךְ, which also may conceivably come from יִרְח' ; the scribes often accumulated bad attempts to reproduce this word, and the editors made what sense they could out of them. David's speech to Ittai therefore was, 'Return and tarry with the king, for thou art a foreigner and an exile in Jerahmeel [read בֵּירַחְמֵאל], and as for me I go whither I can go.'

xv. 23. **נַחַל קְדְרוֹן**. If 'Jerusalem' really covers over 'Ishmael' (see on v. 11), what can we make of the torrent 'Kidron'? In 1 Macc. xv. 39, 41, cp. xvi. 6, a Kedron is spoken of, with a *χειμαρρῶν* eastward. This is not in the Negeb, but near Jamnia and Azotus. Note, however, (1) that in 2 Chr. xxviii. 18 a Gederoth is mentioned with Bethshemesh, Aijalon, and Soco, all of which turn out to be most probably Negeb names (cp. also on Josh. xv. 33 *ff.*). Kirjath-jearim (Kirjath-jerahmeel) was near Bethshemesh (Bethcusham); see on 1 S. vii. 1. (2) Also in Jer. xli. 18 (see note), we can detect, underneath 'Geruth-chimham which is by Bethlehem,' 'Gidroth-jerahmeel which is by Beth-jerahmeel.' Both these places were in the Negeb on the road to Miṣrim. Lastly, in Judg. v. 19 (see note) we find a torrent-stream called 'the waters of מַגְדוֹ'; now מַגְדוֹ, like מַגְרוֹן (see on 1 K. xiv. 2), probably comes from יְרַחְמֵאל. It is most plausible to identify the torrent of קְדְרוֹן with the 'waters of מַגְדוֹ.' If so, we must of course distinguish this stream from that called Jerahmeel (see on xvii. 22).

For דרך את-המדבר, Ⲙ presupposes 'דרך זית המ'. But זית, or rather זיתים (written 'זית'), in a place-name like this, represents ישמעאל (see on *v.* 30). Probably we should read 'דרך מד' ישמ', 'toward the wilderness of Ishmael.' Cp. on xvi. 14.

xv. 24. Perhaps one of the most striking gains from new methods is the explanation of $\alpha\pi\omicron$ Βαθαρ in Ⲙ and of the equally strange אביתר ויעל in MT. Wellh., Klost., H. P. Smith, and Budde agree that the original text mentioned Abiathar, and that Ⲙ 's Βαθαρ represents this name. This is incorrect. Βαθαρ is a mutilated form of βαθιαραιμ; one proof of this—for those accustomed to scribal errors—is ויעל אביתר, *i.e.* מעלביתרא = בית ירחמאל; for another, see on *v.* 27. We should therefore restore 'מבית ירח', 'from Beth-jerahmeel,' after את-ארוך האלהים. Possibly *this* Beth-jerahmeel is equivalent to Kirjath-jerahmeel, where the ark was at the accession of David. See further on *vv.* 11, 27, 29.

xv. 27. הפהן הראה. 'Unintelligible. Read הַנְּ הָרֵאשׁ' (Wellh.). Budde prefers to read רָאָה; cp. Ⲙ , ἔδειξε. The remedy, however, is clear. הראה occurs again in 1 Chr. ii. 52, where one of the sons of Shobal, 'the father of Kirjath-jearim,' is Haroeh. Another form of this name is Reaiah, and both (like 'jearim') are corruptions of ירחמאל. The same scribal errors recur in different places. Read פָּהֵן 'ירח', in apposition to צדוק; 'and the king said to Zadok the priest of Jerahmeel.' 'Jerahmeel' may stand either for Kirjath-jerahmeel or for Beth-jerahmeel. See on *v.* 24.

xv. 28. בערבות (Kr. בערבות). Read probably בעַרְבֵּי. For the complete phrase, see on xvi. 14. Neither 'the plains' nor 'the fords of the wilderness' is a natural phrase. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 1550.

xv. 29. ואביתר. Rightly bracketed, but not understood, by Klostermann. As in *v.* 24, 'אב' represents בית-ירחמאל, originally either a marginal correction of ירושלם, or a variant to ישמעאל.

xv. 30. במעלה הזיתים. The original name of the 'ascent' was מעלה ישמעאל (see on Isa. x. 32), but the name by which it was known in the writer's time may have been מ' המשתחרים. This is suggested by *v.* 32. See on 2 K.

xxiii. 13, on Zeph. i. 11 (המכתש), and on Neh. xiii. 15; also *E. Bib.*, 'Destruction, Mount of.'

'David's friend.' Rather (in spite of xvi. 17) 'David's courtier.' Cp. *ruhi*, 'officer,' in *Am. Tab.* 181, 7. Cp. on 1 K. i. 8.

'Hushai' = 'Cushi,' which ח (χουσαι) may perhaps intend. הַאֲרָכִי. The Archites were probably a clan of the Negeb; their chief seat was at Aṭaroth, *i.e.* perhaps Ephrath (see on Josh. xvi. 2). According to ח, two of David's heroes were Archites (2 S. xxiii. 11; 35), which would confirm the Negeb connection. Cp. also on 'Erech,' Gen. x. 10.

CHAP. xvi. 5. 'Bahurim.' See on iii. 15 *f.*—14. עִפִּים has puzzled all critics (cp. Judg. viii. 4), but יִפְּשֵׁם has been left unquestioned. Yet we can hardly deny that נִפְשֵׁי in the Psalter sometimes covers over יִשְׁמַעֵאל; cp. also יִשְׁפָן, a son of Shashaḳ (from Ḳish = Cush), נִפִּישׁ, a son of Ishmael, נִפְסִים, in Ezra ii. 50. שֵׁם, too, may be a fragment of יִשְׁמַעֵאל (as Isa. lii. 11, etc.). Read עֲרַב יִשְׁמַעֲלִים, 'Arab of the Ishmaelites'; the name is that of a city (see on Dt. ii. 36, 2 S. xxiv. 5). The זֵית of ח^l in xv. 23, etc. (see note) doubtless = יִשְׁמַעֵאל, the full phrase may have been עֲרַב מִדְּבַר יִשְׁמֵי. This explanation gives the key to עִפִּים וְרִדְפִים, Judg. viii. 4 (see note).

CHAP. xvii. 11. 'As the sand,' etc. An inopportune hyperbole! But, in accordance with parallels, כְּחֹל (cp. חֹל, Dt. xxxiii. 19), עַל הַיָּם, and לְרֹב (cp. אֲרֹבֶל, Hos. x. 14) probably come from יִרְחַמָּאל. Here, as elsewhere, the editor seems to have constructed a clause out of a group of scribal errors. Considering the accumulating evidence that the chief object of the Israelites in the regal period was to secure their hold on the Negeb, we can hardly doubt that 'Jerahmeel' is a gloss on 'Israel,' or perhaps rather on 'Ishmael' (reading יִשְׁמֵי for יִשְׂרָאֵל). Cp. on iii. 5, xiv. 13, 1 S. xviii. 6, Judg. xx. 2, and for 'from Dan,' etc., on iii. 10, 15, xxiv. 2, 1 S. iii. 20.

xvii. 17. עֵין-רֹגֵל. Cp. 'Rogelim,' *v.* 27. The original name was En-jerahmeel ('En-gilead' is less probable). Since the original form of 'Jerusalem' was probably 'Ir-ishmael' or 'Ir-jerahmeel' (see on v. 6), it would not be surprising if there were one En-rogel near Jerusalem and another near Kirjath-

jearim. This affects 1 K. i., but it is a grave question whether in 1 K. i. the original narrative did not mean 'Ishmael,' *i.e.* Beth- or Kirjath-jerahmeel, rather than 'Jerusalem.' See on 1 K. i. 9. And a close inspection of Josh. xv. 7 favours the view that the true En-rogel was in the Negeb (see note).

xvii. 19. הַרְפּוֹת; cp. 2 S. xxvii. 22 הַרְפּוֹת. No amount of learning avails to save these readings. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3202, notes 2 and 4. Read here קַפְדוֹת, 'cushions.' A pretence of preparation for a family meal.

xvii. 20. מִיכַל הַמַּיִם. The critics naturally despair over מִיכַל. It is, however, one of the current corruptions of ירחמאל (cp. on 'Michal,' 1 S. xiv. 49). הַמַּיִם (as *v.* 21) is a gloss on מִיכַל (cp. Gen. vi. 17?).

xvii. 22, 24, 26. David, and after him Absalom, crosses a stream called by the redactor הַיַּרְדֵּן, but by the original narrator ירחמאל (as elsewhere). David rests at Mahanaim, which is not far from Beth-gilead (Lodebar; see on *vv.* 27 *ff.* and on ii. 8 *f.*, 29); Israel under Absalom in Arab-ishmael, or, more precisely, in the land of Gilead (see on *v.* 26). Close by was the יַעַר אֲפְרַיִם (see on xviii. 6).

xvii. 25. עֲמֶשָׂא; or perhaps עֲמֶשָׂא (*Ἐ αμεισσαει* sometimes), probably from ישמעאל. In 1 Chr. ii. 17 his father is 'Jether the Ishmaelite,' which seems correct. (But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jether,' § 3.)—What follows is very puzzling. If Abigail, like Zeruah, was David's sister, her father ought to have been, not Nahash, but Jesse. The truth perhaps is that Joab was not really the grandson of Jesse, but of a Miṣrite named Achish. נַחֲשׁ (cp. on 1 S. xi. 1) seems to be miswritten for אַחִישׁ or אַחִישׁ. אַחֲוֹת may represent אַחִישׁ, a correction of נַחֲשׁ; עֲרוּיָה may come from מִצְרַיִם (cp. צְרוּעָה, the name of Jeroboam's mother, as explained in *E. Bib.*, col. 2404, note 2). If so, Abigail is described as 'the daughter of Achish (= Ashhur?), a Miṣrite.' (The final ה in מִצְרַיִם would be simply formative.) 'Joab's mother' is an incorrect gloss. See *E. Bib.*, 'Zeruah.'

xvii. 26. Klost. and Budde (?) would omit רֹאבֶשֶׁלֹם, but wrongly. It is a corruption בְּעֶרְבַּיִם יִשְׁמַעֲלִיתִי, 'in Ishmaelite Arabia.' David had lodged there (see on xvi. 14). 'In the land of Gilead' is a gloss or variant.

xvii. 27 *ff.* Budde's supposition that Nahash the ex-king of 'Ammon' is here referred to as a private individual because he was now simply David's viceroy, is plainly an improbable makeshift. S. A. Cook's ingenious supposition (adopted by Stenning in Hastings, *DB*) that we should read ויביאו נחש וגו' has against it, apart from the chronological inferences which it involves, the absence of המלך before נחש, nor can we safely get rid of שבי, which is, according to rule, a fragment of ישמעאל = יבשת. There is also difficulty in 'Machir, ben Ammiel, of Lo-debar.' In ix. 4 this person is referred to again, but we have found reason there to attribute the mention of him to the editorial working-up of a corrupt text. And who is this mysterious Barzillai? We hear of him again in xix. 31 *ff.*, but we shall there find reason to doubt the accuracy of the present text. We have next to remark upon the singular parallelism between xix. 33 and ix. 7*b*. This suggests that according to one form of the tradition it was neither Ziba (xvi. 1-4) nor Barzillai who brought provisions to David but Mephibosheth. It is indeed quite conceivable, and in accordance with similar phenomena elsewhere, that an admirer of David would not have his hero accused of having ill-treated the son of his friend Jonathan, and provided a more satisfactory form of narrative. Of course, we can have no documentary proof of this, but a plausible reconstruction of the text of xvii. 27 can be offered on this assumption. The task before us is to undo the work of a harmonising redactor, who having already admitted the narrative of Ziba's contribution to the provisioning of David's army, could not also recognise that Mephibosheth had given to David a similar proof of loyalty. For שבי בן-נחש read שבי בן-נחש (see on iv. 4, where the true name of Jonathan's son is shown to have been Ishmael or Jerahmeel). For ירחמאל read בית ירחמאל בני-עמון (correction). For בן-עמיאל read, again, בית ירח'. For מלא read וברולי (see on Am. vi. 13). For בית ישמעאל (for ולי cp. איובל = 'שמי'), a synonym for בית ירח'. For מרגלים Ⓞ, in its original form (*i.e.* omitting the interpolated ἡνεγκαν), represents מרקבים (ὁ ἐκ ρακαβειν). B, A, and L (as we have them) agree in giving ἡνεγκαν, which corresponds to מקרבים. This Hebrew reading is in fact correct,

except that we should read the sing. מִקְרִיב. And מִרְגְּלִים also may cover over a correct reading, viz. either מִבֵּית-גְּלִים (see *E. Bib.*, 'Gallim') or יִרְחַמָּאל (cp. 'Rogel'). These restorations, put together, produce this result, וישמעאל בן יונתן, הגלעדי מבית ירחמאל [מבית גלעד מבית ישמעאל מבית גלים] מִקְרִיב = 'and Ishmael, son of Jonathan, the Gileadite, of Beth-jerahmeel, presented . . .' Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rogelim,' and 'Saul,' § 4.

'Mephibosheth, then, or rather Ishmael (I-bosheth), was known at this time as 'the Gileadite.' He was a man of wealth, and proved his loyalty to David by bringing supplies for the army.

CHAP. xviii. 5. Read, with Klost., חמלו לי (see ㊦); cp. למט from ירחמאל in Isa. viii. 6 (see note).

xviii. 6. יער אפרים. The phrase 'might naturally be expected to mean the great forest covering the highlands of central Palestine in which the tribe of Ephraim settled (Josh. xvii. 15-18). But all the circumstances are in favour of supposing the battle to have been fought on the eastern side of Jordan. . . . These considerations make it all but certain that "the wood of Ephraim" was some part of the great forests of Gilead' (Kirkpatr. *ad loc.*). G. A. Smith is more positive. 'Ephraim gave its name, not only to the western mountains, but to a "wood" or "jungle" on the eastern side' (*Hist. Geogr.* 335; for arguments, see *ib.*, note 2). It should be clear, however, by this time that there was a southern Gilead and a southern Ephraim (cp. on ii. 9), and we know that Samuel of 'Mount Ephraim' (1 S. i. 1)—*i.e.* of the southern Mt. Ephraim—was often seen at Gilgal or Gilead (see on vii. 16). In Judg. xii. 14 (revised text) 'Gilead' is represented as 'in the midst of Aram or Ishmael.' See on Josh. vii. 15-18. The reading 'Mahanaïm' for 'Ephraim' (㊦, Klost.) is surely a guess.

The story of the destructive יער, and of Absalom's getting his head caught in a terebinth is very improbable, even after Budde's ingenious explanations. Nor will Budde himself deny the patent improbabilities. It would seem that the original story was very short, and that the editor made up for this by the free use of his imagination. He did not, however, invent without a basis. Just as the thirty

ass-colts of Jair's sons have a textual basis (see on Judg. x. 4), so the forest or jungle or field of rocks (Budde), and one or two phrases in the Absalom-story before us seem to have a textual basis. יער, again and again elsewhere (*e.g.* 1 S. xxii. 5), is a corrupt fragment of Jerahmeel; the resulting phrase (*v.* 6), 'in Jerahmeel-ephraim' corresponds to that in *v.* 18, 22 'in Maacath-ephraim.' Similarly תחת מענת ישמעאל ירחמאל גלעד may represent שובך האלה הגדולה, where two district-names, viz. Maacath-ishmael (variant, -jerahmeel) and Gilead are combined. Probably, too, the words תלוי באלה, which contain the essence of the strange story of Absalom, may come from גלות חמאל, *i.e.* גלעד בלעד, 'Gilead-jerahmeel.' Less plausibly Winckler (*AOF*⁽³⁾ i. 51) accounts for the 'hanging' of Absalom by this hero's supposed connection with the myth of Orion.

xviii. 17. ביער. See next note.—18. See Klostermann and Budde. I do not agree with Budde that λαβειν (a corruption of δαβειν) corresponds to בחיו, nor do I see that either Klost. or Budde has explained the וואבשלום לקה of MT. These critics also seem to me to be in error in locating the עמק-המלך near Jerusalem. The latter phrase (see on Gen. xiv. 17) is a corruption of ירחמאל; so also ביער in *v.* 17 and בחיו (not, as Kr., בחיו) in *v.* 18 represent ביער; and וואבשלום לקה comes from בערב [ירחמאל] ישמעאל (cp. on xvii. 26). Klost. and Budde seem quite right in considering David to be the subject of the verb; all that they have left unnoticed is the Negeb geography. In putting forward my own result (which owes so much to these two critics), let me first of all put aside the two glosses on, or variants to, the original phrase stating the locality of the monument. These glosses or variants came in from the margin, and are ביער (ירחמאל, *v.* 17; בחיו, *v.* 18), and בערב ירחמאל (וואבשלום לקה, *v.* 18). The text itself of *v.* 18 should be, ויצב לו דוד את-מצבת אשר, במענת ירח' כי אמר אין לו בן בעבור הזכיר שמר.

xviii. 21. 'The Cushite.' The N. Arabian Cush.—23. הנקר. Apparently the short for נכר ירחמאל (see on Gen. xiii. 10). It was probably either coincident with, or formed part of, מענת ירחמאל, Maacath-jerahmeel (see on Dt. xxxiv. 3). נכר is evidently a corruption of

יִרְחַמְאֵל, but an early one, which obtained an independent existence.

CHAP. xix. 18 *f.* Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Food.'—21. Nowhere else is Benjamin reckoned to 'Joseph.' For יֹסֵף read יִשְׁמַעֵאל (see on Am. vi. 6). 'Ishmael' = 'Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* the Israelites in the Negeb.

31 *ff.* The story of Barzillai's last colloquy with David possesses great beauty, even if it be due to the imagination of the writer, and even if it be based on misunderstandings of the text both of xvii. 27 and of a document which lay before him and which related to 'Mephibosheth.' On xvii. 27 I have made some suggestions (see note); it is now possible to clear up two further points, *viz.* (1) the reason why in xix. 32 *ff.* 'Barzillai' is represented as a very aged man, and (2) why 'Chimham' is brought into the story. As to (1), שְׂמָנִים שָׁנָה, as in Judg. iii. 30 (see note), comes from יִשְׁמַעֵאל. Probably *v.* 32 has been expanded out of an explanatory marginal gloss on בְּרוּלִי, *viz.* לְבַרְזִילַי בֶּן-יִשְׁמַעֵאל הוּא יִרְחַמְאֵל, 'Barzillai (was) an Ishmaelite, *i.e.* a Jerahmeelite.' כֹּלֵל, as in 1 K. xviii. 4, covers over יִרְחַמְאֵל. בְּשִׁיבְתוֹ is also mysterious. It is not to be altered into בְּשִׁבְתוֹ, and probably covers over בֵּית יִשְׁמַעֵאל. Originally this בֵּית יִשׁ' was a gloss on מְרַגְלִים (*v.* 32), which, as we have seen (on xvii. 27), probably represents בֵּית גְּלִים = בֵּית יִרְח'. Another gloss on the same word exists in two forms in the text of *v.* 32; these are יִרְחַמְאֵל = הִירְדוֹן (בֵּית) has fallen out) and בִּירְדוֹן (altered by Klost. and Budde into בְּנִירוֹד) = בֵּית יִרְח'. (2) נְמָהם (or נְמוֹהֵם, Jer.), who is to go over the river instead of 'Barzillai,' owes his name, not to his weak sight (Nestle), but to his N. Arabian ancestry; נְמָהם comes from חִימָן (cp. Jos. *αχιμανος*), *i.e.* יִרְחַמְאֵל. The name may be derived from a lost narrative of Mephibosheth's second interview with David, at which the king offered him a fixed position and income (*v.* 34; cp. ix. 7*b*, which may be misplaced; cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3024).

CHAP. xx. 1. For אִישׁ בְּלִיעַל read יִרְחַמְאֵל; cp. on 1 S. x. 27. This is supported by the addition in \mathfrak{B}^l , ἀνῆρ ἀπαχει = אִישׁ אֲרָכִי. אֲרָכִי is probably an early modification of יִרְחַמְאֵלִי.

xx. 2. מִן-הִירְדוֹן. Read, not מִצֹּר [ים] (Winckler,

GI i. 174; KAT⁽⁸⁾ 148; and Cook, 166, note 47), but מן-ירחמאל, *i.e.* from the southern to the northern capital.

xx. 3. עַד יוֹם סָתָן אֱלֻמְנוֹת הַיּוֹת. We should expect וְאֵלֵיהֶם. But even this is not required after לֹא בָא, and the style of the narrative is so energetic that the writer cannot afford superfluous words to the ten concubines. So much is clear—the two parts of the above quoted passage represent the same original, and that original is a gloss. Can we doubt what עַד יוֹם represents? Surely עֲרָלִים (cp. עֲדָלָם), while תָּן (the initial מ is dittographed) represents וְת. The whole becomes יִרְחַמְלֵיזָת. If David had two residences, one at Jerusalem, and another at Beth- or Kirjath-jerahmeel, it was not superfluous to remark that the ten concubines were Jerahmeelites (יְרוּשָׁלַם, here as elsewhere [see on xv. 11], represents יִשְׁמַעְאֵל). It is hardly necessary to remark that אֱלָמָן is one of the current distortions of יִרְחַמְאֵל (see on 1 K. vii. 14, xi. 26, xvii. 9 *f.*), and that הַיּוֹת may obviously be a fragment of יִרְחַמְאֵלִיּוֹת.

xx. 8. Gibeon was certainly in the Negeb, and perhaps in the Negeb of Judah. Otherwise Budde.

xx. 14 *f.* 'Abel-beth-maacah.' 'Abel' from '[Jerah]-meel,' but the origin was no doubt early forgotten. Cp. on 1 K. xv. 20, 2 K. xv. 29. In 2 Chr. xvi. 4, Abel-maim, where 'maim' (cp. on 2 S. xii. 27) represents 'Jerahmeel.' The mysterious וְתַעֲמַד בַּחַל (v. 15) is best explained as a corruption of מַעֲנַת חַבַּל מ' (Jerahmeel-maacath); הַעִיר precedes.

xx. 18 *f.* Two weighty corrections are suggested by ⚙, viz. וְיִבְדֹּן for וְיִבְנֵן, and הִתְמַו (which prefix to v. 19) for הִתְמַוּ. For the rest experience of the habits of the scribes must guide us. The second לְאָמַר should be לְיִרְחַמְאֵל [ב]; cp. on Jer. ii. 34 (iii. 1). Thus the wise woman's speech becomes, 'Formerly men used to say in Jerahmeel (*i.e.* in the Negeb), Let them ask (counsel) in Abel and in Dan.' שְׁלֹמִי (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shelumiel') certainly comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. יִשְׂרָאֵל is a doubtful variant; אֲנָכִי is dissimilated from אִשְׁמָאֵל. Thus we get, 'Are the trustworthy ones of Ishmael (or, Israel) come to an end that (supply כִּי) thou seekest, etc.' The moral wisdom of Jerahmeel was con-

centrated in 'Abel' and in Dan. Has this ceased to be the case, that Joab indulges such destructive tendencies?

xx. 24 *f.* אדרם (so 1 K. xii. 18) and שׂיא are incomplete names. See on 1 K. iv. 6 and 3.

xx. 26. The text is corrupt, but can be corrected with some precision. Unfortunately some illusions of critical predecessors have to be dissipated. I begin by giving the text of the three parallel passages, 1 S. viii. 18*b*, xx. 26, and 1 Chr. xviii. 17—

וּבְנֵי דָוִד כֹּהֲנִים הָיוּ :
וְגַם עִירָא הַיְאִירִי הָהָה לְהֶן לְדָרֹד :
וּבְנֵי דָוִד הָרֹאשִׁנִים לְיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ :

That the sons of David (unnamed) should be called priests, as well as Zadok and Abiathar, remains highly improbable, even after all the clever arguments of the critics have been heard. In 1 K. iv. 5 (on the text, see note) כֹּהֵן is followed by the gloss רֹעֵה, *i.e.* high officer. We must not, however, infer from this that כֹּהֵן is susceptible of the meaning 'high officer,' for experience in textual criticism assures us that כֹּהֵן can be a corruption of סֹכֵן. Now in Isa. xxii. 15 we meet with a governor of the palace who was also known as סֹכֵן. That a governor of the palace was not the only סֹכֵן, is obvious. It is plausible, therefore, to hold that sons of David belonged to the class of *sōkēnīm*, but not that they were regarded as 'priests.' But is בְּנֵי דָוִד right? The second of the three passages puts 'Ira the Jairite' in the place of 'the sons of David.' Klost. and Budde suppose that in the original writing both Ira and the sons of David were mentioned as among David's priests. But this is to miss the mark completely. בְּנֵי דָוִד must be miswritten for בֶּן יְאִיר. We may suppose that עִירָא fell out owing to its resemblance to יְאִיר. Thus, working upon the first and second forms of text, we get this result—
וְגַם עִירָא בֶּן יְאִיר [הַיְאִירִי] הָיָה כֹּהֵן לְדָרֹד ;
גַּם, of course, refers to the whole clause (as ii. 7). A study of the third will, however, carry us a step farther. הָרֹאשִׁנִים is not merely an uncomprehending paraphrase of כֹּהֲנִים; it is based on an ill-written הָיוּ סֹכֵנִים. לְיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ is also corrupt. The case is exactly parallel to that of Neh. xi. 24 (see note), where

על-ירחמאל ליד המלך comes from *על-ירחמאל*. We should therefore read in 1 Chr. xviii. 17, *ובן-יאיר היה סכן על-ירחמאל*, and to the restored text of the original writing we should attach as the closing words *על-ירחמאל*. David had now two capitals and an expanded and expanding empire. It was necessary for him to have a viceroy in the Negeb, and that viceroy was himself a Jerahmeelite (*יאיר* is an early mutilation of *ירח*).

CHAP. xxi. 1. The famine, like the pestilence afterwards (xxiv. 15), is in the Negeb (cp. on Gen. xii. 10, Ruth i. 1). It is caused by Saul's slaughter of the Gibeonites. Thenius (with whom his successors agree) remarks that this slaughter 'is nowhere to be found recorded.' Yet the fact is narrated and explained in 1 S. xxii. 6-19; 'Nob' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Nob') is a corruption of 'Gibeon.' It is true, the narrative is somewhat unjust to Saul. It was not altogether in passion that the king acted. The fact that Gibeonite priests aided and abetted David was probably the reason why Saul thought it necessary to make an example of the whole population of Gibeon (see *E. Bib.*, 'Gibeon').

xxi. 2. *הַאֲמֹרִי*. 'A comprehensive name for the early inhabitants of Canaan' (H. P. Smith). Rather, read *הַאֲמֹרִי*; see on Gen. xv. 16.—*ויהודה* 'has here just as much worth as in 1 S. xv. 4,' says Wellh., who deletes *יהודה* and what belongs to it in that passage. But the step is doubtful. In both passages it is possible that *יהודה* may be correct. The b'ne Israel and the b'ne Judah were, as the traditional narratives rightly or wrongly give us to understand, in alliance in the time of Saul.

xxi. 6. *בגבעת שאול בחור יהוה*. Recent critics, after Wellh., read *בגבעון בהר יהוה*, and refer to *v.* 9. *¶* agrees so far as 'Gibeon' is concerned, but in other respects reads as MT. Both *¶* and the moderns, however, appear to be mistaken. There was an important sanctuary at a place called Gibeath-jerahmeel or Gibeath-ishmael where human sacrifices were offered (see on Gen. xxii. 1, Jer. ii. 34, iii. 24). It is very possible that this was sometimes called Gibeon (see on 1 K. iii. 4), but that the true Gibeon, 'the city of the priests' (1 S. xxii. 19), was separate, though probably not very

distant, from Gibeath-jerahmeel. At any rate, the extant evidence (apart from 1 K. iii. 4) suggests that the great sanctuary was at Gibeah and not at Gibeon. And when we inspect the closing words of *v.* 6 we see that בגבעת *must* be the right reading. For בחיר יהוה is by no means a probable corruption of בהר יהוה; on the other hand בחיר and יהוה are both possible corruptions of ירחמאל (for the former see Isa. xxvi. 1, Job xxvi. 13, and perhaps Isa. xliii. 14, where ברה = 'ירח'). שאול, too, can easily have come, and in the present case *must* have come, from ישמעאל (a synonym of 'ירח'). Read, therefore [ירחמאל] בגבעת ישמעאל.

xxi. 8. ארמני. From ירחמאל; the final ל in such names often becomes ן. Or from אבינדב (as *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 6).

xxi. 9. 'The mountain'; cp. 'one of the mountains' (Gen. xxii. 2).—For ויפלו read ויפלו. So *Klost. E. Bib.*, col. 1959.

xxi. 14. צלע. Probably the same place as שלישה or ליש (modifications of שאול or ישמעאל). From 1 S. xxv. 44 it appears that Laish was either identical with, or at least near, Gallim, *i.e.* Beth-gilgal or Beth-jerahmeel, which was the centre of Saul's clan. If Beth-jerahmeel is the same as Gibeath-jerahmeel, Budde's remark that it is strange that the family-grave of Kish is not in Gibeah loses its force. Cp. also Josh. xviii. 28, where Zela appears in close proximity to גבעת ישמעאל (so read for גבעת (ירושלם). As to 'Zela,' see further on 1 S. xxvii. 6, Josh. *l.c.*, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zela.'

xxi. 15 *f.* One of the most baffling passages, as long as new methods remain untried. In *E. Bib.*, 'Ishbibenob,' the only step in advance is the suggestion that גב (cp. *vv.* 18 *f.*) as Wellh., Kittel, and Budde read for נב, should perhaps be [ר]חב[ות]; cp. גח (*v.* 20) which (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 4028 foot) probably comes from רחב[ות]. Looking at the whole passage without regard to recent criticism, and using the newer methods, it is plain that ישבו (*v.* 16) represents ישבול, *i.e.* ישמעאל; so also Kr., ישבי (cp. Isa. x. 13). Ishmael, however, is not the name of the giant referred to, but a part of the name of the battle-field. It will be noticed that *v.* 15 in MT. and Ⓢ differs from *vv.* 18-20 in that the scene of the contest is not mentioned. Underlying the

text, however, we can discern the missing name. It is represented by **בנב ישבו** (misplaced) and **חגור חדשה**. The latter phrase is introduced by **והוא**; it is a gloss, and should run, 'That is (**והוא**), Rehob-ashhur (**אֲשְׁחֹר**).'¹ **חגור** comes from **חבור**, which is presumably an error for **רחוב** (= **רחובות**); **חדשה**, like **חרשת** (Judg. iv. 2, etc.), **חרשא** (Ezra ii. 52, Neh. vii. 54), **חרם** (Judg. i. 34, viii. 13), comes from **אשחור**, the name of a district or districts in N. Arabia. The former phrase is only less transparent because **בנב** (*i.e.* **בנב**) has been wrongly placed after **ישבו** or **ישבי**. The battle referred to in *vs.* 15 *ff.* took place **ברחוב ישמעאל**, for which in the margin there was a gloss, 'that is, Rehob-ashhur'; Ishmael, then, was synonymous, not only with 'Jerahmeel,' but with 'Ashhur.' It should be added, however, that **אשר** (which Klost. alters into **איש**) is, equally with **חדשה**, a corruption of **אשחור** (through **אֲשֶׁר**). The next problem to solve is that of **ויעף דוד**. Wellh.'s note here is good; 'in **ויעף דוד** there lurks the name of the Philistine, and perhaps, too, a verb such as **ויקם**, to which **ויאמר** might attach itself.' **ויקם**, however, is not quite near enough to **ויעף**; it is nearer to **Ἰ**'s **וילך** (*ἐπιπορεύθη*). The analogy of **ויוחר** (*v.* 21; cp. 1 S. xvii. 10, etc.) suggests the synonymous word **וילעב**, out of which **Ἰ**'s **וילך** and MT.'s **ויעף** (a corruption of **ויעב**?) may have developed. The name of the Philistine appears to have suffered through the similarity of its opening letters to the middle and closing letters of **וילעב**. It was probably **בלעד**, and the final letter **ד** was probably taken to be an abbreviation of **דוד**. This is confirmed by **בילידי** (MT.), which is preceded by a warning **Pasek**, and is not to be 'corrected' into **מילידי** (cp. 1 Chr. xx. 4), but most probably represents **בלעד**. On the 'unusual **ילידי**' (Driver) see, further, note on Num. xiii. 22, 28, Josh. xv. 14. Then follow¹ glosses (in MT. note the non-existent **קין**, rendered 'spear, lance') **ישמ' קנו ישמ' ירחמאל ישמעאל** (see on 1 S. xvii. 4b-7, whence, too, comes the inserted **נחשת**).

¹ Winckler's theory (*AOF*⁽³⁾ i. 51) that **כאמ** is to be omitted, and that the three talents which the spear (?) weighs have a mythological connection, also that in **קני** there is an allusion to the tribe **קין** in the Negeb—the land of Caleb and Orion (*GI* ii. 189, 285) is not well founded.

The original passage ran, 'And there was again . . . in Rehob-ishmael (-ashhur), and Gilead the Rephaite mocked, and threatened to slay David.'

xxi. 18. בָּנָב. Read ברוחבות. There is a 'confusion' of readings, says H. P. Sm., but this is a mistake. In 1 Chr. xx. 4 בגור. There was a southern 'Gezer' (see on 1 K. xx. 4); the name is evidently a corruption of גֶּשֶׁר or אֲשָׁחַר. The place meant is Rehoboth-ashhur (see above).—סבתי. Cp. סמכיהו (1 Chr. xxvi. 7), of the family of Obed-edom (= 'Arāb-edom or -aram); *E. Bib.*, 4361. 'Hushathite,' from Hushah (1 Chr. iv. 4) = Cushah. סָף; 1 Chr. xx. 4, סָפִי. Klost. אָסָפִי; Ⓢ^L τοὺς ἐπισυνηγμένους. Cp. 'Asaph.' Rather from צָפְתִי. In 1 S. xvii. 4 Gilead (Goliath!) is very probably called צרפתי. The 'Philistine' slain by 'Sibbecai' appears to have been known as 'Gilead the Rephaite' (בלִידֵי הַרְפָּה); emend as above). אֲשָׁר, which precedes the name, comes from אֲשָׁחַר, the second part of the name of the place of battle (Rehob-ashhur).

xxi. 19. בן יערי ארגים. The received critical view (see Wellh., H. P. Sm., etc.) is that יערי should be יעור or יעיר (Chr.), and that 'אר' has crept in from the line below. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Elhanan.' This, however, is an error. The line below 'crept in' from 1 S. xvii. 7, but ארגים, or some similar form, was already in existence. Both in 1 S. *l.c.* and here ארגים (= ירחים, Jer. ix. 1) represents ירחם, *i.e.* ירחמאל; this was a gloss on יעיר (cp. on יאיר, Num. xxxii. 41, Judg. x. 3). Budde hesitates between יעיר and Klostermann's דודי (cp. xxiii. 24). Ⓢ^L here gives *υἷὸς ἰαδδευ*, and this, Budde thinks, 'approaches the דודו of MT. in xxiii. 24.' Most probably, however, דודו or (see Ⓢ) דודי has come from יעור; an old Hebrew ד and ע might easily be confounded. But we must not jump to the conclusion that Elhanan was traditionally represented as the son of Jair. In 1 S. xvii. 7, בן ירחמאל (underlying ארגים מנור) is probably an intrusive gloss on איש בנימן (underlying בינים). The probability is that here, too, it is the 'Philistine' warrior who is called 'בן ירח'; the father of Elhanan is probably Aḥihur = Aḥiashhur (see on xxiii. 9). Note that in Ⓢ^L of our passage *υἷὸς ἰαδδευ* is followed by *υἱοῦ τοῦ ελεμι* = 'בן ירח'. This is to be preferred to the reading בית הלחמי. The

passage now becomes, 'and Elhanan slew Gilead the Rehobothite [son of Jerahmeel].' Cp. on 1 S. xvii. 4, 7. We have yet to speak of the second part of 1 Chr. xx. 5, the text of which, if correct, speaks badly for the Chronicler's capacities. But from our point of view the text is certainly not correct. לחמי (not 'בית הל') comes from ירחמאל, which is a correct gloss on יעור or יעיר; את is redactional. Nor did the text originally say that the 'Philistine' slain by Elhanan was 'the brother of Goliath'; אחי, as often, represents a fragment of ירחמאל. In fact, the text agrees with 2 S.; the absence of בן before ירחמאל being unimportant.

xxi. 20. בַּגַּת. 'A change of place' (Budde). See, however, on *sv.* 15 *f.*—מדין; but *Kr.* מְדוֹן; *Ⲙ* μαδων. 'Midian' is unsuitable, but מדון (מרון) in Josh. xi. 1 is a corruption of ירחמאל. 1 Chr. xx. 6 has מְדָה; מדה (מרה) too, like מדות in Num. xiii. 32 (see note), and like מדה in Isa. lxxv. 14, comes from that ethnic. *Ⲙ*^l, however, has *ἐκ πααζης*, which points to a misunderstood מצרי; cp. xxiii. 21, where (in the true text) איש מצרי and איש ירחמאל stand side by side. What follows is corrupt but not incurable. אצבע, as in Isa. lviii. 9 (see Addenda), comes from ישמעאל (cp. צבעון); רגל from ירחמאל; שש עשרים from אַסְרִים, and so on. We have here in fact a list of the names of districts or peoples which in MT. and in *Ⲙ* have been applied to 'Goliath.' They are—ירחמאל, ישמעאל, אשור, צרפת, ערב. The manipulating skill of the redactor is obvious.

CHAP. xxiii. 1-7. Budde justly remarks on the proverbial character of this poem, and indicates Prov. xxx. and xxxi. 1-9 as specially parallel, alike in form and in contents. The proœmium, too, recalls the sayings of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 3 *ff.*, 15 *ff.* He fails, however, to draw the natural inference. Much keener textual criticism is required. In *v.* 1 האחרים presumably comes from ירחמאלים; cp. אחרון, Isa. viii. 23, and ארחים, Jer. ix. 1. This is confirmed by the attribution of poems to Jerahmeelites in the true text of Num. xxi. 27 (read ישמעאלים for משלים), and of Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1. The application of the poem to David must have been an idea of the last redactor, who, doubtless, had a bad copy. Not improbably *v.* 1 should run thus—

אלה דברי נְדִיב ירחמאלים נָאם נְדִיב ישמעאל נָאם נְבִיר ירחמאל
[כּוּשֵׁם ירחמאל] נָאם רוֹנִי ישמעאל :

With *על* cp. on *על* לא, Hos. vii. 16 ; אמרי אל, Num. xxiv. 4. For נדיב cp. Prov. xxv. 7 ; for גביר, Prov. xxx. 1 (read גביר ישמ' (גביר ישמ' and perhaps Num. xxiv. 3 ; and for רוני, Prov. xxxi. 14. משיח (as in i. 21) comes from משך, a current distortion of נשם (see on Gen. x. 2). אלהי and יעקב may both represent ירחמאל (for יעקב cp. Mal. iii. 6). The latest explanation of 'נעים זמורת ישראל' is that of Nestle (*Marginalien*, 10), adopted in BDB, *s.v.* נעים. This, however involves a use of the Arabic lexicon which transgresses the bounds of the possible, and is justly criticised by König, *Stylistik*, 284. It is a mere resource of despair, and only shows how certainly corrupt the MT is.

xxiii. 2, 3a. 'A second introductory stanza' (H. P. Sm.), not less illusory than the first. The case is slightly parallel to that of the proëm to Ps. lxxviii. (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾), and still more to that of Num. xxiv. 3b, 4 (see note). Let us give all due credit to the redactor, and recognise that his work is of value as a piece of evidence for the religious ideas of his time (an interesting and important time), but let us not be debarred from applying to it a methodical and thorough criticism. The prolixity of the preface is undeniable, and not less so is the poverty of the poem which follows in the traditional text. The reader is assured four times over that the singer is divinely inspired, and the singer's only revelation is that a righteous ruler shall have a brilliant career. Now, in *v.* 2 there are four words (or rather groups of letters) which experience warns us to criticise when there are grounds for suspecting the text. These are רוח and יהוה which may represent ירחמאל ; מלתו = תמול (cp. on I S. x. 11), and לשון (see on Josh. xv. 2, Ps. cxl. 4), which may come from ישמעאל. Similarly in *v.* 3 אמר and אלהים may, as experience shows, come from fragments of ירחמאל. Possibilities of the second order are ישמעאל ; צור for צרפת ; דבר for ערב ; דבר בי (ערבי) for ערבים ; ישראל. Thus we get, in various forms of scribal error, 'Jerahmeel-arab,' 'Ishmael,' and 'Zarephath' ; fresh indications of the (fictitious) N. Arabian origin of this poem. The

wisdom of the N. Arabian populations was, in fact, proverbial (see on 1 K. v. 10 *f.*).

xxiii. 2*b*-7. I leave the text of the poem, only pointing out traces of an original reference to the N. Arabians. בליעל (*v.* 3) from ארם? ישמעאל (*v.* 5) from ירדחמאל? נלהם, and ני בלא יד (*v.* 6), also ימלא (*v.* 7), from ירדחמאל?

xxiii. 8-38. David's *gibbōrīm*, otherwise called *šalishim*, which either means 'Shalishites,' or is directly corrupted from ישמעאלים; naturally David found his bravest warriors in the Negeb. It is an error to suppose that the original text distinguished between a band or order of three and a band or order of thirty, though at a comparatively early date שלשים came to be interpreted as 'thirty,' and the first three warriors were imagined to have formed a class by themselves. See on *vv.* 19, 23, 24*a*.

xxiii. 8. ישב בְּשֶׁבֶת. That part of this reading represents יבשת or ישבת, *i.e.* ישמעאל (cp. on 2 S. iv. 4), is clear; cp. ⚡'s readings. In 1 Chr. xi. 11 the name is ישבעם, *i.e.* ירבעם = ישמעאל; cp. אשבועל, and on the other hand ירבעם. It is simplest to suppose that ישבבש is the part which represents 'שמ', and that the final בת stands for בית (so Marquart), the initial ת of תחכמי (see next note) being dittographed. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jashobeam.'—תחכמי. In 1 Chr. *l.c.* we find בְּגִן־חַל; the same patronymic is also attached to Jehi'el in 1 Chr. xxvii. 32. ⚡^b (Sam.) gives ὁ Xavavaïos, הַכְנַעֲנִי, which Geiger adopts (but see Marq.). Like אחימן and נמהם, חל' comes ultimately from ירדחמאל, though the existence of an intermediate form may be granted. Possibly the required link is הַנְּרַמִּי [-בֵּית-]. Beth-haccérem comes, no doubt, from Beth-jerahmeel. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tahchemonite.' For חלל read ירדחמאלים—בְּפַעַם אֶחָד; K_r, אחת. But underneath the corrupt Kt. reading lies probably בחפרים. For this place-name see next note.—Read ראש השלשים, 'chief of the Shalishites' (see on *vv.* 8-38).

xxiii. 9. דודי, or דודו, should probably be יעיר (see on xxi. 19).—בְּגִן־אֲחֻזִּי; but Chr. הָאֲחֻזִּי. Instead of reading with Marq. בֵּית־הַלְּחָמִי (*E. Bib.*, 'Ahohite'), read probably אחיחור, Ahihur = Ahiashhur. It is this name, and not Jair (Dodai) which is the true name of Eleazar's father, 'Ben-jair,' = 'Ben-jerahmeel,' belongs to 'Goliath' (Gilead), the

doughty antagonist of David. Cp. on xxi. 16, 1 S. xvii. 4.—**בחרפם**. Chr. has **בַּפֶּס דְּמִים**, *i.e.* 'באפס ד' (1 S. xvii. 1), Marq. reads **בְּעַמֶּק רְפָאִים**; **בְּעַמֶּק אֲרָמִים** would be nearer to Chron., and to MT. of 1 S. xvii. 1. The true solution is probably different. Underneath **חרפם**, must one not see **הפרים**, the name of a place in Issachar (Josh. xix. 19)? See preceding note. The Issachar-names in Josh. xix. appear to be properly Negeb names. As the very name suggests, the 'Issachar' region was originally regarded as Jerahmeelite. Issachar comes from Ashhur. See on Judg. v. 15.

xxiii. 11. Read Shimeah, ben Ela, **הארני** (as **ח**, cp. Marq., *Fund.* 21), and on 'Archite' see on xv. 32. For **לחיה** 1 Chr. xi. 13 gives **למלחמה**. Both **לחי** and **מלחמה** are among the current corruptions of **ירחמאל**; for the former see on Judg. xv. 9, 17, and for the latter on Hos. ii. 20. Klost.'s preference for **למל'** is, therefore, however plausible, unjustified. **שם** was transposed by the Chronicler or his redactor subsequently to the growth of the corrupt reading **למלחמה**. 'To Jerahmeel,' then, *i.e.* to the place corruptly called Adullam?

xxiii. 13. Critics have been mightily puzzled by **ראש** and **אל קציר** (see *e.g.* Budde). But both **ראש** and **קציר** (**חצור** is here the link) represent **אשחור**. Note the connection of Beth-lehem (= Beth-jerahmeel) with Hur (*i.e.* Ashhur, cp. *v.* 5) in 1 Chr. iv. 4. Render, 'And three of the thirty went down, and came to Ashhur to David, to Jerahmeel' (on **מ' עד'** see on 1 S. xxii. 1). On **עמק ר'**, see on *v.* 18.

xxiii. 14. Read **במצור** (1 S. xxii. 4 *f.*)?

xxiii. 18. Read **ראש השלשים**. Strictly, this is inconsistent with *v.* 8; the traditions evidently come from different sources.—**חלל**. See on *v.* 8.—**ולו שם בשלשה**. So Chr., but in the next verse Chr. inserts the enigmatical word **בשנים**, which Kittel points **בשנים** 'as two,' and Benzinger alters into **הזר** (*v.* 25), while Budde remarks that it is the germ of a distinction between the two as well as the three and the thirty *gibbōrīm*. But textual criticism has yet to be applied. Now **שנים** (cp. 2 K. x. 14, Ps. lx. 1), equally with **שמן** (Isa. v. 1, x. 27), may represent **ישמעאל** (ל for נ). This suggests that **בשנים** comes from **בישמעאל**, and is a corrective gloss on

'ולרשם בש' (two corruptions of 'בישמ') which has intruded from the margin. Render, therefore, '... against 300 Jerahmeelites in Ishmael.' Cp. *v.* 8, where a similar description closes with a statement of the locality. So a great difficulty (see Budde) is finally removed. (On הגברים, *v.* 22, see note *ad loc.*).

xxiii. 19. The redactor's comment on ולו שם בשלשה (*v.* 18). 'Truly he (הנזו) was honoured among the thirty (as if מן השלשים), and became their captain, but he did not reach the three.'

xxiii. 20. 'Benaiah' or 'Benaiahu' bears a Negeb name; the occurrences (see *E. Bib.*,) of 'Bani' and 'Binnui,' when critically examined, place this beyond all doubt. So, too, Jehoiada (see on 2 K. xi. 4). Note the alternative statements, 'son of Jehoiada,' and 'son of a man of Jerahmeel' (read בן איש ירחמאל; see *E. Bib.*, 'Ish-hai,' and cp. ב' ירה' = 'בן חיל', 2 Chr. xvii. 7).—רַב פְּעָלִים, 'a doer of great deeds' (H. P. Sm.); 'of great possessions' (Budde). Plainly a Will o' the wisp! Either פְּעָלִים, or עַפְלִים, or אַלְפִים may represent [ירחמאל] or 'ישמ'; cp. on 1 S. v. 6, xvii. 5. 'רב פ' is an editorial expansion of a corrupt ירחמאלי, a doublet to איש יר'.

xxiii. 20 *f.* Benaiah's exploit. Was it 'two lion-like men of Moab' (AV.) that he slew, or the two sons of Ariel of Moab? And did he add to this the slaying of a lion under special circumstances and of an Egyptian? Many and diverse have been the views of scholars (see *E. Bib.*, 'Snow'). The key in our hands is the only one which will open the lock. There was a single exploit, but it has found a threefold record. We begin by noting that שני (from שנים, on which see on *v.* 8) and השלג represent ישמעאל, and that האריה, and מראה should, according to parallels, represent ירחמאל. מואב, as so often, has supplanted מצור, and מצרי means 'a N. Arabian Muṣrite' (Winckler, *KAT*⁽⁸⁾ 147; *E. Bib.*, col. 3164). As a near approximation to the truth read—

הוא הפה את-איש ישמעאל ירחמאל מצור הוא ירד והכה את-ירחמאלי במענת ערב ביום ישמעאל הוא הפה את-איש מצרי איש ירחמאל וגו' ;

'He slew a man of Ishmael [Jerahmeel Miṣṣur]. He

went down and slew a Jerahmeelite in Arabian Maacath on the day (battle) of Ishmael. He slew a Mişrite [a man of Jerahmeel], etc. A word on the text of 1 Chr. xi. 23, which Benzinger and Budde fail to comprehend. אִישׁ מִדָּדָה is a corruption of אִישׁ רמח, i.e. ירחמאל (cp. Isa. xlv. 14, Num. xiii. 32); חמש באמה comes from נָשַׁם ירח'. כַּמְנֹר ארגים has the same origin as in 1 S. xvii. 7.

xxiii. 22, 23a. הגברים is wrong; it comes from ארגים (cp. 1 S. xvii. 7), i.e. ירחמאל, the usual gloss on שַׁמְעֵאל (restored; see on v. 18).—V. 23a is the redactor's comment on בשלשה in v. 22. Cp. on v. 19.

xxiii. 23. אֶל-מַשְׁמַעְתּוֹ (Chr. -עַל). Siegfr.-Sta., '(David gave him admission) to the daily audience' (?). Budde and Kittel, 'over his bodyguard.' But how does the latter sense arise? 'Over his subject land' (cp. Meshah's Inscr. l. 28). But most probably we should read עַל-שַׁמְעֵאל מַעֲנָת. The Chronicler's עַל and our narrator's אֶל both, together with מַשְׁ, contribute to make up [שַׁמְעֵאל]. מַעֲנָתוֹ is a fragmentary מַעֲנָת. Cp. on 1 S. xxii. 14. From viii. 18, xx. 23 we learn that Benaiah was over the 'Cherethites and Pelethites.' This valiant guard probably came from Rehoboth and Zarephath, and these places or districts belonged to Jerahmeel-maacath. The alternative is to read עַל-מַשְׁמַרְתּוֹ; ἐπὶ τῆν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ. But this is too vague.

xxiii. 24a. בשלשים, 'among the Ishmaelites' (see on sv. 8-38). In 1 Chr. xi. 26 החילים comes from ירחמאלים, a gloss on [גברי]ם.

xxiii. 24b. See on xxi. 19.—25a. See on v. 11.—אליקא. See *E. Bib.*, 'Elika.' From ירחמאל.—26. חלץ הפלטי. But 1 Chr. xi. 27 חלץ הפלוני; cp. הצללפוני, 1 Chr. iv. 3, where לפוני comes from רפנואל (cp. v. 4). The true reading of 1 Chr. xi. 27 may be ח' הפנואלי, 'Heleş (?) the Penuelite'; Penuel (see on 1 K. xii. 25) was in the Negeb. But הפלטי is also quite a possible reading. Pelet or Peleth is a Negeb name (see *E. Bib.*, s.vv.).—27. 'Abiezer,' see on Judg. vi. 11. 'Anathoth' in the Negeb (see on Jer. i. 1).—'Hushathite'; xxi. 18.—28. 'Ahohite.' See on v. 9.—מחורי = ירחם, 'Jarham.'—'Netophathite' = Naphtuhite. Naphtoah was in the Negeb.—29. 'Benjamin,' in the Negeb (Judg. xix. 14).—30. 'Pirathonite.' See on Judg. xii. 13.—30. הקדי. Rather חקדי (cp.

1 Chr. xi. 32), *i.e.* Ashhuri. But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hurai.' Observe the connection between 'Gaash' and 'Timnath-heres [-ashhur]' in Josh. xxiv. 30. ירחמאל is probably from ירחמאל (cp. נהרים also from 'ירח', and see *E. Bib.*, 'Nahaliel.' If געש represents אשחור, we get the compound name 'Jerahmeel-ashhur,' which is both possible and (see on *v.* 13) probable.—31. אביר-עלבון, probably from ערב-עלמון (Chr.'s אביראל is a corrupt mutilation; cp. on 'א', 1 S. ix. 1). In Josh. xxi. 18 Anathoth and Almon are coupled (Anathoth was in the Negeb, *v.* 27); and in Num. xxxiii. 46 Almon (-riblatham?) is placed near the mountains of the Arabians (see note).—'Arbathite' = Beth-arabathite.—עומות, probably from אשחור-ירחמאל; cp. on 'Haşar-maveth,' Gen. x. 26. Cp. on *v.* 30*b.* 'Bahurim,' whence 'Azmveth' came, was in the southern Benjamin (xix. 16; cp. on iii. 16).—32. 'Eliahba,' cleverly modified from 'Jerahmeel.' Chr.'s השם = חשם (modified from נשם; Sam. ישן).—34. 'Eliphelet' = 'Paltiel,' iii. 15.—בן-אחסבי. Chr., בן-אור חפר, from which Marquart (*p.* 22) deduces 'a well-known heathen name' ארקה. But the true original must be בן-אשחור (cp. on 1 Chr. iv. 5 *f.*), בן-המענתי is a variant. Or we might read בן-אשתור-מענתי.—35. פערי. Cp. פער, a Negeb name (see *E. Bib.*, 'Nebo'). Read either העברי, 'the Arabian,' or הארכי, 'the Archite.'—36. יבאל; cp. געל, from גלעד.—'Bani' (cp. on *v.* 20) was a Gadite of the Negeb.—37. צלק, or (see Marq.) צלע, may come from ישמעאל (see on 1 S. xxvii. 6). 'Ammonite' may = 'Jerahmeelite' (x. 1).—נחור = ירחון = ירחמאל.—בארתי from רחבתי (see on iv. 2).—38. גרב. Cp. ארגב, Dt. iii. 4; גבר, Ezra ii. 20.

CHAP. xxiv. 1-9. The ordinary explanations of this passage need not be restated here; it is hoped that some new light can be thrown on this difficult narrative. So much is clear at once—(1) that the region spoken of is not the entire Israelitish empire, with 'idealised' limits (cp. Budde on *v.* 6), but the Negeb, and (2) that the numbers in *v.* 9 are exaggerated, owing to the mistaking of ill-written ethnics for numbers. For further illumination we must read in connection (1) the account in 2 S. viii. of David's conquest in Aram, *i.e.* Jerahmeel, in one part of which (see *v.* 13, in the revised text) we hear of a *corvée* imposed by David on the

conquered Jerahmeelites, (2) 1 K. v. 27 (revised), in which Solomon in his turn is said to have renewed this *corvée*, and (3) 1 K. xi. 15 *f.* (revised), in which Joab, as a sign of David's victory, is said to have taken a census of the male Jerahmeelites, which took six months. Our result will be that the order given to Joab by the king related to a survey of the whole territory of the Negeb (cp. on Num. xxi. 14), and as a consequence of this a census of the male population, with a view to the imposition of a *corvée*. It may be convenient to give here the translation of the revised text of these three passages. (1) 'And David imposed a *corvée* on Ishmael after he had smitten the Arammites in the valley of Jerahmeel.' (2) 'And king Solomon raised labourers out of all Ishmael.' (3) 'So it befell that when David smote Aram, when Joab the general went up to take a census of the Jerahmeelites, and registered every male in Aram—for six months Joab and all Israel remained in Aram, until he had registered every male in Edom.' Let us now seek to recover some of the earlier readings of the story in *vs.* 1-9. It was only after the original narrative had sustained corruption that it became possible for a later writer to represent David as having committed a sin against Yahwè. Space is wanting to draw out here in detail the effect of the examination of the text here instituted on the higher criticism.

xxiv. 1. For **ישראל** read **ישמעאל** (as often), and omit **וואת-יהודה**, inserted after a corruption had arisen in *v.* 9 (see below). Not in 1 Chr. xxi. 1.

xxiv. 2. The verse may be due (or mainly due) to the 'later writer' spoken of above. But it is equally possible that it may come from the original story. **שבטי ישמעאל** is not an impossible phrase; cp. Isa. xix. 13 (the 'tribes' of Mišrim). Of course the Jerahmeelites had 'tribes.' Note the twelve **נצרים** 'over all Ishmael' (1 K. iv. 7; so read), corresponding to the twelve **אמות** (cp. Gen. xxv. 16) of Ishmael. 'From Dan to Beer-sheba' (*vs.* 2, 15; 1 Chr. reverses the order) describes the extent of the Negeb; see on iii. 10.—3. Chr.'s reading, 'Are they not all my lord's servants,' is specially suitable if the Jerahmeelites were originally referred to.

xxiv. 4*b.* Read **ישם**, and cp. on 1 K. xi. 15.—5-7. The

difficulties of this passage, which the Chronicler omits, are well known. The 'later writer' accommodated the names as well as he could to his erroneous representation of the census as extending to the whole of the land of Israel, but could not succeed entirely. The first proceeding of Joab and the captains (שר in *v.* 2 is wrong, see Budde) was to cross the stream called Jerahmeel, or by some corrupt form of that name (see on xvii. 22), and note that the starting-point on both occasions is, not Jerusalem, but Ishmael in the Negeb (see on *vs.* 8, 24). Then they 'began' their census (read וַיַּחֲלוּ מַ, with Wellh., etc.; Ἐξῆλθον ἀπό at Aroer, or rather 'Arāb-jerahmeel. This place is referred to again in 2 S. xvii. 26, and of course in Dt. ii. 36, Josh. xiii. 9, 16 (see notes). It was on the verge of the Jerahmeel (see Dt. and Josh.), and also in the region of Maacath-jerahmeel. So they came to Gilead (note in 2 S. xvii. 26, the combination of 'Arab-jerahmeel and the land of Gilead) and to the land of the Rehobothites, also known as Ashhur, and from thence to Dan, and to En-ishmael, and, farther still, to a place called Mišsur, and in fact to all the cities of the Ashhurites and the Kenizzites. They closed their operations in the Negeb of Judah, the entrance to which seems to be placed at Beer-sheba. This implies the following text—

ויעברו את-ירחמאל וַיַּחֲלוּ מַעַרְב יָמֵן הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּמִעַנַת יִרְחָ ויבאו הגלעדה ואל ארץ רחבתים [אשחור] ויבאו דנה ואל-עין ישמעאל ויבאו מצור וכל-ערי השחרי והקנוי ויצאו אל-נגב יהודה וברא שבע :

ירח' ימיני in ימין = ימן. ירח' from תוך מענת (as Judg. xii. 4). ירח' from הנחל (cp. on Num. xxi. 15). הַגְּדָר in MT. probably comes from הגלעדה, written too soon. If so, יעור comes from ארץ. תחתים חדשי has revived more than one tempting emendation (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tahtim-hodshi'), but beyond all doubt ת' comes from רחבתים (since the Negeb is referred to), and ח', like חרם and חרשת, and like חרשה in xxi. 16, from אשחור. עין in MT. might of course come from יער or עיר, or again from עיון (see on I K. xv. 20), but on account of סביר, which is one of the current corruptions of ישמ', and requires something before it, it seems better to correct it into עין. For

מבצר-צר see on Josh. xix. 29. The other corrections are by this time familiar.

xxiv. 8. The census took nine months and twenty days; in 1 K. xi. 16 six months are allowed. The high officers return to David 'at Jerusalem.' But most probably for ירושלם we should read ישמעאל (see on xv. 11). It would be natural that the report of the survey and census of the Negeb should be delivered to David in his more southern capital (Kirjath-jerahmeel?), and there may actually be textual traces of this in *v.* 16 and in 1 Chr. xxi. 20, 2 Chr. iii. 1 (see on *v.* 25).

xxiv. 9. The 'men of substance' (אישחיל) in the Negeb ('every male in Edom,' 1 K.) amount to 100,000 men. This implies reading 'והדי ישמ' מאה אלף איש ד' (שמן like שמנה) comes from ישמעאל, so also does שלף; חרב represents the variant ירחמאל (see on Judg. viii. 10, xx. 2). The introduction of Judah is owing to a misunderstanding. חמש prefixed to מאות represents נשם (cp. viii. 6, officers in Aram-cusham), a supplement to 'ישמ' and 'ירד', followed by a ditto-graphed איש אלף מאה. The 'later writer' supposed that this must have referred to Judah. The seemingly discrepant numbers in 1 Chr. xxi. 5 may be similarly accounted for (ישמ', like צבעים, represents 'שבעים').

xxiv. 10-25. The pestilence. A later addition (see above). It is the Negeb which suffers. See *v.* 15, where we have not only 'from Dan to Beersheba,' but also perhaps a second statement of the extent of the epidemic, for the words מועד ועד-עת מועד are quite intolerable (see Wellh.). יעד suggests that הבקר and עת מועד cover over place-names, such, *e.g.*, as בחורים (Bahurim) and עיר ארם (Ir-aram) or עיר ערבים (Ir-arbim).

xxiv. 16. MT., ירושלם לשחתה | ירושלם | המלאך | ירושלם. Note the warning Paseks. Evidently ידו (at any rate) is incorrect; the order 'ידו מ' is impossible. It is possible that ידו, like ידי in Ps. lxxvii. 3 (see *Ps.*⁽³⁾) came from יהודה, and that Chr. altered this into האלהים. On this hypothesis, however, no fully satisfactory sequel can be obtained (cp. Budde, H. P. Sm., and Klost.). There is, however, another possibility; both ירושלם and ידו may be corrupt. In Job xxvii. 8 ישאל is the

right reading instead of **ישראל** (see Budde, *ad loc.*), and in 2 S. viii. 3 **ידרו**, and in Gen. xxxviii. 1 **חיריה**, come from **ירחמאל**. Now, if—as the evidence permits or even requires us to hold—the city where David was bore the name (not merely by an archaizing caprice of the writer) Ishmael or Jerahmeel, we see at once how the present text may be fully accounted for. **חירו**, or rather **ירחמאל**, was written too soon, but, as usual in such cases, not deleted by the scribe, who wrote next **המלאך**, and then, not **ירושלם**, but the word not unfrequently confounded with it, viz. **ישמעאל** (a syn. of 'ירח'). Thus we get the sense, 'And the angel asked for Jerusalem in order to destroy it.' The angel is the heavenly agent whose activity is presupposed in *v.* 15.—**אורנה** (the spelling varies in Kt.); see *E. Bib.*, 'Araunah,' where reasons are given for restoring **אדניה**; cp. on *שש.* 18, 23. 'Adonijah,' however, is certainly an incorrect pronunciation. See on iii. 3, where **אדני** (**עדן**?) is explained as the name of a district in the Negeb.—**היבסי**. **יבס** (like **יבש**) is one of the current corruptions of **ישמעאל**, with which **יבום** is probably identified in Judg. xix. 10 (true text, see *ad loc.*). The owner of the threshing-floor was a citizen of the southern capital of David, and as much an Israelite as David himself.—18. Note Kt. **אדניה** for **אדניה**. Sometimes, however, the scribe wrote **אדני** (see next note).

xxiv. 23 *f.* As Wellh. saw in 1871, **אורנה המלך** comes from **עבד אדני המלך** (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Araunah'). **למלך** has been left unquestioned. Yet a close inspection of 1 Chr. xxi. 23 will show that **למלך** must be miswritten for **למנקה**. (The words are, **והחטים למנחה הנל נתתי**. Here, as in 1 Chr. xxi. 20, Ps. cxlvii. 14, **חטים** is a corruption of **ירחמאל**, **ט** and **מ** being confounded. It is a gloss correcting **מלא** in 2 S. xxiv. 24 which [see below] comes from 'ירח'.) Coming (in 2 S.) directly after **המלך למנח**, would easily become miswritten **למלך**. Thus *v.* 23 becomes, 'All this does the servant of my lord the king give as an offering.' In *v.* 24 we get David's rejoinder. 'Nay; but I will buy it of thee **במחיר**.' No doubt **מחיר** may mean 'a price,' but it is also possible that, as in 1 K. x. 28, Jer. xv. 13 (here **לא** = **אל**, precedes), it may, like **חירום**, represent **ירחום** = **ירחמאל**. In 1 Chr. xxi. 24, for **במ**, we find **מלא** **בנסף**, probably from

בכסף ירחמאל (cp. on Gen. xxiii. 9). Therefore read, in our passage, 'ירח' [בכסף] ירח, 'for Jerahmeelite money,' *i.e.* 'for money that comes up to the Jerahmeelite commercial standard.'—שקלים חמשים. 'The order is unusual, and generally late' (Driver). This reminds us that שקלים and חמשים are among the corruptions of ישמעאל and נושם respectively. Our conclusion in the preceding note strongly favours the reading בכסף ישמעאל, on which נושם will be a gloss.

xxiv. 25. David builds an altar 'there,' *i.e.* on the threshing-floor. In 2 Chr. iii. 1, according to the ordinary view (see *e.g.* Benzinger), the threshing-floor is placed on the top of Mount Zion. No doubt the present text implies a combination of the story of David and 'Araunah' with that of Abraham and Isaac on a mountain in the land of המריה (Gen. xxii. 2). But it is in the highest degree probable that in 2 Chr., *l.c.*, for בהר המריה we should read 'בירחמ', *i.e.* בירחמאל, a variant to בישמעאל (so read, for בירושלם). Cp. on *vs.* 8, 16.

PART IV

FIRST KINGS

THE textual difficulties of Kings are as great as those of Samuel, and less serious attempt has been made to cope with them. We have, unfortunately, no contribution to the subject from Wellhausen, and Stade's important work in *SBOT* is only now passing through the press. I hope, however, here and there, by Prof. Haupt's kindness, to refer to the latter work. No equally thorough examination of the text from a moderate critical point of view has yet been made. Still there is ample scope for a bolder revision; progress, indeed, requires it. The historical bearings of the results of the present inquiries will not be overlooked by careful students. A N. Israelitish history, in the proper sense of the phrase, has not, as it appears, come down to us in the Old Testament, unless keener critics should succeed in discovering fragments of it which have escaped the author's notice.

CHAP. i. 1-4. It is a Negeb tradition that we have before us. There was a Shunem (from 'Ishman' = Ishmael) in the Negeb (see on 1 S. xxviii. 4, 2 K. iv. 8). For ישראל read probably ישמעאל (a name for the Negeb). Probably אבישג (which is no more Hebraic than 'Abital') comes from אֲבִישָׁן = עֲרַב שֹׁנָם = 'ע' שֹׁנָם, 'Shunammite Arabia'; cp. 'Abigal' or 'Abigail' = 'Arab-gilead (see on 1 S. xxv. 3). פ' ^B's ἀβεισα = אֲבִישָׁי (see on 1 S. xxvi. 19). Otherwise 'א might be a very early modification of פִּילָגֶשׁ. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shulammitte,' 'Shunem,' 'Solomon,' § 2, near end.

i. 5 ff. Not Jerusalem, but Beth-jerahmeel,—a place in

the Negeb where David often resided, is most probably the scene of the struggle for the regal inheritance. Cp. on viii. 1-5, 12.—8. 'Nathan *han-nābī*.' Cp. 2 S. vii. 2, and see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 2. How comes a prophet to assume the prominent position which belongs rather to Benaiah? Was Nathan really a prophet? Should הנָבִיא be הנָדָבִי, 'the Nadabite?'

i. 9. עֵין רֹגֵל. See on 2 S. xvii. 17, where it is shown to be most probable that the En-rogel in that passage is a fountain near 'Ishmael' (*i.e.* Beth- or Kirjath-jerahmeel); also on Josh. xv. 7, where the original reference is shown to be, most probably, to a fountain near 'En-shemesh,' or rather 'Ir-cusham' (or 'Ir-ishmael'). It is important to notice that, if the place referred to was really this 'Ishmael,' the reference to Enrogel is geographically quite what we should expect, for 'Kirjath-jearim' was not far from 'Beth-shemesh' or (Josh. xix. 41) 'Ir-shemesh,' *i.e.* Beth- or Ir-cusham (or Ir-ishmael). See, further, on 2 S. vi. 1.

i. 33, 38, 45. According to Gen. ii. 13 the stream called Gihon flowed round the land of Cush. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 5, end. Was this 'Gihon' of the capital of the Negeb named after that legendary stream?

CHAP. ii. 34. בְּרִיתוֹ בַּמְדָּבָר. We should have expected בְּשֻׁדְדוֹ or בְּאִדְמָתוֹ. Corruption suspected (so Stade). Should we read בְּרִית יְהוּמָאֵל, *i.e.* בְּרִית יִרְחֵמְאֵל? The place meant would be that commonly called 'Bethlehem-judah' (see on Judg. xvii. 7, 1 S. xvii. 12). The מְדָבָר would be that of Jerahmeel or Ishmael. ⚡'s τάρφω (cp. Pesh.) is arbitrary.

ii. 37. 'Kidron.' See on 2 S. xv. 23. In our ignorance of the topography, it is hazardous to touch the reading (see Klost. and *E. Bib.*, col. 2662).

ii. 39. 'Achish,' etc. See on 1 S. xxvii. 2. It was an easy journey, no doubt, from one district of the Negeb to another. Was the real object political? See *E. Bib.*, 'Shimei,' 1.

CHAP. iv. 1-6. The critical problems arising out of the names of Solomon's officers, as given in MT., in ⚡, and in ⚡^l, are specially difficult. Burney is lucid and learned, Klost. masterly and original. Stade sees the problems, but not how to solve them. Perhaps, however, from a new

point of view, some steps in advance can be taken.—3. **אֶלְיָהוּ** is better than either *Ελιαφ* or *Ελιαβ*, which are evidently worn-down forms. Transposing the two parts (an expedient frequently necessary) we get **חַפְרִיאֵל**. The name does not occur elsewhere, but **חַפְרִי** is an Asshurite name in 1 Chr. iv. 6, and a Maacathite in 1 Chr. xi. 36; see also on v. 10. **אֵל**, as often, is merely formative.—4. **אֲחִיהָ**. See on 1 S. xiv. 3.—**שִׁישַׁא**, or (better attested, see *E. Bib.*, 4433, or Burney) **שׁוּשַׁא**, is not from Bab. *savsū* = *samsū*, ‘sun’—however tempting from the point of view of the history of Babylonian culture (see *E. Bib.*, 948) this theory of Marquart may be, but (for a parallel, cp. **שָׁשִׁי**, Josh. xv. 14, Judg. i. 10) either from **כֹּוֹשׁ** or from **אֲשׁוּר**. The family, then, was N. Arabian. The same result, however, follows if we prefer the reading **שָׁרְיָה** (2 S. viii. 17, see note), or *Σ^υς Σαφατ*, i.e. **שַׁפַּט** = **צַרְפַּת** (Zarephath in the Negeb).—**יְהוֹשָׁפָט** and **אֲחִילָד**; see on 2 S. viii. 16-18.—5. **עֲזַרְיָהוּ**. But *Σ* presupposes **אֲדַנְיָהוּ**. Both are Negeb names; see notes on the earlier occurrences. Read **סִכְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ**, omitting **רַעָה** as a gloss (cp. on 2 S. xx. 26). **סִכְנֵי** = officer; cp. *Am. Tab.* 237, 9 (*zukini*). It is no argument against Klost. (who wrongly keeps **רַעָה**, but rightly omits **רַעָה**) that ‘all versions reproduce’ **רַעָה** (Burney).—6. **אֲחִישָׁר**. Burney rightly observes that the text of v. 6a may be corrupt, the father of the official referred to not being given (v. 4b is evidently an interpolation). He ingeniously conjectures **וְאֶלְיָאֵב בֶּן-שָׂרְיָה** [עַל-הַבַּיִת]. But *Σ*'s *Ελιαβ υἱός Σαφ* (or *Σ^υς Ιωαβ*) clearly corresponds with *Ελιαφ υἱός Σαβα* in *Σ^β*, and *Ελιαβ υἱός Σαφατ* in *Σ^τ*, v. 3; *πατριᾶς* = *στρατιᾶς* = **צַבָּא**. The truth seems to be that **אֲחִישָׁר** (cp. **אֲחִישָׁחַר**), or rather **אֲשַׁחַר** (Stade restores, impossibly, **אֲחִישִׁי**), is a variant to **וּבֹד**, or rather (as *Σ^τ* presupposes) **זַכּוּר**. Zaccur, then, or rather Ashhur (the original of Zaccur?) is described as (like Azariah or Adonijah) a son of Nathan, as a high officer (**סִכְנֵי**) of the king, and as over the palace.—7. **אֲדַנְיָהוּ**. So v. 28. **אֲדָרָם** (xii. 18; 2 S. xx. 24, but *Σ^{βαλ}* *Αδωνειραμ*) seems to be a contracted form. **רָם** = **רָמָם** (= Jerahmeel), as 1 Chr. ii. 9, cp. *Σ* *αραμ*. See also on **אֲבָרָם**, Gen. xvii. 5. For **אֲדַנְיָהוּ** see on 2 S. iii. 4.—8. **עֲבַדָּא**. Plausible as the usual explanation may be (*E. Bib.*, ‘Names,’ §§ 37, 51), the origin of the other names in the list, and the

frequency of such corruptions as ערבים from ערבים (see on v. 4, Num. xxvii. 12), suggests that ערבה is a corruption of עָרַב. Cp. also ארבע for עָרַב, Gen. xxiii. 2, etc. It seems probable enough that the superintendent of the N. Arabian *corvée* would himself be of Arabian origin. Thus all the names are Negeb names. We shall be still more struck by the list of Solomon's prefects.

iv. 7-19. These officials are called נְצִיבִים (cp. v. 5). But we might as well point נְצִיבִים (cp. נציב, v. 19). At any rate, ישראל in v. 7 should be ישמעאל (as often, though not in v. 1). It is the Negeb, otherwise called 'Jerahmeel' or 'Ishmael' or 'Aram,' that is meant; cp. on 2 S. viii. 14, where *David* is said to have put נְצִיבִים in the newly conquered Aram (not 'Edom'). See *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 6. They are twelve in number, because there were twelve tribes of Ishmael (see on 2 S. xxiv. 2, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tribes,' § 6). The duty of the prefects is to 'provide victuals for the king and his household'; 'each man had to make provision for a month in the year' (RV). Taxes were of course quite unimportant; a luxurious king like Solomon must have thought first of his banquets. Stade (*Gesch.* i. 305, note 1) and historians in general disregard this statement; all say that the division of the land of Israel into districts was for the sake of the taxes, but no one (not even Stade in *SBOT*) investigates the text. The truth, however, is that נלכל ('provide victuals for') is liable, more than most words, to serve as the envelope or shrine of another word, which, when we can find it, has to be restored. See, *e.g.*, on 2 S. xix. 33 *f.*, 1 K. xviii. 4, 13, xx. 27. Applying this key, and omitting dittograms, we get this list of names—which is an extended gloss on נל-ישמעאל, בית-ישמעאל, ירחמאל בית-אשחור בית-אשחור: note that נלכל and המלך both = ירחמאל (dittogr.); ביתו ח' = בית ישמ' = בשנה; בית-אשח'.

The names of the prefects and their districts or chief towns are as follows—corrected readings are in italics:—

1. *, ben *Ashhur*. Mountains of Ephraim.
2. *, ben *Rekab*. *Michmash, Beth-ishmael, Beth-cusham, Aijalon*.
3. *, ben *Ashhur*. *Arabia*, Socoh, land of Hopher. See on 1 S. xvii. 1.

4. *, ben Abinadab (1 S. xvi. 8). *Naphtoah-arād*. (*Naphtuhith*, an Ishmaelites, his wife).

5. Baana ben Ahilud (2 S. viii. 16). *Beth-anak* and *Migron*, all Beth-shean (*Shunem* ?), or from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah (see on Judg. vii. 22). Zarethan = *Zarephath* (see on Josh. iii. 16), and Jokmeam = *Jerahmeel*, are also mentioned.

6. *, ben *Argob*, or rather ben 'Arab (see on Dt. iii. 4). Ramoth(ath) Gilead (see on xxii. 3). Also Havvoth-jair or Hebel-argob (*i.e.* *Rehoboth-jerahmeel*, *Jerahmeel-rehob*). The former is said to be 'in Gilead'; the latter 'in *Cushan*.' The different writers concerned mean the same thing.

7. Ahinadab (= *Jerah[meel]-nadab*) ben Iddo (?). Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii. 3, 2 S. ii. 8). For 'Iddo,' cp. Ⓞ (Βαχελ; Ασαδωκ).

8. Ahimaaz (1 S. xiv. 50). Naphtali. (*Cushamith*, an Ishmaelites, his wife.)

9. Baana ben Hushai (2 S. xv. 37). Asher (from *Ashhur*); 'Aloth or Be'aloth (Josh. xv. 24, a southern city).

10. Jehoshaphat (= *Jerah[meel]-zephath*) ben *Hepher*. Issachar (from *Ashhur*).

11. Shimei ben Ela (2 S. xxiii. 11). Benjamin (Jamin = *Jerahmeel*).

12. *Argob* ben *Arabi*. Gilead (Ⓞ^B γαδ). The land of *Cushan*, king of the *Arammites*, and of Og, king of Bashan. In v. 13 (end) note the lengthy expansion of the corrupt ששים ערים (properly 'נָשָׂם יְרֵחַ'; see on Dt. iii. 4).

In v. 19 it is added וְנָצִיב אֶחָד אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ; Ⓞ^B, however, καὶ νασεφ εἰς ἐν γῆ Ἰουδα, and Ⓞ^L νασειβ ἐν γῆ Ἰουδα εἰς; both B and L mention Jehoshaphat at the very end. Kittel would read as in MT., except that בְּאֶרֶץ becomes, with him, בארץ ג'לע'ד. It is better to criticise Ⓞ's text; יהודה, as elsewhere, most probably represents ירוחמאל. In v. 5 we are told that Azariah ben Nathan was 'over the נְצִיבִים.' Perhaps he is the person meant by נָצִיב, and perhaps על-הנְצִיבִים should be restored in v. 19 after אֶחָד. So Klostermann. If so, Azariah was practically the viceroy of Israelite territory in the Negeb, as David, too, had perhaps been in his time. Cp. on 1 S. xxii. 14, 2 S. xxiii. 23.

iv. 20. Underlying this passage (not in Ⓞ) there is

most probably a list of the peoples over which Solomon ruled. The same account has to be given of v. 2, 3. Both passages have the same object—to illustrate the statement in v. 1. I fear this may startle some scholars, but I see no help for it—no alternative view seems possible. Benzinger indeed thinks iv. 20 a not unsuitable close to the account of the administrative divisions of the land, only it implies a conception of the reign of Solomon which is altogether late; the division into Israel and Judah also, he remarks, points to a late origin. The description of Judah and Israel as ‘eating and drinking and joyful’ reminds him of Deuteronomy (*e.g.* xiv. 26; we might add, because of שָׂמֵחַ, xvi. 15). There is, however, this difference between our passage and the deuteronomic passages, viz. that here the eating and drinking is not said to be ‘before Yahwè’ in his chosen sanctuary, for ‘eating, and drinking, and joyful,’ and for the singularly abrupt opening, יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל רָבִים, there is surely no parallel in Deuteronomy. I will return to this passage in connection with v. 2.

CHAP. v. 1*a*. Ⓔ gives this statement in two forms, in ii. 46*b* and in ii. 46*k*. The latter agrees with MT.; the former implies a Hebrew text which closes with הַמְּלָכֹת and may be earlier than MT. The ‘plus’ in MT., however, has to be accounted for. The ‘kingdoms’ are ‘the kingdoms of Kenaz’ (so read in Ps. cxxxv. 11, cp. cv. 13, and see on Josh. xii. 7 *ff.*). The addition defines the region as ‘from the נָדָר (*i.e.* the river P’rath or Ephrath,¹ see on Gen. xv. 18) to the land of the Philistines (Zarephathites) and to the border of Mišrim.’ The Zarephathites, then, had not been entirely conquered in spite of 2 S. viii. 1.

v. 1*b*. Ⓔ inserts καὶ ἦσαν = וָדָרוּ (Klo.), ‘and they went on bringing tribute,’ etc.

v. 2, 3, with iv. 20. Benz. remarks, ‘The expense for the table shows the luxury and wealth of an eastern despot. The numbers are rather high! . . . What the בְּרָבִים are,

¹ Winckler says, ‘the nahal Mušri, which is so often confounded with the nahar, *i.e.* the Euphrates (or even the Jordan),’ *GI* ii. 264, cp. *KAT*⁽³⁾ 148. He does not notice, however, that there was a P’rath (=Ephrath) in the Negeb; this accounts for the supposition of the extension of Solomon’s empire to the Euphrates. Cp. on Jer. xiii. 1-7.

we do not know; tradition is unanimous in rendering "fowls," which is suitable.' A little scepticism as to the incredibly high numbers might have led the critic to examine the textual basis. As so often, a string of ethnics, which were no longer understood and had come down in a corrupt form (for שתים, cp. on Ezek. xxxi. 16), was manipulated by an ingenious redactor. It is possible, however, to undo his work. בקר רעי, בקר בראים, נר קמח, נר סלת, ליום אחד, יהי לחם, and לבד מאיל, ומאה, and ירחמאל all represent repeated 'bad shots' of the scribe at ירחמאל; צאן, שלשים, שלמה (see on 1 S. xvi. 11), צבי and אבוסים (cp. צבעון, צבעים) come from ישמעאל; אַשְׁחַר עשירים and עשורה represents נָשִׁים; ערבים no doubt comes from ערבים. We can now hope to understand iv. 20 better. Notice the hyperbolic comparison לרב . . . נחול. All the passages in which this occurs need a careful examination. See below, on v. 9. In fact the verse is full of groups of letters which have elsewhere turned out to be corruptions of geographical or ethnic terms. The result is that לרב . . . נחול once ran thus—ירחמאל—[אשר על-ים ירח'] ירח' וישמ' xi. 4. For שמחים = ישמ', cp. on חמשים, xviii. 3 f.; and for אכלים = ירח', cp. on xviii. 19, Is. lxvi. 17. Prefix, for v. 20aa, the only essential words, וישמעאל ערבים, i.e. the names of the subject peoples or districts of the Negeb.

v. 4. Again the limits of Solomon's rule in N. Arabia. Read, perhaps, ערב הנהר; the נהר is presumably that of Ephrath (see on v. 1a). For תפסח (see on 2 K. xv. 16), cp. שובך (2 S. x. 16) or שופך (1 Chr. xix. 16), also ישבח (1 Chr. iv. 17). ענה may stand for צרפת ע' = מלני. For the difficult עברוי read ערבים; and for מסביר read מישמעאל (a gloss, cp. יבום = ישמ').

v. 5. B^b , at ii. 46g, inserts ἐσθλόντες καὶ πίνοντες from 46a. But אנלים ושתים = 'Jerahmeelites and Ishmaelites,' and clearly it is the Israelitish aristocracy which is here spoken of. Render 'so that Judah and Israel,' etc.

v. 6. Again, great injustice has been done to the original writer (cp. x. 26). The higher of the two numbers can be corrected from 2 Chr. ix. 25. Is any more correction needed? ארות is said to mean 'stalls for horses.' This gives a bad sense. It is very possible that ארות may have

sprung from עֲרָבִים, while סוּסִים (as elsewhere) may have come from נוֹשִׁים מִרְכָּבו, רַחֲבִים from פְּרָשִׁים, and צִרְפָּתִים from פְּרָשִׁים. Accepting this, we get an excellent sense—'And Solomon had four thousand Arabians [Cushites, Rehobites] and twelve thousand Zarephathites,' *i.e.* he had a standing army of N. Arabians. Cp. Hezekiah's 'Arabians' (*Urbi*) in Sennacherib's inscription. The twelve thousand Zarephathites may have included the 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (2 S. viii. 13). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' §§ 6 *f.*

v. 7 *f.* More N. Arabian ethnics. כַּלְכַּל is a regular corruption of יִרְחָ; יִרְחָ comes from צַבְעִים = יִשְׁמָ; הָאֱלֹהִים (cp. on Josh. xi. 10) and הַמֶּלֶךְ = יִרְחָ; שְׁלֹמָה = יִשְׁמָ; הַקָּרֶב = יִרְכָּב, or even יִרְחָ; שְׁלַחֲוֹן perhaps = שְׁלַחֲוִים; אִישׁ חֲדָשׁוֹ = אִישׁ חֲדָשׁוֹ; עֲרָבִים = לְאִיעֲדָרוֹ; אֲשַׁחֲרוֹר; אֲשַׁחֲרוֹר (?); עֲרָבִים = דְּבָרִים.—'Barley and straw for the horses,' etc. A likely thing for a chronicler to report! The 'barley' should be אֲשַׁחֲרוֹרִים, 'Asshurites'; the 'straw,' תִּימָנִים, 'Temanites'; 'for the horses' should be יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים; 'for the swift steed,' אֲשַׁחֲלוּלִים, 'Eshcolites.'

v. 8. MT. אֲשַׁחֲרוֹר יִרְחָ; Ⓢ, οὐδὲν ἢ ὁ βασιλεύς. Which is right? If the general view of the context common to both MT. and Ⓢ is correct, neither. It is very harsh to render the Hebrew, '(they brought the fodder to the place) to which it had to come' (so Benz., Burney). On the other hand, it is most unnatural to introduce the king (so Kittel) in this connection. Kittel is half inclined to read יִרְחָ; cp. 2 Chr. i. 14, ix. 25. But then, how came הַמֶּלֶךְ into the text underlying Ⓢ? From our point of view all is plain. Render, '(and the Jerahmeelites) used to come (יִבְאוּ) to the place where the king might be, each according to his duty'; *i.e.* Solomon's N. Arabian warriors had, at stated times, to serve as his bodyguard. Cp. on x. 26.

v. 9-11. Solomon had 'width of heart like the sand that is on the sea-shore.' Ⓢ has *vv.* 9, 10 in two forms, *viz.* (a) together with *vv.* 11-14 after v. 4, and (b) at ii. 35a, b, Swete = ii. 1, 2, Lagarde. In the former we find χύμα καρδίας = לֶבַב לֶבַב, in the latter πλάτος κ. = MT. רַחֲבִים is clearly an earlier reading than לֶבַב, but cannot be correct (see Isa. lx. 5, Ps. ci. 5; and cp. Klost.). Nor is there any parallel for this application of the figure of the sand. There is plain

corruption. לב רחב and כחול represent ירחמאל (*bis*). Cp. on v. 2 *f.* [iv. 20], Gen. xxii. 17, Josh. xi. 4 ('the people of Arab-jerahmeel, which is on the shore of the sea of Jerahmeel'), Judg. vii. 12, 1 S. xiii. 5. The whole of v. 9 *b* is a gloss on כל בני קדם (v. 10), *i.e.* 'all the sons of Jerahmeel.' קדם, as so often, comes from רקם, a worn-down form of 'רח' (see on Judg. viii. 10 and Job i. 3, and *E. Bib.*, 'Jerahmeel,' § 4 *u*; 'Rekem'). Point מצרים, and cp. Isa. xix. 11, 12 (oracle on Mišrim). In v. 11 read probably ויחכם מכל אדם, a gloss on v. 10. Another gloss follows, stating the names of the בני-מחול (*i.e.* ירחמאל); ⚡, *υἶὸν Μααλα*, as if 'Darda' were the only son of Mahol — as erroneous as the *υἶὸς* of ⚡. These are 'Ethan the אזורי,' *i.e.*, as most say, 'the Zarhite.' Certainly in 1 Chr. ii. 6 the four here mentioned (but 'Darda' becomes 'Dara'), with 'Zimri,' are made sons of Zerah, son of Judah by Tamar. But 'Zerah' in Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17 is ben Reuel (= Jerahmeel), ben Edom. It is a widespread name, and probably comes from אשחור. Still wider in range was the name Jerahmeel (cp. כל בני רקם). If tradition had not given Ethan the title 'Ezrahite' (Ashhurite), he might well have been called a 'son of Mahol.' The same record which makes Heman, etc., 'sons of Zerah,' represents Hamul (= Mahol; certainly not for חמו אל [Kittel]) as a kinsman of Zerah. These men were famous in legend for their wisdom; yet Solomon surpassed them, just as Ezekiel's king of Mišsor was 'wiser than Jerahmeel' (so read in Ezek. xxviii. 3, see *Crit. Bib.*).

v. 12. Benz. remarks that no one can take the numbers seriously, and laughs at ⚡ for exaggerating 1005 into 5000. Kittel is content to say that the basis of these numbers is unknown to us. Experience of the ways of the scribes clears up the mystery. V. 12 is not based on legend, as Benz. thinks, though a plentiful crop of legends grow out of it. It is due to the writer, who sought to extract a rill of sense from the strong rock of corruptly written ethnics. וידבר comes from ערב (cp. *Ps.*⁽²⁾ on Ps. cxix. 42), שלשה and משל = שמעאל; שירו = אשור, חמשה = חשם; אלה and אלפ[ים] represent מאל in ירחמאל. The scribe wished to give the names of 'the nations round about.' For one among many

parallels see xi. 3. The corruption, however, is old; cp. Sirach xlvii. 17.

v. 15. The Hiram spoken of was not king of Tyre (צור). The name itself was no doubt Phœnician; so also was Ethbaal (= Ishmael); so also was Urumilki (= Jerahmeel). Other considerations exist which force us to hold that *this* Hiram (= אחורם = ירחמאל, cp. on v. 32) was king of Mišsor (מצור) in N. Arabia. Whether it was the real name of the king who had dealings with Solomon, we know not. 'Jerahmeel' was apparently a conventional name for a N. Arabian king (see e.g. on Isa. xiv. 12). See, further, *E. Bib.*, col. 4682 f., and note that v. 21 represents Hiram as a worshipper of Yahwè.

v. 17. המלחמה וגר'. The perplexity of critics is well set forth in Burney's note. But as in several passages (e.g. Hos. ii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 4) מלחמה here comes from [ירחמאל]ים.

v. 20 (and 13). The 'Lebanon' is that in N. Arabia (see on Jer. xxii. 20); or was it 'Gebalon' (see on v. 32)? ארו is not to be confined to the cedar (see *E. Bib.*, 'Cedar'). In v. 22 and ix. 11 ברושים, and in 2 Chr. ii. 7 אלגומים are added. See on x. 11.—צדנים should be מצרים (a common error).

v. 25. חטים מנות, || 2 Chr. ii. 9, חטים מנות. Read חטי מענת, or else (B^b και μαχειρ; A? μαχαλ; A* μαλαλ) ח' ירחמאל. Probably also נתיה should be מענת. The Talmudic equation נתיה = נתוש (*Menahoth*, 86b) is doubtful.

v. 27. The later tradition, no doubt, considered that Israelites were not exempt from the *corvée* (cp. xii. 4, 18). But in ix. 20-22 it is expressly said that the *corvée* was limited to non-Israelites. The original reading in v. 27 was no doubt כל-ישמעאל; the two names are frequently confounded. See above, on iv. 7-19. Cp. on 2 S. viii. 13 f.; also on 2 S. xxiv. 1-9 (p. 308).

v. 30. הנצבים, as in v. 7, comes from ישמעאלים; so also does לשלמה (originally a correction). The gain is great; for how can there have been 'princes of the prefects'?—32. Another puzzle. והגבלים is 'startling' (Benz.). Stade with some hesitation takes it to be here now as an appellative = 'stone-cutters.' How improbable! Thenius and others

correct somewhat violently (see *E. Bib.*, 'Gebal,' 1). But from Josh. xiii. 5 (see *ad loc.*) it appears that אֶרֶץ הַגְּבָלִי and לִבְנוֹם are synonymously. The Giblites or Gebalites are the people of Gebal (Ezek. xxvii. 9) or Gebalon. But the passage is not yet quite plain; it should be read thus [וְהַגְּבָלִים וְיַרְחֵמֶאל] וּבְנֵי יִרְחָם and וְהַגְּבָלִים are correct explanatory glosses.

CHAP. vi. 1, 37. That the contents of this verse are of diverse origin is seen by Kittel. He thinks that R_D obtained the calculation of 480 years, etc., from a scholastic tradition, while the statement of time in *b* is simply repeated from *v.* 37. But it should be added that the scholastic tradition is based on a series of corruptions of the text in Judges and Samuel; it is not found in || 2 Ch. iii. 1 *f.* Originally *v.* 37 was without the words בִּירַח זָו; similarly, *v.* 38 was without the words בִּירַח בּוֹל הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי. These words originally stood in the margin, but in another form, for they are corrupt, though (thanks to the regularity with which types of corruptions occur) not hopelessly. For *v.* 1 בִּירַח זָו gives בְּחֹדֶשׁ זָו הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי, where חֹדֶשׁ (cp. on חֹדֶשֶׁה, Josh. xv. 37) represents אֲשַׁחֲרֶה; שְׁנִי (cp. on 1 S. xiv. 4) = 'שָׁמַי', and זָו perhaps = זָבּוּל, *i.e.* 'שָׁמַי' (cp. on xvi. 31). In *v.* 38, בּוֹל זָו = יַרְחֵמֶאל; הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי is a gloss, *viz.* הוּא אֲשַׁחֲרֶה. Thus we get as marginal notes 'in Jerahmeel' and 'in Ashhur-ishmael,' notes which originally described the region where the workmen 'prepared the timber and the stones' (1 K. v. 32). Consequently $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ is not wholly wrong in placing *vv.* 37 *f.* immediately after *v.* 32 of our Hebrew text. See on viii. 2.

CHAP. vii. 13 *f.* Origin of the artificer Hiram. The Chronicler (2 Chr. ii. 13) calls him Hiram-abi, which, like Aholiab (Ex. xxxi. 6), probably comes from Jerahmeel-arab). He is brought from מִצֵּר (not צֵר), and is the son of a Miṣrite father, and a mother who was אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה. Now אַלְמָן is a corruption of יַרְחֵמֶאל (see on 1 S. xxi. 3), and both here and in xi. 26, xvii. 9 *f.* it is hardly doubtful that אַלְמָנָה represents יַרְחֵמֶאלִית. Possibly the next words הוּא מִמְטָה נִפְתְּלִי (but $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ reads הוּא) imply an endeavour to make Hiram out to have been a full Israelite (see Benz.). More probably, however, the words are corrupt, and we should read מִמְעַנָּה

פל[ש]תים. That פלשתו and ירחמאלי were synonyms is certain (see on 1 S. xvii. 26). The region intended was probably that called, according to 1 S. xvii. 2 (corrected text), מענת ירחמאל, and referred to again in v. 45, in the account of the casting of the brass vessels.

vii. 21. The two pillars, בעו ירין. In *E. Bib.*, 'Jachin and Boaz,' col. 2304, an explanation is given which is only to a small extent correct. Now that we know what the dominant foreign influence on the popular and official religion of Israel was, it is possible to make this criticism. And as it happens \mathfrak{S}^B and partly \mathfrak{S}^L confirm the view which must of itself occur to any one who has realised the religious influence of N. Arabia. ירין is in \mathfrak{S}^{BL} *ιαχουμ*, and this represents ירחמאל, while בעו is in \mathfrak{S}^B *βαλαζ*, and this represents איזבל, *i.e.* ישמעאל, see on xvi. 31. (That בעו probably had some connection with זורל was pointed out in *E. Bib.*, *l.c.*; now זורל is a divine title = איזבל). The two pillars were, in fact, dedicated to the N. Arabian deity, sometimes called by the Israelites Jerahmeel and Ishmael.

vii. 45 *f.* Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tebah.' Neither Benz. nor Kittel has removed all the difficulties; indeed, the chief ones only yield to the 'Jerahmeelite theory.' It is pardonable, and yet a little amusing, when Benz. makes this remark, 'המלך to be deleted, as in \mathfrak{S} , as an incorrect explanation of the subject.' It has, however, been shown again and again that המלך is a corruption of ירחמאל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hamelech'), and when Kittel says of המרמט, 'properly stripped bald (of the head), made bald, then polished (of metal),' it must be objected that he, together with the lexicographers, puts an undue strain on the root-meaning of מרמט; Isa. xviii. 2, 6 is corrupt. And though the correction of המעבה המדקמה (v. 46) offered by G. F. Moore and Clermont-Ganneau (see *E. Bib.*, col. 58) deserves praise for its acuteness, it must be pointed out that the text of the related passage Josh. iii. 16 is corrupt (see *ad loc.*). The key to 1 K. *l.c.* (and the || 2 Chr. iv. 16 *f.*) is furnished by 1 Chr. xviii. 8*b*, which, in a critically revised text, states that David obtained a large quantity of brass from Rehoboth-jerahmeel ('רח' ירח' underlies מבוחת ומכון), a city of Hadad[-ezer?], king of Zarephath (or Mişsor? see on 2 S. viii. 5). It was presumably

this captured brass that Hiram the artificer used, according to the earlier tradition. In short, the מִמַּרְט of 1 K. vii. 45 and the מְרוֹק of 2 Chr. iv. 16 come respectively from מְרַמַּת and מְרַחֲבוֹת, and the second of these readings is the better. הִירֹדן and בְּנַר, which follow, are probably corrupt independent forms of a dittographed יִרְחַמָּאל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jordan,' § 2 [2]). The result is, with regard to 1 K. vii. 45, that the verse should end at בֵּית יְהוָה, and that the hitherto unexplained הָאֵהָל represents יִרְחַמָּאל (written in the margin as a gloss on חוֹרֵם, and that *v.* 46 should run thus, נְחֹשֶׁת מְרַחֲבוֹת יִרְחַמָּאל וְצָקָם יִרְחַמָּאל בְּמַעַבְת־אֲדָם בֵּין מַעַבְת־וּבֵין צְרַפְתָּ. For the 'Succoth' of MT., see on Gen. xxxiii. 17; for 'Zarethan,' on Josh. iii. 16.

CHAP. viii. 1-5. These verses appear in G and G^L in a much shorter form, and this form is almost entirely an earlier form. So the critics agree, and this adds weight to the circumstance that G gives *ἐν Σειῶν*, where MT. gives יְרוּשָׁלַם. Kittel regards this as a pure mistake—somewhat too easy an expedient. It is plain that the original sources of the history of Israel have been very much worked over, and we have seen already that both David and (up to this time at any rate) Solomon preferred [Beth-]ishmael or [Beth-]jerahmeel as a residence to any other city. Moreover, it was here that David placed the ark, and here that, after his accession, David's successor resided. We have also seen that in Am. vi. 1 צִיּוֹן represents יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, *i.e.* Beth-ishmael (cp. on 2 S. v. 7). It is possible that, according to the original record, Solomon gathered together the elders of Israel (*i.e.* the Israel in the Negeb and in Judah) at Beth-ishmael to take up the ark out of the city of David (= Beth-ishmael) to Jerusalem. But it is also possible that the original writer meant us to understand that the house which Solomon had prepared for the ark was in a higher part of Beth-ishmael—the place where, in a sanctuary in the so-called 'city of David,' David had placed the ark. And this may be confirmed by *v.* 2 (see below), also by the fragment of song ascribed to Solomon (see next note), and by the notice (both in MT. and in G) found in *v.* 65 (2 Chr. vii. 8). In this case there has been a fusion of two accounts, each of which referred to Solomon's erection of a temple—the one at Beth-ishmael, the other at

Jerusalem. See, however, Winckler's radical criticism (*GI* ii. 252 ff.; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 3a).—Note that of *v.* 2 \mathfrak{G} only gives *ἐν μηνὶ Ἀθαμειν* (*Αθανειν*) = בִּירוֹחַ הָאֶתְנַיִם. 'This [statement] has given rise to many scruples,' says Stade, 'as it seems to be at variance with the statements in *vi.* 38 and *xii.* 32.' Cp. Kittel and Benz. The text has been manipulated; hence the perplexity of the critics. For 'בִּירוֹחַ הָאֶתְנַיִם' read בִּירוֹחַמָּאֵל הוּא אֶשְׁחָר יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל, and cp. on *vi.* 1, 37. The 'Zion' intended was in the district called Jerahmeel of the Ethanites, *i.e.* Ashhur-ishmael (gloss).

viii. 12. This utterance of Solomon (cp. 2 Chr. vi. 1 f.) occurs in \mathfrak{G} and \mathfrak{G}^L after *v.* 53—*vv.* 14-53 being a later insertion. It is more important, however, to notice that the Greek version gives it in a fuller form, which may be here quoted from \mathfrak{G}^L —

Ἡλιον ἔστησεν ἐν οὐρανῷ κύριος, | καὶ εἶπε τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν γνόφῳ, | Οἰκοδόμησον οἶκόν μου, οἶκον εὐπρεπή σεαυτῷ | τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ καινότητος. || οὐκ ἰδὸν αὕτη γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίου τῆς ᾠδῆς ;

The most essential part, however, is given by MT. The two most remarkable words are עֲרַפֵּל and זָבַל. 'עַר' is at first sight plausible, being frequently given in a description of a theophany (cp. Burney, p. 109), and it is usual to find a contrast in the first two lines, as given in \mathfrak{G} , between the brightly shining sun and the black cloud filling the House of Yahwè. This, however, does not fit in with the context, and would not the 'כְּבוֹד' (*v.* 11) be a luminous cloud? Hence Böttcher has suggested בִּישׂוּאֵל and Thenius בִּירוּשָׁלַם (for בערפל); indeed, long ago (probably by a guess) Tg. paraphrased, 'Yahwè has been pleased to establish his Shechinah in Jerusalem.' The difficulty exists, and it is time to apply our own critical method to it. ערפל is a good Hebrew word, but it closely resembles two groups of letters which cover over בִּירוֹחַמָּאֵל; these are אֶמְרָפֵל (Gen. xiv. 1) and אֶרְבָּאֵל (Hos. x. 14); עַפֵּל, too, has sometimes sprung from this word (see, *e.g.*, on 2 K. v. 24, Mic. iv. 8). This leads to the conclusion that בערפל may come from בִּירוֹחַמָּאֵל, and if this and this alone brings sense into the passage, and makes it full of life and colour, we may say that it *does*. And does

it not restore life and meaning to the song-fragment? Surely. 'Yahwè said that he would dwell in Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* in the Negeb, where his sanctuaries were. Then take זבל. Without retracting what is said in *Proph. Is. ii. 172 f.*, I must qualify it by observing that זבל sometimes, like איזבל, represents ישמעאל (cp. on vii. 21, Judg. ix. 28). Our object of reviving the perishing colour of the song will be further promoted if we read, for זבל, ישמעאל, or rather (cp. || בערפל) 'בישמ'. These corrections will be confirmed if, in other passages (see on Josh. x. 13, 2 S. i. 18), we find ourselves, if not compelled, yet gently stimulated to read, for ספר חישר, ס' אשחור. The postscript of the song-fragment then becomes 'Surely it is written in the book of Ashhur,' implying that the passage refers to Ashhur or Jerahmeel, *i.e.* to the Negeb. But what is to be said of the introductory words in G's version? Critics differ as to its retroversion, because, while G gives ἐγνώρισεν, G^r has ἔσκησεν. The true reading ought to be some word out of which both הודיע and הכין may have grown. That word should be ירחמאל (for the former cp. on ידיעאל, 1 Chr. vii. 6; and on ידעתי, Ps. cxxxv. 5; and for the latter, cp. on יכין, vii. 21). But what of שמש and בשמים? שמש often comes either from נשם or from ישמעאל. In the present instance it comes from [ב]שמ'. בשמים most probably has the same origin, while יהוה again and again comes from [י]רחמאל. Thus the opening words in G (cp. *OP* 212; Burney, p. 111) represent a two-fold and twice-written marginal correction of the corruptly written בערפל; the correction is בישמעאל ירחמאל. So that G has really misled the critics; Solomon's 'song' is more correctly given in MT., unless οἰκοδόμησον οἶκόν μου κτλ. may seem preferable. From our point of view, indeed, it is not preferable. Read, therefore, יהוה אמר לשכן בירחמאל בנה בניתי בית לך, 'Yahwè promised that he would dwell in Jerahmeel; I have built a house for thee in Ishmael, a sanctuary for thy inhabiting evermore.' [Hummelauer's article, 'Salomons Tempelweihe,' *Bibl. Zt.* i. 43-46, only shows the urgent need of a reform in the methods of textual criticism. At the same time, he rightly protests against the improbabilities of the received interpretation.]

viii. 65. 'All Israel' is defined as extending 'from the region of חמת to the נחל מצרים.' חמת is a popular modification of מענת (see on 2 S. viii. 9); מצרים as often means Mišrim. Cp. on 2 K. xxiv. 7.

CHAP. ix. 11. 'Twenty cities in the land of הַגְּלִיל,' the cession of which to Hiram provoked the disparaging remark, 'What are these?'—and so 'they were called אֶרֶץ נְבוּל unto this day.' The true explanation ought not to be far away. נְבוּל must be a corruption of some well-known name of a district; it can hardly be, as Burney supposes, the name of a town (cp. Josh. xix. 27) from which the district was named. We require a name out of which both נְבוּל and גְּבוּל can have sprung; for ג and ג^l agree in giving "Ὀπιον where MT. has נְבוּל. In *PSBA* xxi. [1899] 177 ff. (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Cabul') זְבוּלָן = זְבוּל is proposed. The explanation of Zebulun as 'dung-country' would be parallel to that of Beelzebul as 'lord of dung,' and 'Izebel as 'what dung!'—implied in 2 K. ix. 37 (but cp. note). Out of זְבוּל both נְבוּל and גְּבוּל might have sprung, though the expansion of a character is less common than its diminution. But there is a better alternative, viz. to read גְּלְבוּע. This word may indeed have come ultimately from יְרוּחְמַל (see on 1 S. xxviii. 4), but a corrupt form resembling גְּלְבוּע may have established itself as the name of a particular district. The palatals ג and נ are easily confounded. The name may have been popularly derived from גַּלַּב, 'to shave.' A 'shaven' country was a treeless country. It was perhaps the treelessness of the district that displeased Hiram (cp. Judg. i. 15).

ix. 14. The original which underlies the received text is probably מִצַּר רֹגֵן; וַיִּשְׁלַח לְמַלְךְ מִצַּר רֹגֵן; חירם is a gloss on מִצַּר, inserted at the wrong place. See Winckler, *GI* ii. 262; *KAT*⁽³⁾ 237. Solomon, it seems, had to make up for the territory which Hiram rejected by a large payment in gold.

ix. 15. יְרוּחְמַל = הַמְּלֹא [בית] = the acropolis (see on 2 S. v. 9), so called, perhaps, because the temple of Jarham or Jerahmeel stood there. Another derivative of יְרוּח' may perhaps be קְרוּחָה (inscr. of Mesha); cp. on 2 K. v. 24.—'Hazor' (see on Josh. xi. 1) represents אֶשְׁחָר; 'Megiddo'

מְגֵרֹן (1 S. xiv. 2 ; cp. on iv. 12, Josh. xvii. 11, Judg. v. 19). 'Gezer' is not the Gezer represented by Tell Jezer, identified by Cl.-Ganneau, and explored by Macalister, but rather a place in the Negeb called either Gezer or perhaps Geshur (cp. on 1 S. xxvii. 8). For 'Jerusalem' we should still read 'Ishmael.'

ix. 16-17*a*. On the right placing of this passage, see Kittel, who, however, has not noticed that the king with whom Solomon allied himself by marriage was necessarily the king of Mišsor. It was against Geshur in the Negeb that Pir'u (cp. on Gen. xii. 15, 2 K. xvii. 7) took the field ; it was Geshur, whose *Kenizzite* inhabitants he slew, that he might give the place as a marriage-portion to his daughter. Macalister's archæological conjectures (*Pal. Fund. St.*, Jan. 1903, p. 11) have no critical weight.—17*b*, 18. Beth-horon, like Gibeon, was in the Negeb (see on Josh. x. 10 *f.*, Ezek. xlvi. 1, 6). For 'Baalath and Tamar' (2 Chr. viii. 6, 'Baalath' only) we might read 'Baalath-tamar,' *i.e.* 'Lady of Tamar.' The case, however, is parallel to that of Abel-meholah, both parts of which compound place-name may ultimately come from 'Jerahmeel.' 'Baal' in place-names seems invariably to represent מאל. תמר probably comes from רמת, which (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tamar,' 2) comes from the ethnic ירחמאל. In different forms, this name was very often given both to towns and to districts. For במדבר בארץ (to which Kittel would append יהודה) read either בְּעֶרְבַּי בְּמִצְרַיִם or בארץ ערבים (ע and ד again confounded). Klost. too boldly בְּאֶרֶץ בְּמִדְבָּר. For another too bold view see Perles, *Anal.* 22. Both these scholars hold that the כְּר. תדמר is correct (but see *E. Bib.*, 'Tadmor').—For הרנב and הפרשים read ירחמאלים and צרפתים. See on v. 6, x. 26. 'Jerusalem' may be right ; 'Lebanon' is certainly the southern Lebanon (v. 20). May we compare the τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου which Solomon 'opened' (Ἔ, ii. 46*c*, mentioned just before the building of ἡ γῆ Θερμαι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ)? Cp. Benz. ; and for Winckler see *E. Bib.*, col. 3098.—25. אתו אשר and את-הבית ושלם are most puzzling (see Burney, pp. 141 *f.*). The passage is not, however, hopelessly corrupt. Read ואת-בית ישמעאל and join on to v. 24.

ix. 26-28. See *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 4. The received view will hardly stand. In *v.* 27 אַנְשֵׁי אַנְיֹת יִדְעֵי הַיָּם are a redactor's makeshift; the two first words represent ישמעאלים; the two last ירחמאלים (אנשי = אנוש, like צאן, is a fixed corruption of 'ישם'; so also ידע and ים of 'ירח' and ימן respectively; אַנְיֹת may represent אמיים, which = ירחמאלים). Cp. on x. 22. I must also glance at the traditional place-name עֲצִיּוֹן גִּבֹר, the treatment of which by Lagarde (endorsed in *BDB*, *s.v.*) I cannot regard as satisfactory. The two parts of the name must be grouped with those other, already explained, names to which by their respective forms they are related. עֲצִיּוֹן is obviously to be connected with צִין, צֶעַן, צֶאֱן (1 S. xvi. 12), צִיּוֹן; therefore, unless some strong reason to the contrary exists, it ought to be = ישמעאל, while גִּבֹר must be explained in the same way as גִּבֹר (בֶּן גִּבֹר) in iv. 13, and אֲרַגֵּב in iv. 13, 2 K. xv. 25, Dt. iii. 4, *i.e.* it represents עֲרַב = עֲרַב. The name means, therefore, 'Arabian Ishmael.' There were various towns called (in a corrupt form) Ishmael; this one was defined as the Arabian Ishmael. (The theory in *E. Bib.*, 2352, was, however, a first step in the right direction.)

CHAP. x. 1 *f.* This favours the view that there were two Shebas. We know of queens of N. Arabia (*mat Aribi*), but not of the Sabæan empire, and if we apply criticism to the text of our narrative it will become still clearer that a N. Sheba is here intended. In *v.* 1 לָשֵׁם יְהוּה is not 'hopelessly corrupt' (Kittel); according to parallels it may represent ישמעאל ירחמאל (cp. on שלם, ix. 25), *i.e.* it is a twofold gloss on שְׁבָא. In *v.* 2 בַּחִל נָבַד מֵאֹד and גַּמְלִים רַגְ' are in apposition; גַּמְלִים, as elsewhere (*e.g.* Judg. viii. 21), comes from ירחמאלים. In the train of the queen were Jerahmeelite merchants bearing spices (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Merchant'). There may have been a confusion between the two Shebas, but the earlier tradition meant the N. Sheba, in the neighbourhood of Muşri, whence came Solomon's principal wife. Cp. Wi. *GI* ii. 267; also *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 5 *b.*

x. 11. A very early corruption has to be indicated here. 'Almug(gim)' or 'algum(mim)' is, like 'gëmallim,'

in *v.* 2, miswritten for 'Jerahmeel,' from which word also the Assyrian tree-name 'êlammâku' (*Del. Ass. HWB* 74*b*) may also perhaps come.¹ The Jerahmeelite timber was naturally obtained (as 2 Chr. ii. 8 expressly states that the algum wood was obtained) from Lebanon; by 'Lebanon' we (but *perhaps* not the Chronicler) mean the southern Lebanon. אבן יקרה, in accordance with *v.* 31, vii. 9 *ff.*, ought to mean 'costly building-stone'; such stone naturally came from the same district (*v.* 27, 30 *f.*). Now it so happens that in 2 Chr. ix. 10 we read thus, 'Also the servants of Hiram and the servants of Solomon, who brought gold from Ophir, brought algum-timber and אבן יקרה.' It is probable that, after omitting the parenthetical remark (not here pertinent) about gold from Ophir, we may accept the Chronicler's text as correct. The redactor of Kings took the passage (*vv.* 11, 12) from its original context, introduced the remark just referred to, and placed the notice in connection with the visit of the queen of Sheba. Observe that, according to *v.* 12*b*, such a quantity of almug-timber was never again seen in Israel. Perhaps the trees had become rare owing to the large number cut down for Solomon. (Cp., however, *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 4, end.)

x. 12. וּכְפֹרוֹת וּגְבָלִים לְשָׂרִים; 'very strange' (Klost.). Read עבדי חירם ועבדי יְרוּחַמָּאִים וּגְבָלִים יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים, a gloss on עבדי חירם ועבדי יְרוּחַמָּאִים, which originally (see preceding note) stood at the beginning of *v.* 11. For a parallel corruption, see on 1 S. xviii. 6.

x. 15. לְבַד מֵאֲנָשֵׁי הַתְּרִים. 'Incurably corrupt' (Benz.)? Surely not. It is tribute which we expect to be referred to here. מֵאֲנָשֵׁי probably comes from מֵעֲנָשׁ, and what follows is a list of the sources of the tribute. Read לְבַד מֵעֲנָשׁ רְחֹבוֹתַיִם וְאֲשָׁחַרִים [יְרוּחַמָּאִים] וְגַל-מִלְכֵי עָרֵב [רְחֹבוֹתַיִם]. For מֵאֲנָשֵׁי cp. on חַרְת, 1 S. xxii. 5; for מֵסַחַר, on מִשְׁחָר, Ps. cx. 3; for רְכָלִים, on Neh. iii. 32; for הָעָרֵב, on Jer.

¹ Cp. עֵץ יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, probably from עֵץ שָׁזָן, and תְּאֵשִׁיר, perhaps from תְּאֵשִׁיר. See further on רֵעֵן, Dt. xii. 2. That 'almug' and 'êlammâku' may be connected, was first suggested by the writer in *Exp. T* ix. 470 *ff.*; Hommel (*ib.* 525) assented. 'Êlammâku,' however, may possibly mean 'Elamite' (Hommel).

xxv. 24. The concluding words **ופחות הארץ** (also in Chr.) may be an editorial or scribal expansion of a mutilated and slightly corrupt form of **רחבותים** (but see *E. Bib.*, col. 4688, note 2).

x. 22 *a*. Benzinger's excuse (p. 75) of the supposed misunderstanding of the Chronicler is unnecessary; the misunderstanding is most probably with modern critics. 'In all passages,' says this scholar, 'except here and 1 K. xxii. 49 (both passages from the redactor) ships that really went to Tarshish or at least sailed on the Mediterranean are intended.' But a keener criticism will only allow three passages in which, even plausibly, **אניות תרשיש** (אני), 'Tarshish-ships,' can be read.¹ These are 1 K. x. 22, xxii. 49, and 2 Chr. ix. 21. The first is our passage; the third, the parallel in Chr.; in the second, we should probably follow **Θ** which has simply (*ἐπολίση*) *νήας*, and it is open to us to hold that **תרשיש** is a variant to **אופיר**, **אופיר** being a corruption of **אשור**, which was probably, like Sheba, the name of more than one part of Arabia (cp. Jer. x. 9, where 'Tarshish,' *i.e.* 'Asshur,' is parallel to 'Uphaz,' *i.e.* Ophir).—Returning now to 1 K. x. 22*a*, it is well to take it in conjunction with 2 Chr. ix. 21, applying, however, a keen criticism to the text of both passages. Probably the original passage ran somewhat as follows, **בי אני למלך הַלָּף תרשיש עם עבדי חירם**. **בְּיָם**, which in MT. follows **למלך**, may have come from **בְּיָמֵן** (= **בירחמאל**); if so, it is a geographical gloss stating that 'Asshur' ('Tarshish'!) was in (the southern) Jerahmeel. On the origin of the word **תרשיש** see *E. Bib.*, 'Tarshish.'

x. 22 *b*, **אחת . . . שְׁנָהִים וְקָפִים וְתַנְיִים**, *i.e.* the ships returned once in three years bringing gold and silver, and also some animate or inanimate objects which critics find it difficult to determine. According to Benz. and Kittel, *vv.* 20*b* (or at least 21, Ki.)—22 belong to a later writer (perhaps the redactor), so that Kittel finds it justifiable to suppose that the writer is aware of voyages to India, and transfers such voyages to the time of Solomon. But, as we shall see, a fuller criticism renders this supposition of voyages

¹ See *E. Bib.*, col. 4899, with note 4; and cp. col. 4685 ('Solomon,' § 4).

to India unnecessary. Either the קפים and the תניים are different sorts of aromatic oil (see Amarna Tablets, *E. Bib.*, 190), in which case שנהבים should *perhaps* be read שמנים; or ש'נ' should be read אבני שדה (see Klost. in note), in which case underneath both 'ק and 'ת the Ass. *lipindu* (see *E. Bib.*, 'Peacocks,' 'Topaz') has been suspected; or the three terms are virtually ethnics, viz. בני ישמעאל and מענתים or רחבתים (underlying both קפים and תניים). The last-mentioned view is the best, שהם, whether as the name of a precious stone or as a personal name, probably comes from ישמעאל, and תוך in the Psalter is a relic of מענת. If so, בני ישמ' ומענתים (רחבתים) is the continuation of (or a gloss upon) *v.* 15, which, as we have seen, contains the ethnic names of Solomon's N. Arabian tributaries. Indeed, *v.* 22*a* as explained above, should properly stand after *vv.* 14 *f.* If it be asked how Solomon came to have so much gold, the answer is, because the king's servants were wont to go periodically to Asshur, and bring thence gold and silver.

x. 25. This verse too, now becomes clear. S. A. Cook led the way to the truth by the suggestion (*Exp. T x. 279 f.*) that ⚡'s *στακτην* represented מר, and that this should be combined with MT's נשק. The true reading, however, is not מרנשקים (Ass. *mār-nisqe*, 'young steeds,' *Del. Ass. HWB*, 391 *b*), but ארם-נשם = ארם-משק. שלמו = שלמות = the Salmæans, or = ישמעאל. בשמים = בשמת (cp. *iv.* 15). צרפתים = אפרתים or פרדים = נושים = סוסים. Cp. on *Isa. lxvi. 20*, *Zech. xiv. 15*, *Ezra ii. 66 f.* (similar errors). Thus 'vessels of silver and of gold' are the whole tribute.

x. 26. Another version of *v.* 6. Read, 'And Solomon gathered together Rehobites (רחובים) and Zaraphites (צרפים); he had four thousand (so ⚡) Rehobites, and twelve thousand Zaraphites, whom he placed (וינחם) in the cities of Rehob and with the king in Jerusalem.' רחוב and רחובות, צרפים and צרפתים (cp. *Neh. iii. 8*, 31 *f.*) are, of course, synonymous.

x. 28 *f.* After Lenormant (*Origines*, iii. 9), Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.* 173; *AOF*⁽¹⁾ i. 28; *GI* ii. 265) and Hommel (*Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* 610, n. 3); the scholars to be consulted for corrections of this difficult passage are P. Ruben (*JQR* x. 543) and the present writer (*E. Bib.*, 'Mizraim,'

§ 2 a, col. 3163). But is the result entirely satisfactory? So much, indeed, is perfectly clear, that Egypt (Miṣraim) was not the country from which Solomon was likely to have imported horses, but that he might very possibly have imported them from a N. Syrian land called Muṣri (Miṣrim)¹ and the adjoining district of Kue (קרה?), or E. Cilicia. There is, however, some improbability in Winckler's and my own former view of the passage. (1) Though possible, it is at any rate unlikely that a N. Syrian Miṣrim should be referred to here, considering that everywhere else מצרים means either Egypt or the Muṣri in N. Arabia. (2) Though possible, it is somewhat improbable that such an odd-looking place-name as קרה should be correct, considering that elsewhere equally odd-looking names, such as Shoa and Koa in Ezek. xxiii. 23, Heleḳ and Gammadim in Ezek. xxvii. 11, plausibly identified by archæologists, can be still more reasonably explained as corruptions of N. Arabian names. And when we scrutinise the words of the passage in MT. and G, we are struck by several phenomena favourable to the view that some part of N. Arabia is referred to. For instance, where MT. has מקרה, G has ἐκ Τεκουε, i.e. מתקויע, a reading which the ordinary criticism (see Kittel, *Chron.*, Heb., *SBOT*, p. 72) is unable to explain. Now there was a תקויע in the Negeb, as Jer. vi. 11 shows (see *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*). It is not, however, this 'Tekoa' that will be meant, if G's text is correct, but some other district called 'Tekoa' or rather 'Maacath' (for 'Tekoa' is a popular distortion of Maacath), still more to the south. In the Hexapla we find another reading, ἐκ Κωα (cp. 2 Chr. i. 16 מקוא); now קוע in Ezek. xxiii. 23, according to the best theory of the reference of chap. xxiii., is a corruption of מענה.² And Luc.

¹ P. Haupt makes a reasonable suggestion. 'It seems almost certain that in several passages of OT the final ם in MT. מצרים represents a later addition due to a misunderstanding, and that the original reading in such cases may have been מצרי. MT. מצרים was no doubt often written 'מצרי' (postscript to note on x. 28 in Stade's *Kings*, *SBOT*). Winckler writes Muṣri; Haupt prefers Muṣr, the *i* being the genitive ending, implying a prefixed *mât*, 'country (of).'

² In *Crit. Bib.*, p. 100, by an oversight, קוע is equated with דומאל. This is possible, but תקויע and קוע are most easily explained as above. There is, however, no essential difference in meaning.

gives the additional words *καὶ ἐκ Δαμασκῶς*; now דמשק (see on Isa. xvii. 1-11) often represents *נרשם*, *i.e.* Cusham in N. Arabia. Next, turning to MT. we find, joined to the second מקוה, the improbable word במחיר. 'Improbable,' I call it, for why should such a vague phrase be used? It is obvious that without payment no horses could have been obtained; it is also obvious (unless our widening experience of corruptions is to be allowed no weight) that מחיר here, as in Jer. xv. 13, may very well have come from ירחם (= ירחמאל). In short, we are led to suspect that מקוה במחיר has come from ממענה בירחמאל (we may omit the last two words of *v.* 28 as a gloss). It is but little less probable that ותעלה which follows במחיר, and which has been ingeniously regarded as a technical term (עֲלָה, 'to be estimated') has grown out of a dittographed בירחמאל (מ and ת, ח and ה confounded). Looking on further, we notice בדם ('by their means'?). Now, as a study of Isa. x. 5 (see *Crit. Bib.*) will show, this may very well have come from ירחמאל or בירחמאל (omit as a gloss). It is true that, as Ezek. xxvii. 14 is given in MT., horses were imported into Palestine from Togarmah, which is supposed to mean Armenia. The precariousness of this view, however, is extreme; in a strictly revised text Togarmah becomes 'Beth-gomer' = 'Beth-jerahmeel,' and the 'horses, and horsemen, and mules' also become transformed, while the importing country is not Tyre, but Miṣṣor in N. Arabia. According to the same text (*v.* 20) the source whence Miṣṣor obtained סחירים¹ was Dedan. We may perhaps venture to find the same word for some costly young animal in 1 K. x. 29 (for סחירי point סחרי). Lastly, we are struck by the reference to the kings of the חתים and of ארם. Now we have met with southern חתים and a southern Aram so often that we have a right, when

¹ On סחיר see *E. Bib.*, col. 2113 *f.*; and cp. *Del. Ass. HWB s.v. suḥīru*. What kind of young animal is meant by *suḥīru* is uncertain. It is mentioned (see *Del.*, *op. cit.*, p. 173) after *bakru*, 'young camels' (collective). In 1 K. v. 8 [iv. 28] the AV. renders ינש (which may be explained as a popular corruption of סחיר) 'dromedaries.' Prof. Haupt's remark (in *Stade's Kings, SBOT*) *suḥīru* 'does not mean horse,' but 'might perhaps denote the suckling colt of an ass' is not destructive of the above view. We may still hope for more light.

these names come before us, to think *in the first instance* of these southern peoples; חתים, in fact, represents רַחֲמַתִּים and אֲרָם is a very early abbreviation of אֲרַמְאֵל. And it is not unimportant here to recall the fact that Hadad-ezer, who was so troublesome to David, was well provided with horses, and that Hadad-ezer's kingdom was on the N. Arabian border of Judah (see *Crit. Bib.*, p. 274 f.). He was, in fact, to apply the language of 1 K. x. 29 (see above) a 'king of Aram in Jerahmeel.' Having all this in view we cannot hesitate to read *vv.* 28 f. thus, 'And the exportation of Solomon's horses was from Mišrim, and from Maacah were fetched the king's suḥirs. And a chariot was exported from Mišrim for six hundred pieces of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty. And on these terms they were exported to the kings of the Rehobothites and to the kings of Aram.' Gloss on 'from Maacath' (*v.* 28), and on 'Aram' (*v.* 29), 'in Jerahmeel.'

We are therefore bound to suppose that there were districts of N. Arabia, called respectively Mišrim and Maacah, from which horses were imported. Mišrim was a wide region, so that in Ezek. xxvii. 20 the king of Mišsor (= Mišrim) can be said to have obtained his suḥirs from Dedan. According to Winckler, the Mišrite kingdom extended to Medina, and, according to Glaser, we have to place the seats of the tribe of Dedan N. of that place. In Judg. i. 19, the Maacathites are said to have had 'chariots of iron.' Stade in *SBOT* denies the possibility of reference to Arabia. But there are too many passages referring to chariots and horses of Mišrim, Aram, and Ashḥur to warrant this incredulity. Isa. xxxi. 1, quoted by Stade, refers not to Egypt but to Mušri. Mišrim was no doubt an extensive region.

CHAP. xi. 1-8. We cannot by the older methods restore the approximately correct text either of the original narrative or of the additions which, as all critics (with many differences of detail) agree, were made to that narrative. For the results of the newer methods see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 10. It is very doubtful whether the early narrator said anything about any other wives of Solomon but the Mišrite princess. The original state-

ment probably was to the effect that 'there Solomon built a sanctuary for the god of Cusham and the god of Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* for the god worshipped by his Miṣrite wife.¹ It is not, however, to a supplementer, but to corruption of the text, that we may ascribe the statement that Solomon had seven hundred princely wives and three hundred concubines; both *שבע מאות* and *שלש מאות* are corruptions of *ששעאליות*. It is one of the commonest phenomena—the transformation of ethnic names into numerals. The other corruptions (popular and other) of ethnics have been pointed out in *E. Bib.* (*l.c.*); they are the familiar ones, such as 'מאב' for 'מצר', 'עמנ' for 'ירחמאל', 'אדם' (perhaps) for 'ארם' (note that Ⓢ gives a choice of three readings, 'ארם', 'אדם', and 'אמר'), 'צדנ' from 'מצר' (cp. on xvii. 9), 'חת' from 'רחבת'.

xi. 14-22. I have already examined this as well as I could in *JQR*, July 1899, pp. 551-568; cp. Winckler (*GI* ii. [1900] 269-273), whose results to some extent agree independently with my own. I cannot think this unimportant, though Burney, even in his 'Additions,' p. 380, makes no reference to it. It was already made as plain as possible in my article (with which Winckler on this point coincides) that the refuge sought by Hadad (and by Jeroboam) was not in Egypt but in the N. Arabian Muṣri. For some of the other results which, rightly or wrongly, I seemed to have gained, see *E. Bib.*, 'Genubath,' 'Hadad,' 3. It may now be possible to improve some of the details. (a) Who was Hadad? According to MT. and Ⓢ an Edomite. Rather, as Winckler (*GI* ii. 270), an Arammite—*i.e.* a man of the southern, not (as Wi.) of the northern, Aram. And whether we consider *מורע המלך הוא* (MT.) or *מו' המלוכה* (Ⓢ) to be the more original reading, the authentic reading is neither the one nor the other but *מו' ירחמאל*, 'of the race of Jerahmeel' (for *מלוכה*, cp. on 2 K. xxv. 25, Jer. xli. 1). *באדם* (בארם) has come in from the next verse. See on Gen. xxxvi. 35.

(b) What was the occasion of Hadad's flight? It was

¹ That *כמוש* is a very early modification of *כושם*, and both *סלך* and *סלכם* of *ירחמאל*, is, from a text-critical point of view, highly probable. In the original text, however, which underlies *v. 7* *כמוש* and *ירחמאל* probably meant, not the gods, but the people, of Cusham and Jerahmeel.

the conquest of a large part of Aram or Jerahmeel by David (cp. 2 S. viii. 5 *f.*, 13 *f.*), which was followed by a census of the male population, with a view to the imposition of a *corvée* (see p. 308). Read in *sv.* 15 *f.* בְּהוֹיֹת (for בְּהוֹיֹת, with Böttcher), לְקַבֵּר אֶת-הַחֲלָלִים (for לְקַבֵּר אֶת-יְרַחְמָאֵלִים, (ויֵד) for וֵיד).

(c) Hadad's reception in Mišrim. פָּרַע or פָּרַעו (not פָּרַעָה) gives him a house and a wife. The latter was the sister of Pir'u's wife; her name is given in MT. as Tahpenes, in $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ as $\theta\epsilon\kappa$ (or χ) $\epsilon\mu[\epsilon] \nu\alpha$. The Hebrew form reminds one of תַּחֲפִנְחָם; the Greek of $\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$, which in $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ of 2 S. xxiii. 8 corresponds to תַּחֲמַנִי. Now both תַּחֲפָ' and תַּחֲמָ' ultimately proceed from יְרַחְמָאֵל (pp. 52, 203). The precise form of the name is unimportant; what is significant is the circumstance that the early tradition gave Hadad's wife a Jerahmeelite name. הַגְּבִירָה, for which $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ preserves two alternatives, $\tau\eta\varsigma \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (הַגְּבִירָה) and $\epsilon\eta\delta \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ (הַגְּבִירָה), is corrupt. We expect a clan-name; probably we should read הַבְּכִרִיָּה, 'the Bicrite.' The Bicrites were a Jerahmeelite clan; cp. on 2 S. xx. 1. (In *v.* 19 read אֶת- for the second אַחֻזָּה, and in *v.* 20 omit אַחֻזָּה and תַּחֲפִנְחָם.)

xi. 23 *f.* On 'Rezon,' see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*, but cp. also on 'Jehoiada,' 2 K. xi. 4. On 'Hadad-ezer' and 'Zobah' see pp. 274 *f.* For דַּמְשֶׁק see on xix. 15, Isa. xvii. 1, where it is pointed out that a city in the *southern* Aram is meant. כּוֹשִׁם is suggested. This must be nearly right; cp. קוֹשׁ for קוֹשׁ. But most probably 'ד', like אַבְרָם, אַבְיָגַיְל, etc., is a compound name, and comes from אֶרֶם-נָשׁ. C. Niebuhr (*Gesch. des Ebr. Zeit.*, i. 137, n. 3) has suggested אֶרֶם-מִשָּׁר—a step in the right direction. It is to the Jerahmeelite country in a wide sense that this notice necessarily points.

xi. 26-40. See *E. Bib.*, 'Jeroboam,' 1, where the Mišrite origin of Jeroboam's mother is shown. The צְרוּעָה and אֶלְמָנָה of MT. in *v.* 26 come respectively from מִצְרָיִם and יְרַחְמָאֵלִית (cp. on vii. 14, xvii. 9, 2 K. v. 1, xv. 5; the $\rho\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\eta$ of xii. 24^b ($\text{\textcircled{S}^{bl}}$), *i.e.* הַזְרָעָה, represents יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִית (see on Judg. xi. 1). Jeroboam himself was an 'Ephrathite'; it is the Ephrath in the Negeb which is referred to (cp. on Gen. xxxv. 19). 'Zeredah' (צְרָדָה) or 'Zererah' (Judg. vii. 22) is almost certainly 'Zarephath' (see, further, on xiv. 17), while

the name **ירבעם** itself comes from **ירבעל**, *i.e.* **ירחמאל**. Nebat, too (see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*), may be a N. Arabian name. Cp. **בטנים**, probably from **נבטים**, 'Nebatites' (Josh. xi. 26).—27. **דמלוא**, probably from **ירחמאל** [בית]; see on ix. 15, 2 S. v. 9.

xi. 28. For **בית יוסף** read probably **בית ישמעאל** (see on Am. vi. 5 *f.*). Possibly, too, **סבל** is a corruption of **ישמעאל** (see on Ps. lxxxii. 7). If so, Jeroboam's office was that of **פקיד**, or governor, of 'all Ishmael.' See on 2 S. xx. 26, end.

xi. 29. For **מירושלם** read **מישמעאל** (see on 2 S. xv. 11); Beth-ishmael (or Beth-jerahmeel) is meant. The 'Shiloh' from which Ahijah came was in the Negeb (see on 1 S. i. 3, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shiloh,' § 5, end).

xi. 40. **שישק** **σουσακιμ** (= **שושקים**), are corruptions of **נוש** and **נושים** respectively. The king intended is the same called **פראר** in the true text of xi. 18. He was king of Misrim, but might quite well be, racially, a Cushite. Winckler's view that **ש** is here an interpolation (my own view also in *JQR*, 1899) is therefore unnecessary. See discussion in *E. Bib.*, 'Shishak,' § 3; also on xiv. 25.

CHAP. xii. 1-20. That the original story of the separation of the kingdoms was much edited is plain from a comparison of MT. and of **ס** (cp. Burney, pp. 164 *f.*). Both MT. and **ס**, however, erroneously assert that the ultimate cause of the separation was the hard labour exacted from the Israelites by Solomon, whereas the detailed evidence before us (see on chaps. iv., v.) supports the statement expressly made in ix. 20-22 that the *corvée* was imposed on non-Israelites only. And though, as Benz. points out, the LXX. (S²) may contain, in xii. 24 *n, o*, the fragmentary beginning of a second account of the great event representing a different point of view from that given in the rest of S² and in MT., yet this, too, contains details which are, historically, very improbable. All that we can be sure of is that there was a national assembly, at which Jeroboam was solemnly recognised as king, and that this took place at the place commonly called Shechem, but more properly Cusham (see on Gen. xxxiii. 18, and *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboam').

xii. 25-32, 33. Very difficult (see Kittel, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem,' § 3). In v. 25 (1) why is Shechem, or rather

Cusham, described as 'in Mt. Ephraim'? To distinguish it from other places of the same name. The full name of Cusham was Cusham-jerahmeel (see on Gen. xlviii. 22, and *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem,' § 2, end); now there was a Mt. Ephraim in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see on 1 S. i. 1). (2) How comes it to be said that Jeroboam resided in Shechem rather than in Tirzah, and why is Penuel specially mentioned? Nowhere again is Penuel mentioned in the regal period. Add to this, that *v.* 25 is singularly isolated. It is usual to regard it as a separate fragment of old material. But may not a study of the text reveal an underlying earlier form which would fit in with *vv.* 26 ff.? Klostermann has an ingenious suggestion, but perhaps the following is nearer to MT., אפרים ויעש זבחים ויתיצבו מישמעאל בני ישראל . . . ריבן. For אפרים, cp. *v.* 27; for ויעש, 2 Chr. xi. 13; for זבחים = משם, cp. *v.* 27; for ויתיצבו, 2 Chr. xi. 13; for מישמעאל = משמן, cp. Isa. lii. 11. For omission of ע in ויעש, cp. אל-העם for אלהם in *v.* 28. Probably the southern Bethel was near Cusham (Judg. xxi. 19). *Vv.* 26-33 really supply an explanation of *v.* 25 (as here read).—In *v.* 27 it is *perhaps* right to assume that later ideas of the superior sanctity of the temple at Jerusalem have influenced the present form of the passage. But it is more probable that ירושלם has come from ישמעאל, and that the speaker means the old temple of Kirjath-jerahmeel (K.-jearim), where the ark was at the accession of David (see on 2 S. vi.).—*V.* 28. For עגל read probably either ירחמאל [ישמעאל] or עגל [ישמ]. שמן, אנש and שנים sometimes come from ישמ; why may not שני? And if in Hos. xiii. 26 עגלים should be ירח' (see also on *v.* 32), why may not עגלי have that origin here? עגל may, indeed, also be supported by Hosea (see Hos. viii. 5, x. 5 [6]), but it is not likely either that the name of Jeroboam's God was unmentioned, or that it was mentioned in *vv.* 29-31 (see below), while in *vv.* 28, 32, עגלים, 'calves,' was substituted for it. Now as to the name of the God. In *vv.* 28, 32 [עגלי-], and in *v.* 31 לחדש cover over respectively ירחמאל and [ל]אשחר. In fact, it is possible that one of the names under which the early Israelites worshipped their supreme Deity was the compound name אשור [אשחור] ירחמאל. The evidence for this is naturally not on the surface, but it seems to be none the less real (see on Gen.

xvii. 1, Ex. iii. 14, vi. 2, also on Gen. xiv. 18, xxi. 33). Considering that the chief sanctuaries were in the Negeb, and that bull-symbols were used in the temple at Jerusalem, also that 'Steer (אביר) of Jacob' (or 'Israel') was an archaic title of Yahwè, we cannot wonder either that Jeroboam made a bull-image (cp. Ex. xxxii. 4) of his God, or that he identified his God with the God who had led Israel out of Mišrim. The place where the idolatrous symbol was, seems to have been the southern Bethel. (Point מְצָרִים)—*V.* 29. For האחד (first) read ירחמאל (see on 1 S. i. 1), and omit the closing words.—*V.* 30. For האחד again read 'ירח; omit עֲדֹדֶן.—*V.* 32. For לעגלים read לירחמאל (see on Hos. xiii. 2*b*). The other corrections will be best exhibited in a connected attempt to restore the text of *vv.* 31-33:—

ויעש את-בית במות ויעש כהנים מאֲשַׁחֲוֹר ירחמאל [אֲשֶׁר ירח']
 מבני לוי: ויעש ירבעם חג באֲשַׁחֲוֹר ישמעאל [בְּנֶשֶׁם אֲשֶׁר יָמֵן]
 לֵאשַׁחֲוֹר כחג אשר ביהודה ויעל על-המזבח כן עשה בבית-אל לזבח
 לירחמאל אֲשֶׁר והעמיד וגו': ויעל על המזבח אשר עשה לבית-אל
 [בְּנֶשֶׁם אֲשֶׁר יָמֵן] באשחור ישמעאל [באשחור אשר ירחמאל] ויעש
 חג וגו':

The names אשחור, ירחמאל and ימן caused the scribe much trouble. There is hardly any doubt that they did occur again and again in the original text, the narrator having been anxious to prevent the misunderstanding which, after the text had become corrupt, actually occurred. It is amusing to see how all we critics have been taken in by מקצות העם, by the supposed names of the months, and by the enigmatical אשר בוא מלבד. For the former phrase, cp. on 2 K. xvii. 32, Judg. xviii. 2. The editor was more opposed to Jeroboam than the original narrator.

CHAP. xiii. 32. On ערי שמרון, see on 2 K. xvii. 26.

CHAP. xiv. 10. Cp. on 1 S. xxv. 22.—17. תרצה. On the situation of Tirzah, and on the true form of the name, see *E. Bib.*, 'Tirzah,' and 'Zarethan,' § 3, where צרדה or צררה (see on xi. 26), the *σαπειρα* of Θ , and תרצה are identified with צרפת, 'Zarephath.' Winckler's view (*AT. Unters.* 14) that the reading תרצה (*v.* 17) is an 'alteration,' caused by the transference of the sickness of Abijah into the period after Jeroboam's accession, is unnecessary, now that we have

(as it seems) attained a truer view of the traditional history of Solomon and Jeroboam.

xiv. 21. So 2 Chr. xii. 13. But is עמנית strictly correct? Hardly. The addition in ⚡ (see on 2 S. x. 1, xi. 1) suggests that 'עמ = ירחמאלית; but it is also possible that we should read שְׁנִמִּית (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboam'). Note also the μααχαμ of ⚡^b (cp. xv. 2).—23. קדש may come from נושי, a collective, = 'Cushite priests,' a synonym for נמרים, *i.e.* 'Jerahmeelite priests.' See on xv. 12, 2 K. xxiii. 5, 7.—25. שושק (Kt.) or שישק (Kr.), *i.e.* נושי or נשי (cp. קישי, 1 Chr. vi. 29). Even if Shoshenq I. really invaded Palestine, which is hardly proved by the grand sculptures on the south wall of the great temple of Karnak, it is not this invasion which is referred to here, but a raid of the Miṣrites of N. Arabia. For the arguments, see *E. Bib.*, 'Shishak,' § 3. In this connection note ⚡'s addition respecting the spoil taken from Hadadezer by David, and now taken by Σουσακειμ. The colouring is all N. Arabian.

CHAP. xv. 1 (xiv. 31, xv. 1, 7, *bis*, 8). ערב ימן (= ארים), like אביהו, ultimately means 'ערב ירחמ', 'Jerahmeelite Arabia.' Thus *both* forms are strictly correct. For another view of ארים, see Jastrow, *JBL*, xiii. 114 (1894).—2. בת-אבישלום, but in 2 Chr. xiii. 2 בת-אוריאל. Both אורי and אבי may come from [ערבני]; שְׁלוֹם from ישמעאל (see on 2 S. iii. 3). The queen-mother, then, was of the Negeb or N. Arabian borderland; her name 'Maachah' corresponds. The 'Gibeah' of 2 Chr. is probably 'Gibeath-jerahmeel' (see on Jer. iii. 23 *f.*). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Maacah,' 3.—10. Pesh. gives as this Maacah's father's name עבד שלום, where עבד is a corruption of ערב (cp. on *vv.* 1 *f.*).—12. הקדשים, perhaps from הנזשים (cp. Ezekiel's objection to N. Arabian temple-ministers, Ezek. xliv. 7, 9, and see above, on xiv. 24). Just afterwards the *gillūlīm*, *i.e.* images of Jerahmeel (see on xiii. 30), are very naturally referred to.

xv. 13. Possibly לאשרה was appended to מפלצת by the redactor, who may have supposed מפ' to mean 'idol' (cp. ⚡, 2 Chr. xv. 16). If not, לאשרה will have to be taken as a gloss = 'with reference to Asherah.' For with our present experience we can hardly doubt that מפלצת (about which even the latest critics are hopeless) is a corruption of

ישמעאלית. The great N. Arabian goddess (consort, probably, of Ashtor) was called sometimes Cushith (see on xvii. 19), sometimes 'queen of Ishmael' see on Jer. iii. 23 *f.*, vii. 18). Another corruption is Mazzaloth (2 K. xxiii. 5); indeed, Klost., on grounds of his own, would read מולרת here. Note that ⚡'s τὰς καταδύσεις = מצלת (a variant). 'Kidron'; see on 2 S. xv. 23.—16. בעשא, probably from ישמעאל. Cp. 'Baaseiah,' 1 Chr. vi. 40, from 'Maaseiah,' *i.e.* Ishma'-jerah. The corruption arose very early, for Ba'sa was the name of an Ammonite king (temp. Shalmaneser); Del. *Par.* 294.

xv. 18. בן-הדד. Perhaps a Hebraised form of Bir-dadda (*E. Bib.*, col. 3861, note 3). טברמן, probably not a personal name, but a corruption either of Beth- or of Rabbath-jerahmeel. חזיון may come from ירחמאל = חריון; if so, it is a gloss either on רמן or on אדם (Ben-hadad was king of the southern Aram). See *E. Bib.*, col. 4112.—Read נושם (xi. 24).—20. The cities should be in the Israelite portion of the Negeb. עיון, either from אילון or from און. דן; see on Judg. xviii. 28 (near Beth-rehob). אבל an element in several place-names, = Jerahmeel (cp. on 2 S. xx. 14). ננרות, by the western shore of the Jerahmeelite sea (ננר, like אחרון, represents ירחמאל), equivalent to כל-ארץ נפתלי, which is a gloss upon כל כנ' (omit על, as a dittographed כל). ⚡ in 2 Chr. xvi. 4 favours this.

xv. 23 *f.* The cities fortified by Asa are not only Geba of (the southern) Benjamin and Mizpah, but a place the name of which, in two forms, underlies רק לעת וקנתו חלה ('diseased in his feet'!). The name is Racal (1 S. xxx. 29), glossed Jerahmeel. Read [ואת רנל קנזים] [ואת ירחמאל].

xv. 25, 27. Note the Negeb names, Nadab (1 Chr. ii. 28), Baasha (= Ishmael), Ahijah (1 S. xiv. 3). 'Issachar,' too, comes from 'Ashhur.' 'Gibbethon' is harder. It was a Philistine, *i.e.* Zarephathite, city (xvi. 15); in Josh. xix. 44, however, it is Danite. Should we read גונת? Cp. גינת or (⚡) גונת, 1 K. xvi. 21 *f.*; גוני, Gen. xlvi. 24. Or is it = Gibeah of Phinehas (cp. ⚡^{BAL} γαβαθων), *i.e.* Gib. of Jerahmeel, which Josh. xxiv. 33 places in (the southern) Ephraim? Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Gibbethon.'

CHAP. xvi. 9. זמרי, a N. Arabian name. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zimri,' 'Zimran.'—16. עמרי, clearly analogous to זמרי. Cp.

אמרי, both probably = ירחמאל. — 24. שִׁמְרוֹן or שְׁמֶרוֹן (point so), from the clan-name שמר. Stade's argument for שִׁמְרוֹן in *ZATW* v. 165 ff. is very strong. It is merely convenience which may induce us to follow MT. and point שְׁמֶרוֹן. The pointing שִׁמְרוֹן adopted by MT., where the capital of Israel is concerned, is clearly inaccurate. See *E. Bib.*, 'Samaria,' § 1, with note 2, 'Shimri,' 'Shimron,' and cp. Burney's *résumé* of Stade, pp. 216 f. One important point must, however, be added—the clan-name Shemer probably belongs to the Negeb. In 1 Chr. vi. 46 f. שִׁמֶר is the son of מחלי (= ירחמאל), and in vii. 34 שִׁמֶר is the father of אחי (also = 'ירח'); cp. v. 32, שִׁמֶר son of חבר (a Negeb name, Judg. iv. 11).

xvi. 29. אַחָב (Ass. Aḥabbu) a Jerahmeelite name, as appears (1) from the name of our Ahab's father, Omri; (2) from Jer. xxix. 21, 'Aḥab ben Kolaiah,' where קוליה, according to analogy (cp. on קולי, Ps. lxxvii. 2), represents ירחמאל; (3) from the name אחיחם given to one of David's warriors, presumably of the Negeb, 2 S. xxiii. 33. The explanations of a supposed name, 'father's brother' (see, e.g., Nöld., *E. Bib.*, 'Names,' § 65, Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, i. 14 ff. [early polyandry; after Winckler]), or 'the (or my) brother is the father,' are strained. Here, as in all similar cases, the popular wit has played us a trick. The original meaning of Aḥ'ab, or (Nöld.) Aḥi'ab, was probably 'Jerahmeel-'arāb' (cp. on אבים, xv. 1). This may not have been remembered in Ahab's time; nevertheless the fact that this king bore a Jerahmeelite name is significant in the light of the very full narratives, the scene of which is in the Negeb.

xvi. 31. After the 'sins of Jeroboam,' i.e. his introduction of Jerahmeelite religion, the writer mentions Ahab's marriage with איובל,¹ i.e. [ישמעאל]ית; cp. בעל זבול below; also בעלים, Jer. xl. 14 (*Crit. Bib.*). The name of the queen's father, אתבעל, is also, like תובל (cp. also on טבולים, Ezek. xxiii. 15, and on את-הדוב, 1 S. xvii. 34), a form of 'ישם', which had attained an independent existence. This 'Ethbaal' was king of the צידנים. Who were these people? According to Judg. xviii. 7 they were at any rate in the

¹ Marquart (*Fund.* 24) prefers אֲבִיבֶל. If right, this should mean אֲבִיבֶל שִׁמֶר.

same region as ליש (see on 1 S. xviii. 17); according to xvii. 9 the land of צידון included Zarephath. It is at any rate possible that the people called 'צ were people of the Negeb. The considerations which make this view in the highest degree probable will be found collected in *E. Bib.*, 'Prophecy,' §§ 6 f. Both צור (צר) and צידון (צדן) are possible, and often probable, corruptions of מצור (or מצור). Jezebel's בעל was therefore the Baal of Ishmael, corruptly called ב' זורל = בעל זורב (see on 2 K. i. 2). Cp. on 2 K. x. 18 ff., and *E. Bib.*, col. 4683.

xvi. 34. The names are Negeb names. Jericho = Jerahmeel. Hiel = Ahiel = Ahijah (see on 1 S. xiv. 3). Bethel, see on xii. 29, Am. vii. 9 f. Abiram = 'Arâb-jerahmeel. Segub (on the name, see *E. Bib. s.v.*, and 'Reuben,' § 11) is father of Jair = Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 21 f.).

CHAP. xvii. 1. הַתְּשִׁבִי מִתְּשִׁבִי גִלְעָד. Most critics try to make out that there was a place in Gilead called Tishbè, referring to Tob. i. 2, where Θισβη in Galilee is mentioned, and supposing that גלעד is appended to תשבי in 1 K. xvii. 1, to distinguish Elijah's Tishbè from the Tishbè in Galilee. The supposition, however, of two Tishbè's is very improbable. It would be better to correct Γαλιλαία in Tobit into Γαλααδ, or (rather) to suppose that in the Hebrew text גלעד (the original reading) had got corrupted into גליל (the two words are easily confounded). It is true, this leads us into a fresh difficulty. Tob. i. 2 describes Θισβη as being in Naphtali as well as (*ex hyp.*) in Gilead. If, therefore, the proposed reading be adopted, we shall have to suppose that two discordant readings were placed by the redactor side by side. But, however we read in Tob. i. 2, must we not admit that the introduction of a plan, otherwise unknown (in the O.T.), into the story of Elijah is improbable? Did tradition really connect the great prophet with an insignificant village? Klost., therefore, plausibly enough, proposes to read הַיְבֵשֶׁת מִיַּבֵּשׁ;¹ Jabesh in Gilead was renowned in tradition. But there is a more satisfactory solution of the problem. On Tob. i. 2 no reliance can be placed; the narrative of Tobit,

¹ Burney's objection (p. 216) that הַיְבֵשֶׁת would then have to be corrupt six times over, is of no weight. Nothing, perhaps, is more clear than that the text of the O.T. writings was harmonised with minute precision.

like so many other narratives, has been edited in such a way as to alter the historical and geographical references (see on Tobit). Both in Tob. i. 1 (reading 'Gilead') and in 1 K. xvii. 1 the 'Gilead' referred to is the southern Gilead, and תשבי represents (1) צרפתי, (2) צרפת (cp. the personal names שבתי and שפט = צרפתי and צרפת respectively). Elijah then (the name ultimately = 'Jerahmeel'), like Moses (see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' §§ 4, 17), was connected by tradition with Zarephath. This fits in perfectly with the most probable explanation of כרית (*v.* 3), and is supported even by MT. later on (see chap. xix.). See *E. Bib.*, 'Zarephath.'

The 'unintelligible' phrase (Klo.) הימים האלה should be בירחמאל, *i.e.* 'in the Negeb.' Both הימים and האלה (see on Josh. xi. 10) are current corruptions of ירחמאל. See on xviii. 1.

xvii. 3. קדמה may = רקמה, *i.e.* ירחמאל; see *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem.' At any rate, כרית (cp. כרתי, 'Cherethite') comes from רחבת, and ירדן from ירחון, another of the independent modifications of 'ירח' (see on Josh. iii., 2 S. xvii. 22).—4. MT. הקרבים. It is an old idea that the 'ravens' should perhaps be 'Arabians.' Though dismissed by Bochart, it appeared not impossible to Clericus, and it gives the most satisfactory sense (cp. Isa. xxi. 14). The 'commanding' of the ערבים corresponds with that of the אלמנה (*v.* 9). Cp. on ערב, Judg. vii. 25.—9. אלמנה. See on xi. 26.

CHAP. xviii. 1. Both שנה and שליט are found as corruptions of ישמעאל. Read probably בישמ', 'in Ishmael' = in the Negeb. Cp. on xvii. 1 (end).—3 *f.* עבדיהו perhaps from ערביהו = 'ערב ירח'; cp. on Judg. ix. 26, 2 S. vi. 10. See on *v.* 13, from which, in its corrupt form, the statement in *v.* 4 is derived.—13. Read, 'I hid of Yahwe's prophets a hundred men [Ishmaelites] in Jerahmeel.' חמשים (in *v.* 4 only once) comes most probably from ישמעאלים¹ (cp. on חבשים, Ezek. xxvii. 24); so also does איש. On מערה (= 'ירח'), see on 1 S. xxii. 1. This is a gloss. The closing words לחם ומים are, agreeably to parallels (see, *e.g.*, on

¹ Another view is possible—that חמשים here and elsewhere (*e.g.* 2 S. xxiv. 24, see p. 312) represents an original כושים. But the view adopted above is more probable; cp. on *v.* 2 *f.* [iv. 20]. ע and ח are sometimes confounded; cp. וישמע, Isa. xxxix. 2 = וישמע, 2 K. xx. 13.

iv. 7, xx. 27), three different corruptions of ירחמאל. 'Obadiah's' talkativeness is now somewhat reduced. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3860, note 6.

xviii. 19. 'Mount Carmel' should be 'the highlands of Jerahmeel,' as often. For ארבע מאות (twice over) read (ישמעאל) ערב ירחמאל; a gloss (see on 2 K. xiv. 13, and cp. on Josh. xiv. 15). The Baal prophets were of 'Arâb-jerahmeel. [ר]חמשים, *i.e.* ישמעאלים (see preceding note), is another gloss. אנלי (cp. on Isa. lxvi. 17), *i.e.* ירחמאל, is yet another. שלחן איזבל probably comes from מנחשי אי, 'diviners of Jezebel.' Observe that in *vs.* 19, 25 Ⓢ has τῆς αἰσχύτης (for MT.'s הבעל), *i.e.* הבשת. This is probably not a contemptuous substitute for הבעל, but represents another reading, viz. הקשית, 'the Cushite goddess.' The N. Arabian consort of Baal-ashtor is meant. Cp. on xv. 13, Jer. iii. 23 *f.* 'הכ' and האשרה would be parallel.

xviii. 21. Benz., Kittel, and Burney still repeat the same impossible explanations, in spite of Che. *JQR*, 1898, pp. 568 *ff.*, Jastrow, *JBL*, 1898, pp. 108 *ff.*, who have independently completed the solution begun by Klostermann. Surely סעפים does not mean either 'opinions' or 'kneecavities' (ἰγνύαι), and 'limping' for פסחים is unsuitable (see below, on *v.* 26). Read הפפים (Klo.), and render, 'How long will ye leap over both thresholds?'—*i.e.* enter with the same scrupulous awe the sanctuaries of the two rival deities. Cp. on Zeph. i. 9, 1 S. v. 1-5, and *E. Bib.*, col. 5062.—42. ויגדור. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3824 *f.*—45 *f.* The southern Jezreel is probably meant.

xviii. 26. ויפסחור, not 'limped,' scornfully (Burney), but 'danced.' See on 2 S. v. 16 (references).

CHAP. xix. 4 *f.* MT. תחת ותם אָחָה. Benz. remarks, 'The intermediate clause ויבא וישב תחת ר' א' is a later gloss; *v.* 5a ותם אחד shows clearly that this broom plant had not previously been referred to.' Neither Benz. nor Kittel, nor even Burney, discusses the difficulty about the gender of ותם (fem. in *v.* 4, masc. in *v.* 5). The latter leaves *v.* 4 untouched, but proposes to restore in *v.* 5, וישכב וישן שם, on the ground that ותם אחת in the previous verse is simply transliterated, LXX. 'Ραθμεν, Luc. ῥαθαμεν,' suggesting 'that the original text read ἐκαί alone, and that the remaining

words are a later insertion after MT.' This is possible; שם fell, perhaps, out after שן. But it does not affect the sense. On v. 4 critics have overlooked *E. Bib.*, vol. ii. (1901), col. 2647, where it is proposed to read *בְּנַחַל רְחֹבוֹת* (וישב). Of this, רחבות at any rate both may be and is right. The word has, in fact, a triple representation. In תחת and אחת the letters ה and ת, in רתם the letters ר and ת are obviously preserved. The missing ב may conceivably underlie one of the remaining letters. Further study, however, leads me to question *בנחל* (derived from Klo., who reads *מְצָרִים בְּנַחַל*, cp. xvii. 5). The parallelism of Jon. iii. 2 (see note) suggests that *דרך דרך יום* may come from *דרך יָמָן*, i.e. 'towards Yaman (Jerahmeel),' and this forcibly suggests correcting 'תחת ר' א' into *רְחֹבֹתִים*. In this case it will be best to omit *וישב* (וישכב), as an insertion from v. 5, just as in v. 5 we have to omit 'תחת ר' א' as an insertion (corruptly written) from v. 4, and to regard *ויבא* as a corruption of *ערב* (a word very often corrupted). We thus get for v. 4, *והוא הלך במדבר דרך יָמָן*, 'And he himself went into the wilderness, towards Jerahmeel [Arabia of the Rehobothites], and he requested,' etc. Then, in v. 5, we have simply to make the omission indicated and read *וישכב ויהנה וגו'*, 'And he lay down, and slept, and behold,' etc. This is, at any rate, more like an authentic text than what we now have.

xix. 8. All between *וישתה* and *חרב* is probably a transformation and deformation of the true text (note Pasek after *בנח*). Whatever view we take of the situation of Horeb, it cannot have taken Elijah 'forty days and forty nights' to get there. The statement of time is specially strange after the words 'in the strength of that (divinely provided) food.' Wi. (*GI* i. 29, note) would omit the words in question as a later insertion. This, however, becomes unnecessary, now that we know how often *ארבע* stands for *עָרַב*, and *ארבעים* for *עַרְבִים*, and that *יום* sometimes comes from *יָמָן* (see preceding note), and *לילה* from *ירחמאל*. *אכילה*, too, is suspicious. It is for *אכל, אכלה, מאכל*, says Burney (p. 209), and may be dialectical (N. Palestinian). Rather (like *אכלי* in xviii. 19) *אכילה* [ה] represents *ירחמאל*, and *היהא* has grown out of another fragment of the same word. Read

רב [ירחמאל] חרב, 'and he journeyed in his strength to Horeb the mount of the Arabians [Jerahmeel], Horeb.' The probability is, that הור אלהים, however fine a reading in itself, is not the true reading, and that the sacred mountain was originally called, sometimes the mountain of the Arabians, sometimes the mountain of Jerahmeel (לילה and אלהים, both from ירחמאל). Cp. Ex. xxiv. 18, where the original story probably had ויהי משה בהור ערבים [ירחמאל]; also on Ex. iii. 1, iv. 27. It now becomes plain how G's text came to be without the אלהים (= 'ירח') of MT.

xix. 10, 14. Read with Kittel, Stade, etc. עובד (so G). ברייתך comes from a too early written מובחתך.—15. For 'Hazel,' a N. Arabian name (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3861, note 3).

xix. 19. ירחמאל אלישע, as אליהו from ירחמאל. שפת from צפת = צרפת (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shaphat,' 'Shephathiah'). The difficulty felt by critics (*e.g.* Kittel) in משם disappears if 'Abel-meholah' (*v.* 16) is a place in the Negeb (see on Judg. vii. 22).

CHAP. xx. Ahab, suzerain of the king of Aram-cusham. Cp. Wi. *GI* i. 148, foot.—1. The name Benhadad (see on xv. 18) was perhaps assigned to a king of Aram (Jerahmeel) when the true name was unknown. Now as to the 'thirty-two kings.' Had Benhadad really so many kings about him? 'Even if we give quite a modest meaning to מלך, the number is surprising' (Kittel). In xxii. 31 we hear of 'thirty-two captains of Benhadad's chariots.' Has tradition magnified these captains into kings? This view may seem to be favoured by *v.* 24; for this passage certainly appears to assume a connection between the 'thirty-two kings' and the 'thirty-two captains.' But the explanation is not correct; it is not exaggeration but textual corruption which has been at work, and it is in the number, not in the word 'king(s),' that the error lies. The truth is that both שלשים and שנים are current corrections of ישמעאל (cp. *e.g.* 2 S. xxiii. 24, 1 K. xii. 28). Again and again we find numerals in place of ethnics (see *e.g.* on xix. 8), and this is another instance of the same phenomenon. Read את-כל-חילו ומלך ישמעאל אתו. Thus the king of Aram is accompanied by a N. Arabian

vassal called 'king of Ishmael.' For a parallel see on 2 K. xvi. 5 (Isa. vii. 1). The besieged city is Shimron (or Shamron); see on xvi. 24.

xx. 12, 16. Omit והמלכים הוא in *v.* 12; also the whole of *v.* 16 (Kittel).

xx. 15. Omit שנים ושלשים, inserted from *v.* 16.

xx. 20. 'אֶל-כּוּשׁ צִרְפַּתִּים gives no sense' (Benz.). But סוּם and פֶּרֶשׁ are, as often, corrupt. Read אֶל-כּוּשׁ צִרְפַּתִּים, 'to Cush(am) of the Zarephathites.'

xx. 23. Where was the מִישׁוֹר of Aram? Is the reference due to the recasting of the story by the redactor?—24. Is this verse a redactional insertion, to account for the thirty-two captains of chariots in xxii. 31 (see above, on *v.* 1, and Benzinger)? But if so, why is פָּחוֹת used here instead of שְׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב?

xx. 26. Aphek in the Negeb, whence the Arammites of Cusham made frequent attacks on Shimron. Cp. on Josh. xiii. 4, Judg. i. 31, 1 S. iv. 1.—27. כָּל־כְּלָיָהּ, from יִרְחַמְאֵל (gloss on אָרָם). See on 1 K. iv. 7.—29 *f.* Kittel, Stade, and Haupt point out the difficulties. The boldest solution is that of Haupt, who reads in *v.* 30 *b*, יָבֵא בֵּית חֵבֶר, 'and entered a conjugal chamber.' Clearly, we must search further, and with our present clue we can hardly go far wrong. In *v.* 29 *b*, 'וַיָּבֵא מֵאֵהָ אֶלֶף רֶגֶב' comes from [ב]יִרְחַמְאֵל גְּלַעַד, 'in Jerahmeel of Gilead, in Yaman of Jerahmeel,' a geographical gloss on אֶפְקָה, *v.* 30. After אֶפְקָה supply perhaps וַיִּשְׁפְּנוּ סִלְלָה (2 S. xx. 15), *i.e.* 'and (the Israelites) cast up a mound.' The second הַנּוֹתָרִים indicates that the preceding words, in their true form, are a gloss on that word. Read וְיָשְׁבוּ אֲשֻׁרִים וְיִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים, *i.e.* those who were left were Asshurites and Ishmaelites (the N. Aram is thus excluded). The second אֶל-הָעִיר (*v.* 30 *b*, cp. on xix. 13 [לְעִיר]) has come from בֶּן-הַדָּד; בַּחֲדָר is probably a corruption of בֶּן-הַדָּד. See, however, *E. Bib.*, 1725 (top).

CHAP. xxi. 1. נְבוֹת; see *E. Bib.*, 'Naboth.'—27. וַיִּשְׁכַּב בְּשֵׁק וַיְהִלֵּךְ אִמְתּוֹ. Here are two difficulties. (1) We do not hear elsewhere of sleeping in sackcloth; and (2) אִמְתּוֹ 'gives no tolerable sense' (Benz.). The text is corrupt. בְּמִקְדָּשׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל (ויצום).—Cp. Am. vii. 13, where (the southern) Bethel is called מִ'יִּרְחַ' (*i.e.* 'מִ'ירַח' (see

ad loc.). Elijah, does not, like Amos, reject this great southern sanctuary.

CHAP. xxii. 3. The name Ramath, doubtless, belonged to different Jerahmeelite settlements. *This* Ramoth or Ramath was probably a border-city in the southern Gilead.—6. נארבע מאות איש. Read מקרב ישמעאל. The prophets came from the whole region of 'Arāb-jerahmeel. Cp. on xviii. 19.—8, 11. The names are Negeb names. We infer this partly from the form of the names, partly from the occurrences.—26. בן המלך, *i.e.* 'son of Jerahmeel.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Hammelech.'

xxii. 28. ויאמר שמעון עמים נלם. Not in C . Most suppose that this (see Mic. i. 2) is the gloss of an early reader who identified the two prophets. But why not investigate the text before imputing such stupidity or ignorance to an early reader? Each of the above four words is one of the current corruptions of ethnics, 1 and 4 of 'Jerahmeel,' 2 of 'Ishmael' and 3 of 'Arammim.' Originally 'Jerahmeel, Ishmael' may have stood in the margin to explain who the enemies of Ahab were.—31. Omit שלשים ושנים, *i.e.* ישמעאלים (see on xx. 1); a gloss.

xxii. 34. לתמו can hardly mean 'artlessly' (*ἀφελῶς*, C^1) or 'with a good aim' (*εὐστόχως*, C^{BA}). תמול frequently (*e.g.* 2 S. xv. 20) is a corruption of ישמעאל or ירחמאל. This enables us to explain לתמו here and לתמ[ם] in 2 S. xv. 11 (see *ad loc.*). It was 'a man of Ishmael' who let go the fatal shaft.—בין הדבקים ובין השרין. בין הדבקים is obscure; the most recent explanation 'armour' (Barnes, *J. of Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1903, pp. 266 *ff.*) is scarcely better than its predecessors. Shall we read [בין שוקים] בין ירונים, where the second phrase would be a gloss on the first? Cp. Dt. xxviii. 35, where read for הירונים, הברונים.

xxii. 38. ויהלכות רחצו; C adds ברטו, an interpretative addition (so also in xxi. 19). Benz. and Kittel omit the words as a late writer's tasteless insertion. But such hypotheses are generally made without a previous criticism of the text. זנ or צנ (*צען*) is frequently the kernel of a corruption of ישמעאל; cp. on זונה (C^{BL}), applied to Jeroboam's mother, xi. 26, while חצור (*רחצו*) and צחר (see Ezek. xxvii. 18) are most probably corruptions of

אֶשְׁחֹרֵר. It is therefore plausible to read בישמ' ואשחורר 'in Ishmael and Ashhur,' and to regard this as a perfectly correct gloss on 'all the cities that he built (*v.* 39).

xxii. 47 *f.* Here the old and the new methods of criticism come into direct conflict. That the text is corrupt is generally admitted, but most take the easy course of correcting עשר into עשה on the authority of Kr., the versions, and several MSS., and reading ונציב המלך ונציב יהו' (so Stade, Benz., Kit., and nearly Klo.). The sense that results is by no means natural. 'In Edom there was no king,' leads us to expect information respecting the government of Edom, not the construction of ships, or of a ship, by a 'deputy' of whom we know nothing. The argument that the versions all presuppose עשה would be more important if this were not the easier reading. But who does not know how often $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ alters already corrupt readings by conjecture? The results of a keener criticism seem to me to be these:—(1) מלך אין probably comes from מלְאִיִּים, *i.e.* מְלָחִים. (2) אדום נצב and עזיון גבר are probably slightly different names of the same place; the former comes from אָרָם ישמעאל (for רצב, cp. צבעון = ישמעאל), the latter from ערב ישמעאל (for עזיון again cp. צבעון, and for גבר, see on iv. 19, 2 K. xv. 25). (3) מלך יהושפט possibly comes from מְלָחָה הוּא תַפְשׁ קֶשֶׁט (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 29), a gloss. (4) עשר and תרשיש come from אֶשֶׁר and אֶשְׁחֹרֵר respectively (see on x. 22); on this, אופירה is a gloss. (5) אניות represents באניה. (6) Lastly, we must prefix וַיֵּאסֵף (or the like). Thus we get the thoroughly suitable sense, 'And he gathered together mariners in Aram-ishmael [those that handle the oar] to go to Ashhur [to Ophir] for gold.; but they went not (ולא הלכי), for the ship (האניה) was wrecked at Ishmael of Arabia.'

SECOND KINGS

CHAP. i. 2-16. Here, too, it is evident that the prophetic narrator believes the chief residence of the kings of Israel to be at Shimron in the Negeb. Elijah the Tishbite (Shephathite = Zarephathite) meets the messengers of the 'king of Shimron,' who are on their way to a sanctuary beyond the limits of the Israelite territory in the Negeb, to inquire of the Ishmaelite (= Jerahmeelite) Baal (cp. on Jer. vii. 18) whether the king will recover from his illness. The narrator also believes that there is no sanctuary of Baal on Israelite soil, whereas 1 K. xvi. 32 tells us that Ahab had built a house of Baal in Shimron (cp. Am. viii. 14), and there is strong probability (see on Am. vii. 13) that Baal was worshipped in the temple at the southern Bethel. עקרון, here as elsewhere (see on 1 S. v. 10), has arisen out of a corruption of ירחמאל. בעל זבוב comes from זבול, and זבול (as in the case of the proper name, Judg. ix. 28; cp. also זורבל and זורבל) has arisen out of ישמעאל. (Cp. סביב for 'שמ' in viii. 21.) Other views are given in *E. Bib.*, 'Baalzebub,' but it is hardly possible to defend them against the text-critical arguments. 'Zebul' is one of the recognised types of textual corruption, and as an element in a name must = Ishmael. The short and simple refutation that זבול instead of זבוב has only the sanction of Sym. (βεελεζεβουλ) is of no value against the evidence from the habits of the scribes. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3862.

CHAP. ii. 1-18. That the scene is in the Negeb is shown in *E. Bib.*, col. 3862 *f.*; 'Gilgal' indicates a Jerahmeelite city; Bethel is the southern Bethel; 'Jericho' and 'Jordan' have arisen out of popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' which

had acquired an independent existence, and consequently were separate, distinctive names. For the latter, cp. on 2 K. vi. 1, vii. 15. The נחל, or even perhaps נהר of Jerahmeel, was probably 'the river of Mišrim' (Gen. xv. 18; see note). Cp. on 2 K. v. 12. In v. 8 ויגלם is corrupt; cp. on Ezek. xxvii. 24, Ps. cxxxix. 16. Read וירחמאל, a gloss on הפים. גמל corrupt in Judg. viii. 21. In v. 12 אבי was repeated by inadvertence. Read, however, אָבִין; Elisha exclaims, 'I behold the chariots of Israel and his horsemen.'

ii. 23. The mocking speech is not recorded; עלה קרח probably comes from וירחמאל, a gloss on העיר. The city was Jerahmeel (hardly Jericho?).

CHAP. iii. 4. It was most probably Mišsor which David conquered (see on 2 S. viii. 2), and of which Mesha (מישע = ישמעאל) was king. The strange statement in v. 4 that Mesha was a נקד (see Driver on Am. i. 1), and paid a tribute (השיב, frequentative) of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams 'in wool' has caused some trouble, and with all Stade's critical experience he can find no remedy. Benzinger finds something disparaging in נקד; Klost. thinks the term intimates that Mesha was by contract the king of Israel's sheep-master (cp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 29-31). The moderns (following Tg.) suppose the lambs and the rams to have been a yearly tribute; ⚡, however (ἐν τῇ ἐπιναστώσει), represents the requisition as a punishment for Mesha's rebellion. But one can hardly doubt that, as so often, the numbers are due to the misunderstanding of a scribe or editor, by whom, indeed, the whole passage has been transformed. Read, probably—

וּמִשֵּׁעַ מֶלֶךְ מִצּוֹר הָיָה נִדְחָה וְהָשִׁיב לְמֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל קְרִית-יִרְחָמָאֵל:

מִצּוֹר for מִצּוֹר is a common error; צִמֹר, at the end, represents מִצּוֹר, an early correction of מִצּוֹר. מִצּוֹר comes easily from נִדְחָה (or נִדְחָה); מִצּוֹר and מִצּוֹר are both perfectly regular distortions of יִרְחָמָאֵל; מִצּוֹר comes from קְרִית. To 'push' is to gain a victory over any one (Ps. cxviii. 13; cp. 1 K. xxii. 11). Ahab 'pushed' Mesha so hard that he had to restore the cities of Jerahmeel which had previously been occupied by Israel.

iii. 8 f. Read מְדַבֵּר אָרָם. Very possibly, too, אָרָם,

throughout this narrative, should be אָרָם. See on viii. 22, 1 K. xxii. 47.

iii. 25. In *v.* 25*a* we hear of the stopping up of the fountains and the felling of the fruit-trees; what is to be expected in *b*? Klost., Benz., and Kittel suppose a reference to the fact that only a single city remained untaken. ⚙ (Luc.) inserts *καὶ ἐξέσεισαν τὸν Μωαβ*, and continues *ἕως τοῦ μὴ καταλιπεῖν λίθον κτλ.* From this Klost. extracts 'עד לא השאיר כי אם אנשי קיר ח'. Against this see *E. Bib.*, 'Kir-heres,' where it is proposed to read *עד לא השאיר אשנל* or *עד לא השאיר אשנל* (אשנל with ⚙ and Tg. Jon.). Certainly 'the *men* of Kir-hareseth' is not in place; 'the citadel' would be better, but after the mention of the 'choice trees' we expect to hear of the destruction of the grapes (cp. Isa. xvi. 7). אשנל seems to have dropped out owing to its containing two of the letters of השאר, and one which is easily confounded with the closing letter of that word. But to emend 'קיר ח' into קרית ח is not enough, though Lagrange (*Revue biblique*, Oct. 1901, p. 529) and Nestle (*ZATW*, 1901, pp. 327 ff.) incline to חדשת (as suggested in *E. Bib.*, col. 2676), and ⚙ in Isaiah favours this view. The former thinks that the place originally bore the name קרח. The truth, however, most probably is that both 'Heres' (wherever this name occurs) and 'Hareseth' are corruptions of אשחור, 'Ashhur' (a district or region in the Negeb). Cp. on Judg. i. 34, Isa. xix. 18, also on Isa. xvi. 7, where, as here, 'Kir-hareseth' should most probably be Kir-ashhur. חרשת in Judg. iv. 2 probably comes from אשחור (so also, indeed, does אסירא).

iii. 27. Sacrifice of children, a N. Arabian practice (cp. on Jer. ii. 34).

CHAP. iv. 8. 'Shunem.' In the Negeb (see on 1 S. xxviii. 4). The parallelism between the Shunem story of Elisha and the Zarephath story of Elijah thus becomes even closer, the southern Shunem and Zarephath not being very far apart.—34. ריגוד. Read ויתגוד; see *E. Bib.*, col. 3824, top, and cp. Nestle, *Exp. T.*, Jan. 1903, also on 1 K. xvii. 21.

iv. 42. 'Baal-shalishah.' Identified with Kh. Sirisiā, 13 m. from Lydda. But the true scenes of the traditional activity of Elijah and Elisha have been much mistaken.

Where the 'land of Shalishah' (1 S. ix. 4) was, there, of course, was Baal-shalishah. It *was* an Ephraimite place, as the biblical geographers rightly say; but the Ephraim was the southern Ephraim. 'Shalishah' (= Laishah, Isa. x. 30), like Shā'ul (see on Gen. xlvi. 10) and Ishmael, was a name connected with the Negeb.—וְכַרְמֵל בְּצֵקֵלְנוֹ. See *E. Bib.*, 'Sack.' Ⓢ presupposes וְדַבְלִים (cp. 1 S. xxv. 18); 'cakes of figs' would be quite suitable here. But we can hardly say with Klost. that וְדַבְלִים = וְכַרְמֵל, and that Ⓢ(B) omits בְּצֵקֵלְנוֹ. It is MT. which has dropped וְדַבְלִים. וְכַרְמֵל וְכַרְבֵּי בְּצֵ' probably represents בְּנֵי יִשְׁמַעֵאל (see on צֵלַק, 2 S. xxiii. 37) כַּרְמֵל, 'to Carmel of the Ishmaelites,' a geographical gloss. 'Carmel' (as in 1 K. xviii. 42, etc.) = 'har Yerahme'el'; Gilgal (see on ii. 1) was in the Israelite territory in the Negeb; in fact, whether we place the temporary residence of Elisha at Gilgal or at Carmel makes no difference. Either term probably indicates the same well-defined district in the highlands of Jerahmeel. The renderings 'garment' (Tg., Pesh.), 'sack' or 'wallet' (Tg.) are pure guesses, even though philology has been called upon to give them a degree of plausibility. On Ⓢ^a, βακελλεθ, see Lagarde, *Mitteil.* i. 212; *Arm. Stud.* § 333, but note that βακαλαθ in some MSS. of Ⓢ = MT.'s בְּצֵלְצַח, 1 S. x. 2, where 'צֵל', like שֶׁלֶשָׁה has to be grouped with יִשְׁמַעֵאל.

CHAP. v. 1-27. The healing of Naaman, general of the king of Aram (= Jerahmeel). As Ⓢ^b suggests (καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν λεπρός), גְּבוּרַת הַיֵּל forms no part of the original text. We cannot, however, say that it is a gloss on אִישׁ גְּבוּרַת, which, in fact, requires no gloss. Read אִישׁ הָיָה מְצָרִי [יְרוּחַמְאֵלִי]; 'יְרוּחַ' is a gloss on מְצָרִי. The key to the passage is supplied by 1 S. ix. 1, where 'ח' ג' represents יְרוּחַמְאֵלִי, a gloss on יְמִינִי, and by passages (xv. 5, 1 K. xi. 26, 2 S. ii. 18) in which מְצָרַע, צְרוּעָה, צְרוּרָה are corruptions of מְצָרִי, מְצָרִיָּה; cp. also on vi. 32, 1 K. vii. 14, xvii. 9, and see *E. Bib.*, cols. 2404, note 2, 5243, 5414. The passage is partly important as showing the early date of the confusion between מְצָרַע and מְצָרִי. Possibly there was an Israelitish story that the מְצָרִים were lepers (cp. Manetho on the Exodus, Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 26 *f.*). At the same time it is plain from this confusion that the Elisha-narratives, in a form

resembling the present, arose long after the supposed period of the events. For this confusion is not an error of comparatively minor importance; it is the real parent of the narrative. If Naaman was not a leper, the whole story of his intercourse with Elisha falls to pieces. But though relatively recent, the narrative was clearly written by some one who knew that Elisha's sphere of activity was in the Negeb. This appears from the contrast in *v.* 12 (MT.) between 'Dammeseḱ' and 'Israel.' We have no right to assume that 'Damascus' was occasionally the name of a country. From other passages, critically viewed, we know that דמשק is often miswritten for נושם, or rather ארם-נוש. Now 'Cusham' (or rather Aram-cush) is the name of a N. Arabian region. Consequently the author of this narrative, though he misread מצרע for מצרי in some earlier writing or collection of anecdotal stories, was aware that Naaman was a southern Aramæan, and that Elisha was a prophet of the Negeb. In fact, Naaman's name, with which compare Naam, ben Caleb, and Naamah, bath Lamech (= Jerahmeel), marks him out as a N. Arabian. It is no objection to this view that the region in which Elisha dwells is called 'the land of Israel.' For the Negeb was the earliest land of Israel, the land where the patriarchs were reputed to have lived and to have been buried, the land containing the most sacred mountain and the most venerated sanctuaries of Yahwè. There, too, was the favourite residence of the kings of Israel; the king as well as the greatest prophet of Israel is represented as dwelling in Shimron.

v. 3. Point שְׁמֵרוֹן. By 'Shimron,' however, is meant here, not the place called Shimron, but the Israelitish Negeb (cp. 1 K. xiii. 32, 2 K. xvii. 26, xxiii. 19). See on *v.* 24.—10, 14. For בְּיַרְדֵּן read בְּיַרְחֵמָאֵל. One of the נְחָלִים or נְהָרוֹת of the Negeb is meant. See on ii. 6, Gen. i. 11.

v. 11. See 'Addenda.'—12. The נְהָרוֹת of Aram-cush, according to Naaman, are 'better' than any of the streams of the land of Israel. Their names are given as Abanah or Amanah and Parpar. The problem of the 'rivers of Damascus' (?) thus becomes geographically shifted. Two points are highly probable. 1. We may regard 'Amanah' as one of the many independent popular distortions of 'Jerah-

meel,' and connect 'Parpar' with 'Ephrath' or 'Perath.' Cp. on Gen. xv. 18. 2. The region called דַּמְשֶׁק, or rather אֲרָם-קֵשׁ, is that which, in the Paradise story, is called נֶגֶשׁ, and said to adjoin *gan 'eden*. Among the four rivers (נְהַר) of *gan 'eden* are Hiddekel, or, rather Jerahmeel, and Perath or Ephrath. These two streams correspond with Amanah and Parpar. No wonder, then, that Naaman insists on the special sanctity of his own streams. Evidently he does not hold that the stream called Jerahmeel belonged to the Israelitish territory in the Negeb. (What 'Negeb' means, we do not for certain know; see, however, Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, ii. 184, note 2). We cannot state what river-names of our own day correspond with these ancient names.—13. אֲבִי is surely not from אִם אִם (Kittel), but from a dittographed עֲבָדִי.

v. 18 *f.* רַמּוֹן, to the redactor, no doubt, the (Canaanite, Babylonian, and Assyrian) Ramman, but properly the name of the god of Aram—an early corruption of יְרוּחַמָּאל. Cp. Zeph. i. 5, and *E. Bib.*, 'Rimmon.'—22. מְהַר אֲפְרַיִם. The southern Ephraim is meant; the highlands of Jerahmeel were the great prophetic centre (see *E. Bib.*, 'Prophet,' §§ 6, 13).—נְבִרַת אֲרָץ. No learning can explain this satisfactorily; see on Gen. xxxv. 16 (xlvi. 7). The key is supplied by נְרִיחַ (1 K. xvii. 3) and נְרִיחַי (1 S. xxx. 14); cp. also εἰς δεξιά τῆς γῆς. נְבִרַת and δεξιά both come from נְרַבַּת, *i.e.* דְּרָבָה רְחֹבַת; נְרַב (נְרַח) fell out, as if dittographed. אֲרָץ either comes from עִיר, and this (as in עִיר, Gen. x. 11) from עָרַב, or from מְצַר. The sense is, 'he went towards Arabian Rehoboth.'

v. 24. אֶל-הַעֲפָלָה. Benz. remarks that σκοτεινόν confounds עֲפָלָה with אֶפְלָה. But this implies that עֲפָלָה is correct. In *E. Bib.*, col. 3513, הַמְעֵלָה is suggested (the stairs leading to Gehazi's chamber). This is at least a step in the right direction. For most probably הַעֲפָלָה (like עֲפָלָה in Mic. iv. 8 and elsewhere, and אֶלְפָה often) comes ultimately from יְרוּחַמָּאל. We have seen already that the much-disputed מְלֹא has this origin, and means 'acropolis' (see on 1 K. ix. 15). It may perhaps be the acropolis of Shimron that is here meant. In Meshah's inscr., ll. 21 *f.* (cp. Cooke, pp. 2 *f.*), קְרוּחָה, יְעֹרֹן, and עֲפָלָה may all be synonyms for the

acropolis, and all ultimately have the same origin. עפל may be a constant scribe's and stone-cutter's error.

CHAP. vi. 2. 'Let us go to Jordan,' *i.e.* to the plain of the Jordan (Benz. Kittel). Read rather ירחמאל; cp. on ii. 1-18, vii. 15. Forest or jungle-land extended to the 'river of Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* the stream bordering the Negeb, but commonly regarded (see on v. 12) as belonging to Aram-cush.

vi. 8. Read אל-מקום ירחמאל, 'at a place in Jerahmeel' (*i.e.* in the Israelite Negeb). Cp. on Ruth iv. 1, 1 S. xxi. 3.

vi. 13. There was a Dothan in the Negeb (see on Gen. xxxvii. 17). Evidently it was near Shimron. The northern Dothan was *not* near Samaria; a distance of 10 m. will certainly not suit *vs.* 19 *f.*

vi. 25. For ראש חמור it is plausible to read עֲדָשִׁים חֹמֶר, and for חרי יונים to read חֲרוֹבִים, 'pods of the carob tree.' See *Expos.* July 1899, p. 33; *E. Bib.*, cols. 1130, 1980, and cp. on 2 K. xviii. 27. The existing text (however well attested) is impossible. Winckler (*Krit. Schr.* ii. 35) accepts חֹמֶר, and Stade חרובים. P. Haupt's objection to חמר (in *Kings*, *SBOT*) seems to me answered by himself. At the same time, it is a singular fact that nearly all the words in *v.* 25*b* occur again and again in corrupt passages. It is almost certain that *v.* 25*b* is made up of geographical glosses, stating where Shimron was. Read—עיר חמת אשר ירחמאל—בישמ' נָשֵׁם עָרְב ירחמאלים בישמ' נָשֵׁם.

That is, 'a city of Hamath (Maacath), Asshur-jerahmeel, in Ishmael-cusham, Jerahmeelite Arabia, in Ishmael-cusham.' It is becoming plain that at a comparatively late period in the development of our Kings, it was known that Shimron was in the N. Arabian border-land. Cp. on xviii. 27*b*.

vi. 32 *f.* בן-המריצה. Who is the murderer? Jehu (Kuenen)? Cp. Hos. i. 4. Or is it the reigning king himself; the faults of the son being imputed to the father (Winckler)? Surely neither view is satisfactory. The case is exactly parallel to 2 S. xix. 23, 'What have I to do with you, ye sons of Mišri?' For מצריה read מצריה (cp. צרויה from מצרי, note on 2 S. ii. 13, and see on v. 1-27. The Mišrites must have been noted for their fierceness. The 'Mišrite woman' referred to is presumably Jezebel (1 K.

xvi. 31); the king, her son, is Jehoram.—In *v.* 33 read, of course, **הַמֶּלֶךְ**, with all recent critics (cp. Burney). Cp. Kittel (*SBOT*) on 1 Chr. xxi. 20, and note in *Ges.-Bu.*, *s.v.* מֶלֶךְ.

CHAP. vii. 6. A large survey of text-critical facts is here indispensable. Not the kings of the Hittites, but the kings of the Rehobothites are meant, and not the kings of the N. Syrian Muşri (Hommel, Winckler, followed by Benz., Kittel, Burney), but those of Muşri in N. Arabia are meant. These were the nearest allies whom Israel could obtain. See, however, Winckler, *Krit. Schriften*, ii. 16 *f.*

vii. 15. Read **עַד-יְרַחֲמַל** (see on ii. 1-18, vi. 2). The stream of Jerahmeel may be meant.

CHAP. viii. 1 *ff.* Elisha (who lives at Shimron) sends the Shunammitess (see on iv. 8, 2 S. xxviii. 4) out of the land because of a famine which he predicts. So she goes into the land of the Zarephathites ('Philistines') for some years, and then returns. Cp. the story of Ruth, and *E. Bib.*, 'Shunem.'

viii. 7 *ff.* Elisha, Damascus, Hazael; so Elijah, Damascus, Hazael (1 K. xix. 15). 'Damascus' comes from 'Cusham'; Hazael (see on 1 K. *l.c.*) is a N. Arabian name. In *v.* 12 the close of the description, as given in MT. and **Ⲅ**, is too highly coloured; the redactor has produced it out of a corrupt text. Read **וְהִקְלִיָּהֶם תְּרַצֵּן** וְקִרְיָתֵיהֶם תִּבְקַע. Cp. on xv. 16*b*, Am. i. 13, Hos. xiv. 1, Isa. xiii. 16. On מַכְבֵּר in *v.* 15 Benz. remarks, 'What the *makkēr* is, we do not know.' True, because the word is non-existent. **Ⲅ**^l, Aq., Sym. give τὸ στρώμα, *i.e.* הַמְרִיבָד. Cp. on נָבִיר, 1 S. xix. 13, 16. So *E. Bib.*, col. 510.

viii. 20-24. Stade, whom Burney unfortunately overlooks, has done the most for this passage, on which he remarks that few passages are so well adapted to impress us with the problematical character of most conjectures on the MT. But his own recent article (*ZATW*, 1901, pp. 337 *ff.*), which partly corrects, partly supplements, his note in *GVI* i. 537, can hardly be called decisive in its results. A somewhat new point of view, which presupposes a fuller study of the habits of the scribes, and a recognition of at least the most obvious of the textual references to N.

Arabian interferences in the affairs of Judah, is shown by his paper to be urgently required. From such a point of view we seem to reach the following result, beginning by taking a hint from S 's *ἀνεβη*. ויעל יורם מצודה וכל-הרכב עמו. ויכו אתו [אָרָם] ישמעאלים ואת שרי הרכב וגו' לילה ויהי-הוא קם לילה has arisen out of a badly written corruption of ירחמאלים, which should have been the subject of ויכו, but was written too soon, and that הסביב אליו (which has caused Stade so much trouble) has come from ישמעאלים (ישמעאל often covers over סביב). Thus it was not Joram who defeated the Arammites, but the Arammites who routed the Israelites. We must also read אָרָם for אָדוּם in *v.* 20 (cp. on iii. 8 *f.*). Mişşor may be a N. Arabian town, and is perhaps the ציער of Josh. xv. 54 (see *E. Bib.*, 'Zior').

CHAP. ix. 2. Jehu, who attains distinction in the war with the southern Arammites, is called 'son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi.' 'Shaphat' (1 K. xix. 19) no doubt represents 'Zephath' or 'Zarephath'; for the prefix יהו, see on 1 K. xxii. 42. Nimshi = Ishmîn = Ishmael (ישמעאל). Probably Jehu (like Joab) was a native of the Negeb, which was the home and nursery of bold adventurers.

ix. 25. בדקר. Probably for בן-דקר, *i.e.* בן-רֶכָב (see on 1 K. iv. 9). Pesh., בר דקר. Saul's son had a guerilla leader named Rechab (2 S. iv. 2), and Jehu himself was in covenant with Jehonadab, ben Rechab (x. 15). But cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Bidkar.'

ix. 27. במעלה-גור אשר את-יבלעם. The geography has to be revised. Gur-baal in 2 Chr. xxvi. 7 is the name of a place inhabited by Arabians; Dozy explained it as = Gedor-baal (enclosure of Baal), but more probably it is a corruption of Jerahmeel. Ma'aleh-gur may receive a similar explanation. An independent corruption of the same name is, no doubt, 'Ibleam' (ἰεκβλααμ, S^B). This place is generally (and rightly) identified with the 'Bileam' of 1 Chr. vi. 55, which is one of the Levitical cities of Manasseh. We must not, however, hastily infer that the 'Bileam' intended is Bel'āmeḥ, a little S. of Jenîn (cp. on xv. 10). There is good reason to think that here, as in some other cases, the Chronicler (like P) has used geographical documents which referred to the Negeb, but which he wrongly supposed to

refer to N. Israel. Certainly, in Gen. xiv. 24, Aner, with which Bileam is grouped in Chr., is a Hebronite (*i.e.* Rehobothite) name. Not improbably it comes from אַנַּק [בֵּית-], better known as תַּעֲנַךְ (Taanach). מַגְדוּ here, as again and again elsewhere, comes from מַגְדָּל (cp. on xxiii. 29), a decidedly Jerahmeelite name. Lastly, as to בֵּית-הַגָּן. The critics rightly identify this with עֵין-גַּנִּים, Josh. xix. 21, but it needs to be added that the list of Issacharite names in Josh. xix. 18-22 seems to have been derived from a list of Negeb names. Were the names originally Negeb names, but transferred by the Issacharites? At any rate, a Bethgannim or En-gannim may safely be said to have existed in the Negeb. Most probably the true form is Beth-guni (בֵּית-גֻּנִי) or Ir-guni (עִיר-גֻּנִי). Cp. on Gen. xlv. 24.

ix. 34-37. Whether this is the original story seems doubtful. Did the dogs really leave the feet and the palms of the hands? The text may have been recast. גַּלְגַּלֹּת may possibly come from גַּלְעָד (cp. on גַּלְתָּ, Am. i. 6, Ob. 20), רַגְלִים from גַּלְעָדִים (cp. on רַגְלִים, the home of a Gileadite, 2 S. xvii. 27), נַפְוֹת יָדַיִם from נַפְוֹת יְרֵחוֹ (Tappuah = Nephtoah, an important place in the Negeb). There may have been a movement of those friendly to Ahab and Jezebel, which Jehu had to crush. This would help further to explain the cruelties referred to in x. 1-8. Observe that in 1 K. xxi. 17 ff. the reference to the fate of Jezebel is plainly a redactional insertion. In our passage, *vv.* 36 *f.* may also be redactional.

CHAP. x. 1. The gloss-theory has here been overdone by Stade (*ZATW*, 1885, pp. 279 *f.*, also 'Kings' in *SBOT*). As Kittel points out, *v.* 1*b* could hardly form the beginning of a narrative. Add to this, that the section abounds in words which create more or less difficulty to the interpreter, and which are among those which most frequently come into MT. through corruption. This is already the case with *v.* 1*a*. Kittel would alter לַאֲחָאב into לַמֶּלֶךְ. This is a violent step, and it does not achieve its object. For Jehoram can scarcely have had seventy sons. Comparing note on the second אַחָאב and on Judg. xii. 14, it is best to read (*v.* 1*a*) בְּנֵי יְרֵחוֹ [יְשַׁמְעָאֵל] בְּשִׁמְרוֹן. This must be a fragment of a passage relative to the

existence in Shimron of a royal body-guard consisting of Jerahmeelites or Ishmaelites. The reference in *v. 1b* to 'Jezreel' is wrong; read (with G^L , Benz., Kit., *E. Bib.* 2355, and Burney) אֵל שָׂרֵי הָעִיר וְאֵל. האמנים אחאב. Probably insert 'בנ' (G^L , Klo., Benz., Kit., Burney). This, however, is not enough. Kittel and (virtually) Benz. would change אֵל into המלך. But אמנים has also to be questioned. In *v. 5* האמנים is || to הוֹקְנִים. Evidently the word (G , οἱ τιθηνοί) is wrong, and remembering אלמן, אמנה, corruptions of ירחמאל (see on *v. 12*, 1 K. xi. 26, xvii. 9), we should most probably read [בְּנֵי יִרְחָמָאֵל] יָמָנִים, 'Yamanites' (gloss, 'sons of Jerahmeel'); so, in *v. 5*, הַיִּמָּנִים.—In *v. 6* אִישׁ שְׁבָעִים should be יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים (see on *v. 1a*)—a gloss on the text underlying the following words אֶת-גְּדָלִי הָעִיר. את-גְּלָעָדִים מְעַרְבַּת. מגדלים אותם, *i.e.* [גְּלָעָדִים מְעַרְבַּת]. The royal princes were guarded by Gileadites from Arabia (cp. on xv. 25).—In *v. 7* אִישׁ יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים (underlying אִישׁ שְׁבָעִים) is a gloss on אֱלֹהֵיהֶם.—In *v. 11*, for גְּדָלִיו וּמִידְעָיו וְכַהֲנָיו read גְּלָעָדָיו וְאֲרָמִיו וְקִנִּיזָיו, 'his Gileadites, his Arammites, and his Kenites.'—The southern Shimron and Jezreel are referred to.

x. 12-14. בית-עקד, בית-עקד הרעים. 'Certainly "Beth-Eked of the shepherds on the way" still remains obscure' (Kittel). A solitary building is generally thought to be meant. In *E. Bib.*, 'Beth-eked,' it is proposed to read בֵּית-נִקְדִים, and to take הרעים as a gloss on the somewhat rare word 'נ'. Prof. Torrey, it is true, thinks עקד the last word to suspect (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1900, in review of *E. Bib.*), but on what ground? The discovery of the frequent corruption of ירחמאל, however, opens up fresh possibilities or probabilities. עקר in 1 Chr. ii. 27, בְּנֵי-נִקְדִים (Am. i. 1), and הרעים in Am. i. 2 all come from ירחמאל. How probable, therefore, it is that בית-עקד (cp. עקרון) comes from בֵּית-יִרְחָמָאֵל, and that הרעים (= 'ירח') was originally a correction of the miswritten word עקד! This suits the view of the revolution of Jehu as an event which occurred in the Negeb, which a combination of reasons forces upon us. Should we not read בְּדֶרֶךְ בֵּית-יִרְחָאֵל?—13. לְשָׁלוֹם. All the versions agree. But such an elliptical expression is very improbable. Doubtless we should read לְיִשְׁמָאֵל, 'to Ishmael, *i.e.* Beth-ishmael or B.-jerahmeel,

one of the chief places in the Negeb (cp. on 2 S. xv. 17). 'בני המלך וגו' may be a gloss on בני אחוז.—14. For ארבעים read ערבים ישמעאליים, glosses on עקד; cp. הרעים (= 'ירח') in *v.* 12. Cp. on Judg. xii. 14, 2 S. xxiii. 18.

x. 15. Note the alliance between Jehu and the Rechabites, whose haunts were in the Negeb. 'Nadab' is a N. Arabian name (see *E. Bib.*, 'Nadab,' 'Nodab'). The prefix יהו = יחו = 'ירח'. The original text probably stated that Jehonadab was a man of the Negeb. יש יש may come from ישמעאלי, 'an Ishmaelite' (*i.e.* Jerahmeelite), a gloss. The usual explanation (see *e.g.* Burney) is hardly natural.

x. 22. המלתחה. The sense 'wardrobe' has no sound basis. הלשכה is plausible; the worshippers would collect in the hall of the temple (1 S. ix. 22). See *E. Bib.*, 'Vestry.' Now, however, that we know that the N. Arabian god is called in the O.T. not only הבעל but ירחמאל (see *e.g.* on Zeph. i. 5), it is difficult not to suppose that מלתחה comes from מלרח, *i.e.* ירחמאל, and to restore בית ירחמאל. Cp. Ⲙ^{B} , τῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου Μεσθααλ [Μελθααλ, see Kittel].

x. 25 ff. See Klost. (followed in *E. Bib.*, col. 2356, note 5); Stade, *ZATW*, 1885, pp. 278 *f.*; Lagrange, *Rel. Sémi.* 204, note 3. In *v.* 25 שלישים represents probably ישמעאליים, a gloss on רצים, which (see on xi. 4) comes from צרפתים. Cp. the case of הפלשתי הערל (1 S. xvii. 26, 36), where הירח = 'הערל', a gloss on פלשתי. See *E. Bib.*, col. 3812, note 2.—In *v.* 26 read וישברוקה, for וישרפורה.—In *v.* 27 for מצבת read מןבחה (see 1 K. xvi. 33); so Stade, Benz., Kit., Burney.—In *v.* 27 for למחוראת (so Kt.) read probably מןחברות (Ezek. xxix. 12).

x. 32 *f.* Hazael is a N. Arabian king, and the land which he covets is the Negeb. He makes devastating inroads into all the territory of Israel in the Negeb, 'from (the wady or stream of) Jerahmeel eastward, all the land of Gilead,' and this southern Gilead is further defined as 'the Gadite (region), the Reubenite, and the Manassite, from Aroer (?) which is by the wady of Arnon (?), both Gilead and Cushan.' בישן for בישן (see on Num. xxi. 33) is a common error. Gad, Reuben, and Manasseh were partly settled in the Negeb. Cp. on Dt. iii. 15-17, 2 S. xxiv. 5-7, 2 K. xiv.

25, 28; note also 'ben-Gadi' (?), the name of a successful usurper, a native of the Negeb, xv. 14.

CHAP. xi. 1. Plausible as it is to explain עתליה 'Yahwè is great, or high' (cp. Ass. etellu, *E. Bib.*, col. 380), the daughter of Jezebel (= Ishmael) ought to have a N. Arabian name. And so she has. In 1 Chr. viii. 26 'Athaliah' is a son of Jehoram (Jarham = Jerahmeel), and in Ezra viii. 7 'Athaliah' belongs to the b'ne Elam (= b'ne Jerahmeel).

xi. 4. 'Jehoiada' is a Negeb name; cp. 'Jada,' 1 Chr. ii. 28, 32; 'Jedaiah,' Ezra ii. 36, etc. Cp. 2 S. xx. 23 (corrected text), where two alternative descriptions of Benaiah are given, 'son of Jehoiada, and 'son of a man of Jerahmeel.'—לְכָרִי. The generally received view of הכרי is most doubtful; 'Carians' have no place among the warriors of Israel. The term only occurs three times, viz. in *vs.* 4, 19, and 2 S. xx. 23 (where the כר. is הַכְרָתִי). Presumably כרי is a corruption of כרתי; but the original *might* be רכבי, 'Rechabite' (cp. on ix. 25), or כרמי, 'Carmite' = 'Jerahmeelite' (cp. on אמנים, x. 1). The רצים spoken of (see also 1 S. xxii. 17, 2 K. x. 25, but not 1 K. i. 5, referred to by Burney) are probably, says Ges.-Rödiger (*Thes.* 1278b), identical with the 'Pelethites.' He might have added that רצים probably comes from צרפתים. Considering the corruptness of כרתי and פלתי (terms similar to רצים), we can hardly (with Prof. Paul Haupt) illustrate רצים, 'runners,' by Ass. *zūk šepā*, 'rush of feet,' i.e. 'infantry.' (In *Textbuch*⁽²⁾, p. 46, Winckler renders Sennacherib's Prism Inscription iii. 16, 'the attack of' *zūk šepā* troops.)

xi. 6. Since one third of the soldiers is mentioned in *v.* 5, and the two other thirds are referred to in *v.* 7, the intermediate verse must be superfluous. It may have grown up in this way. בשר סור in בשר סור is a corruption either of סום (סוסים)—Benz. has already suggested this—or of צרפתים. בשר הרצים also comes from בשר צרפתים, the proper place of which is at the end of *v.* 5; אחר is a corruption of ירוחמאלים, a gloss on רצים which we need not take account of. ושמתם was originally שמרי, as in *v.* 6 (a dittogram with what follows); it was altered when the disconnected groups of words were worked up together. מסח is possibly

a corruption of **מש[מר]ת**, another repetition. The reason for the mention of the 'gate of the Zarephathites' will appear presently (see on *v.* 16).

xi. 16. **סוסיים**, as often (*e.g.* 1 K. v. 6), is a corruption of **נושים**. The 'horse-gate' (2 Chr. xxiii. 13, || passage) is really the 'gate of the Cushites,' *i.e.* the gate by which the Cushite mercenaries entered the royal palace. Near this gate the soldiers were to assemble (*v.* 6, see above).

CHAP. xii. 18. **גת**, as so often, is a corruption of **רחבות**; evidently there has been a harmonising process. Rehoboth would seem to have escaped when Hazael made that earlier expedition into the Negeb which is referred to in x. 32 *f.* The next thing was to reduce Judah to vassalage. Was Hazael anticipating a possible Assyrian invasion?

xii. 21. **בית מלך הירד סלף**, 'unintelligible' (Ki.), 'unmeaning' (Benz.). The theories of the commentators do not go to the heart of the matter. It has not been recognised that **מלך** (**מאל**) is a frequent representative of **למלך**, also (for this, there are parallels enough) that **הירד סלף** is another corruption of the same word. **Σ^U**'s rendering (*ἐν οἴκῳ Μαλλων*) τῷ ἐν τῇ καταβάσει Ἀλλων represents another corrupt reading, **במורד אלון**. The **Γααλλα** or **Γααλαδ** of **Σ^{BA}** would seem to point to **גלעד**; if genuine, this would mean the southern, not (as Wi. *GI* i. 178) the trans-Jordanic Gilead. But one may perhaps doubt the correctness of the Greek text. So, then, the place where Joash was slain was called Beth-jerahmeel. It must have been some building in Jerusalem, and was perhaps devoted to the N. Arabian troops (*cp.* on **אמנים**, x. 1). See, further, *E. Bib.*, 'Millo,' and (on the N. Arabian names of the 'servants' of Joash) 'Shimeath,' 'Shomer.'

CHAP. xiii. 5. The deliverance concerned the Israelites in the Negeb. For **נתמול שלשם** read **בירחמאל [ישמעאל]**; 'יש' is a gloss on 'ירח', 'Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* the Negeb. *Cp.* on 1 S. x. 11, xiv. 21, xix. 7, Mic. ii. 8, Ps. xc. 4; see also on Isa. xxx. 33.

xiii. 17. 'Aphék.' See on 1 K. xx. 26.—22. The addition in **Σ^L** (critically treated) states that Hazael had taken the Zarephathite territory 'from his hand' (= from

Jehoahaz), from the Arabian Jerahmeel as far as Aphek (cp. xiv. 25). Cp. on xii. 18.—25. The reference is to cities in the Negeb.

CHAP. xiv. 2. Amaziah's mother was יהוועד[י]ן ערן is a Jerahmeelite name (see on xix. 12); ידור perhaps comes from ירח, *i.e.* ירחמאל. For second 'ירוש' read ישמעאל (*i.e.* Beth-jerahmeel in the Negeb). Cp. on xv. 2, and see *E. Bib.*, col. 5240, note 1.

xiv. 7. אדום should be אָדָם; מלח is a popular corruption of ירחמאל; יקתאל comes from ישמעאל (cp. on תקל, Dan. v. 25). 'Kadesh-barnea' may be meant. The name was already corrupt when *v.* 7 was written. See *E. Bib.*, 'Joktheel.'—8 *ff.* Amaziah covets the Negeb. A battle with Joash follows at 'Beth-cusham which belongs to Jerahmeel' (*v.* 11). Jeroboam II. recovered this place for Israel (see *v.* 28). For בית שמש read בית נָשָׁם (1 S. vi. 9). For ליהודה read לירחמאל (cp. on *vs.* 21, 28). The 'Lebanon' of *v.* 9 is the southern Lebanon in the Negeb (cp. on Jer. xxii. 6). Note that both the 'thistle' (Amaziah) and the 'cedar' (?) (Jehoash) are in Lebanon. That ירושלם is rightly read, appears beyond doubt; the two gates mentioned are well-known gates of Jerusalem, and the 'house of Yahwè' can hardly be any other than the temple at Jerusalem. Nevertheless, ארבע מאות אמה is suspicious; א' מ' in Gen. xv. 13, 1 K. xviii. 19 represents 'ערב ירה' or 'ערב ישמ', and [ה]אמה in 2 S. ii. 24, viii. 1 = ירחמאל. In the light of more directly certain facts we can hardly avoid correcting 'ערב ירה', a topographical gloss on בית שמש, corresponding to the אשר ליהודה of *v.* 11.—14. Probably שמרון here = Samaria.

xiv. 19 *ff.* *Vs.* 19-22 belong to a different document from *vs.* 7-14 (see Kittel). According to this source, a league of Jerahmeelite kings, the chief of whom is called king of Jerahmeel (see on *v.* 21), but with more precision might have been called king of Mišsor, so alarmed Amaziah that he fled to Eshcol (in the Negeb). Apparently he was at this time residing in the Negeb. The crown prince Azariah, however, was captured, and, after his father had been slain, was raised to the throne by his captor, 'the king of Jerahmeel.' For 'בירוש' (*v.* 19) read בישמעאל, 'in Ishmael'

= 'in Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* in the more distant part of the Jerahmeelite region called Mišsor. For לְכִישָׁה read אֲשַׁנְלָה (see on Mic. i. 13, Num. xiii. 23 *f.*).—עַל-סוּסִים also needs correction. כָּל-הַנוֹשִׁים (*E. Bib.*, col. 5242) is possible. כָּל and עַל, סוּס and נוֹש are sometimes confounded. כָּל, however, is not quite natural. More probably we should read הַאֲשַׁנְלִים. This may be a little more obvious if עַל be taken as a corruption of כָּל. It is, however, also possible that סוּסִים represents הַנוֹשִׁים, and that עַל comes from אֵל; *i.e.* 'הַאֲשַׁנְלִים' may have been broken into two pieces. The sense produced is excellent, 'the Eshcolites (among whom Amaziah had come) bore him [to Jerusalem], and he was buried in Jerusalem.'

xiv. 21. וַיִּקְחוּ כָל-עַם יְהוּדָה. Why כָּל? and why יְהוּדָה? Contrast xxi. 24, xxiii. 30, עַם הָאָרֶץ. Remembering the tendency of the scribes to confound מֶלֶךְ and מֶלֶאך (cp. on vi. 33), and to write יְהוּדָה for 'יָרֵחַ' (*i.e.* יִרְחָמָאֵל), it is natural to read here וַיִּקְחָה מֶלֶךְ יִרְחָמָאֵל. If so, the appointment of Azariah as king was due to the king of Jerahmeel (here = Mišsor), of whom we shall hear again presently. Cp. xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17.

xiv. 22. הוּא בָנָה אֶת-אֵילָת. The mention of Elath here is very unexpected, and has been the occasion of much acute but premature theorising. Klost. alone has suspected the text. Adapting a suggestion of this critic, let us read הוּא הֵבִיא אֹתוֹ בְּאֵלוֹת וַיִּשְׁבַּח ל' (cp. Ezek. xvii. 13). Azariah, then, took a solemn oath of fealty to his captor the king of Jerahmeel or Mišsor as a condition of his being allowed to return to Judah after the death of Amaziah.

xiv. 25. Hamath, as so often, = Maacath; יַם הָעֲרָבָה should probably be יַמֵּן עֲרָב, 'Yaman (Jerahmeel) of Arabia' (cp. on 'עַר', Dt. i. 1); יוֹנָה comes from יִנְיָ (= Yemāni = Jerahmeelite); אֲמָתִי is a corruption of מַעְקָתִי. Gath = Rehoboth; Hopher, too, is a southern name. See on Book of Jonah (introd.). It was Jeroboam's good fortune to recover a large part of the Negeb for Israel (see on v. 28); Amos, however,—a prophet of the Negeb,—foresaw that this would only be for a time (see on Am. vi. 14).

xiv. 26. מוֹרָדָה מְאֹד. Another proof of the inadequacy of the old methods. Kamphausen, Kittel, Burney, read

מר הוא, '[that] it was bitter.' Of course, מורה as in Gen. xii. 6, etc. = ירחמאל, and מאד = ארם. It is a twofold gloss either on מנת החפר (v. 25, end) or on the corrupt ליהודה (v. 28).

xiv. 28. Read ואשר השיב את-כושם ואת-מענת-ירחמאל לישראל. 'The addition "for Judah" is absolutely unintelligible; there must be corruption, but all attempts to treat it are vain. It is best simply to delete the word; how it came in, we cannot tell' (Kittel). Klost.'s attempt (by rearranging letters) is no doubt unsuccessful, but experience (see *e.g.* Judg. xix. 1 *f.*) shows that יהודה was liable to be confounded with ירחמאל = ירח'. Historically the correction is of great importance. Judahite territory in the region of the northern Hamath never existed (cp. Wi. *AOF* i. 1 *ff.*; *GI* i. 147). Winckler proposes to render השיב, 'drove back' (cp. Isa. xxviii. 6, xxxvi. 9). But it is difficult (as Wi. admits) to do this in the face of xiii. 25, xiv. 25. It is equally difficult to read השיב את-דמת י, 'he turned away the anger of Yahwè,' with Burney. השיב here can only mean 'recovered.' The narrator tells us that it was Jeroboam who recovered the region of Cusham and that of Maacath (in Jerahmeel) for Israel. Cp. on *vs.* 25 *f.*

CHAP. xv. 1 *f.* On the name Azariah, see *E. Bib.*, col. 5240, note 1. Azar or Ezer was a clan in the Negeb.

xv. 2. The queen-mother was a Jerahmeelite (מישם; cp. on xiv. 2). ירדהו, connected no doubt with ירחמאל.

xv. 5 *f.* Nothing is said here of Azariah's wars. According to 2 Chr. xxvi. Uzziah (= Azariah) was much engaged in warfare in the south (see *E. Bib.*, 'Uzziah,' § 3). Textual criticism discloses a reason for the omission of all reference to such warfare in 2 K. xv. 1-7 (at least in the present text). That reason is a certain heavy misfortune which befel Azariah in the course of his warfare—captivity in the land of Mišrim. From the meagre and corrupt record of this which came down to later times, the redactor of Kings extracted the statement that Azariah was smitten with leprosy. The textual error is precisely the same that we have met with in the cases of Jeroboam and Naaman. See on v. 1-27 and on 1 K. xi. 26, and *E. Bib.*, 'Uzziah,' § 4. The text should probably be restored thus,—ינהג

יִרְחַמֵּל אֶת-הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיְהִי בַמְצֹר עַד-יוֹם מָתוֹ וַיֹּשֶׁב בְּבֵית-צִרְפַּת מְצֹר, 'and Jerahmeel carried away the king, and he was in Mišsor till the day of his death: he dwelt in Beth-zarephath of Mišsor.' The final word is restored from 2 Chr. xxvi. 21. The strange word הַחֲפְשִׁית comes from הָאֲשְׁפֹת, 'the dung-hill,' and אֲשְׁפֹת (as in the phrase שָׁעַר הָאֲשְׁפֹת Neh. ii. 13, etc.) is a corruption of צִרְפַּת = צֶפֶת. For the results attainable by the old methods see Stade, *GVI* i. 569 *f.*; *ZATW* vi. 156-159, where it is suggested that we might read, for בֵּית הַחֲפְשִׁית, בֵּית הַחֹרֶף, 'the winter palace.' Cp. also Klost., Kittel, Burney. That any of these are satisfactory, can hardly be said. On the other hand, the new results throw a bright light on the history of Azariah, and are in harmony with parallels elsewhere. Like Manasseh, Azariah was carried into captivity as the punishment of rebellion by the N. Arabians, but unlike Manasseh he did not return.

xv. 8. On the name 'Zechariah' see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*, and 'Zaccur.'—10. By his name 'Shallum' he had near, or remote, N. Arabian affinities. Cp. *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*, and 'Solomon,' § 2, and note the other occurrences of 'Shallum.' He was a son of יָבֵשׁ, *i.e.* Jabesh-gilead (= Ishmael-gilead? see on 1 S. xi. 1).—קָבֵל-עָם. Grätz, Klost., etc., read בִּיבְלֵעַם (see on ix. 27). We cannot, however, assert that 'in Ibleam' (Ⓞ^L ἐν ἰεβλααμ) is more original than 'in Kebleam' (Ⓞ^{BA} ἐν κεβλααμ). קָבֵלֵעַם springs from חֹלְמַא = יִרְחַמֵּל (cp. חֹלְמַא [ה], 2 S. x. 17, Kt.). יִבְלֵעַם, therefore, has nothing corresponding to ח. Both forms (Ibleam and Kibleam) may have been current.

xv. 13. שִׁמְרוֹן here must be the southern Shimron (see v. 14).—14. On 'Menaḥem,' cp. Manaḥath, Naham, Nehemiah—all southern names.—בֶּן-גָּדִי. 'Gadi' may mean the Gadite territory; there was a 'Gad' in the Negeb (see on x. 32 *f.*). (The γαλλει of Ⓞ^A *vid.* is probably a scribe's error; Δ and Λ confounded.) עֵין גָּדִי may, however (as probably in עֵין גָּדִי), come from גְּדִישׁ = קָבֵשׁ.—16. Most suppose that תַּפְסַח is an error for תַּפְּוּחַ (Tappūah); 'there is no Tiphсах in Palestine' (Benz.). Ⓞ^L τῆν Ταφωε. But in 1 K. v. 4 (see note) תַּפְסַח is one of the limits of the dominion of Solomon in עֶרֶב הַנְּבֵר (on which there is a gloss יִרְחַמֵּל, represented by מְלִי), and there is no sufficient reason to doubt that תַּפְסַח is either

correct or at least more nearly correct that either תפוח or (B's reading) תרצה. It is also usual to supplement the text from B, and to read 'כי לא פתחו לו וינקה ואת-כל-הר'. We have seen, however (on viii. 12), that in most of the passages in which the worst barbarities of conquerors are mentioned, there is a serious error in the text; and so it is here. ויך את may be disregarded; it represents ויקריח, which is less correct than כל-ההרותיה (so read, for כל-קריחיה) which follows. This suggests that B's *ὅτι οὐκ ἤνοιξαν αὐτῷ* is an expansion of an incorrect reading, and that כי לא פתח has grown out of an ill-written מִי־פֶתַח-אֵל. 'Iphtah-el' occurs in Josh. xix. 14, 27 as a place-name on the N. border of Zebulun. The Zebulun place-names, however, given in Josh. xix. 10-16 (see notes) seem originally to have belonged to the Negeb. The sense produced is, 'then Menahem smote Tiphseh, and all that were therein, and the territory thereof from Zarephath ("Tirzah"), from Iphtah-el, and all the cities thereof he conquered (viii. 12).'

xv. 19. בַּא פוּל מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר. B *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἀνέβη φουα* (but read *φουλ*, as in Chr.). Who is Pul? Benzinger, with most, answers: 'It is true, Pul is distinguished from Tiglath-pileser in the Book of Kings. But, comparing the Babylonian "list of kings" with the Babylonian Chronicle, the identity of the two names is beyond doubt, for the former gives the name Pulu, where the latter has Tiglath-pileser.' This assumes that the Hebrew Tiglath-pileser is identical with Tuklat-abal-i-šarra, which may indeed be in accordance with the view of the redactor of Kings, but is not by any means certain. In 1 Chr. v. 6 we read of a certain prince of Reuben called Bēerah whom Tilgath-pilneser, king of Asshur, carried away captive. The other names in the list are distinctly Jerahmeelite, and 'Asshur' at any rate is quite as likely to be the N. Arabian Asshur as it is to be the better known Assyria. We have also already found that N. Arabia exercised a strong influence, both attractive and repellent, on both the Israelitish states, and that there is evidence (cp. on x. 33) pointing to the view that Reuben, as well as Gad and Manasseh, was partly settled in the Negeb. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that Tilgath-pilneser in 1 Chr. v. 6 is a king of a N. Arabian land called

Asshur or Ashḥur, and not of the land commonly called Assyria, and if so, we cannot doubt that the Tilgath-pilneser of *v.* 26 (=the Tiglath-pileser of 2 K. xv. 29, xvi. 10) is the same king, and that in both passages the same captivity is referred to, in which Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh—or those parts of these tribes which were settled in the Negeb—were the sufferers. If, therefore, by Pul and Tiglath-pileser or Tilgath-pilneser the same king is intended, this cannot be supported by a reference to Babylonian documents. Textual criticism alone can explain the double name which in MT. and \mathfrak{S} is given to the king of Asshur, with whom Menahem and Pekah of Israel had to do. Let us ask, then, what is a possible name for the king of Asshur? It might be a conventional one, *e.g.* 'Asshur,' as in Isa. x. 5, or 'Jerahmeel.' The latter name seems to be marked out as most probably the original both of MT.'s פור and of \mathfrak{S} 's $\phi\alpha\lambda\omega\chi$; with the former cp. the Reubenite name פלוי, and with the latter the probably N. Arabian name מלך (\mathfrak{S} $\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\chi$). This view is supported by 1 Chr. vi. 26, where פור ו אה-רוח has probably grown out of a corruptly written ירחמאל. We can now perhaps explain תלגת פלאסר, which probably once stood (for 'תלג' 'פלג') in the second clause of *v.* 26. This second clause should certainly be a repetition of the first. To bring this about however, מלך אשור must be a gloss on part of תלגת פלאסר. That is, these two words come from מלך אשור. The final ת in תלגת is dittographic. תלג comes from מלך, though the misreading was of course only possible to a scribe or editor who had in his mind some contraction of Tuklat-abali-šarra, and this also accounts for the other changes. (Note, too, the proper name אסיר, from אשור.) We need not now be disturbed at the fact that the Assyrian inscriptions do not favour the supposition that Tiglath-pileser III. advanced as far south as Samaria. It was a N. Arabian power, not Aram, nor yet Mišrim, but one stronger than either—perhaps Meluḥḥa—which invaded the Negeb, and Menahem was glad to buy him off by the payment of a heavy tribute. It is possible that the true form of the Hebrew name for the king of Asshur underlies the incorrect מלכי of 2 Chr. xxviii. 16, which may have come, not from מלך, but from

ירחמאל. See, further, on Hos. v. 13, etc., and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Pul.'

xv. 25. Pekah, the conspirator, is בן־ירחמאל = בן ירחמאל, 'a Jerahmeelite.' The problematical part of the text lies between את־ארגב and גלעדים, for \mathfrak{S} 's *ἐναντίον* probably comes from *ἐν ἀνδρῶν* (see \mathfrak{S} , 1 K. xvi. 18), and throws no doubt on בארמון. 'Argob' and 'Arieh' are very strange personal names; can the words be rightly read? Stade (*ZATW* vi. 160) suggests that את ארגב and את הַחוֹת יָאִיר (so for את הַאֲרִיָה) were glosses properly belonging to v. 29. This, however, could only be adopted as a last resource. The solution of the problem is furnished by \mathfrak{S} , which gives *μετὰ τοῦ* (so B and B^bA*) or *μετ' αὐτοῦ*, B*^a1, *αργοβ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀρεια* (B; but *αριε*, A) *καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες* (so BL, but A *ἄνδρας*) *ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων*. The latter part of this is the true text of \mathfrak{S} ; it represents *קָמַו וְעָמַו מֵאוֹת מֵאַרְבַּע מֵאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת*, where 'מ' 'מ' is a variant to the *מבני* of MT. Klost. inclines to read את־ארבע מאות גבריו, *i.e.* Pekah and his fifty Gileadites overpower Pekahiah and his four hundred *gibbōrīm*. This is ingenious, but the true solution is suggested by habits of the scribes which Klost. has probably overlooked. Placing \mathfrak{S} 's rendering in the light of facts obtained elsewhere (see on Gen. xv. 13, 1 K. xviii. 19, 22, and 1 K. xxii. 6), we see that *מֵאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת* (presupposed by *ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων*) represents *מֵעֶרֶב* ירחמאל, 'from Jerahmeelite Arabia.' It now becomes easy to account for ארגב and אריה, which represent ערב and ארמאל respectively (cp. אריה, Isa. xv. 9; ארמאל, 2 S. xxiii. 20). את (*bis*) is an editorial insertion. The text thus becomes, '. . . and smote him, etc., and on his (Pekah's) side were fifty men from Jerahmeelite Arabia' (*v.l.* 'of the Gileadites').

xv. 29. Conquest of a large part of the Israelite territory in the Negeb. For 'Tiglath-pileser' see on v. 19; for 'Ijon' and 'Abel' on 1 K. xv. 20; for 'Hazor' on 1 K. ix. 15; for 'the Galil' on 1 K. ix. 11. Janoah has been identified with the Yenu'amu of Egyptian inscriptions (see *E. Bib.*, 'Janoah'), but a place in the Negeb seems rather to be meant. Josh. xvi. 6 mentions a Janoah on the E. border of Ephraim. Either this name was transferred from the

Janoah in the Negeb, or the Ephraim names in Josh. xvi. were derived from a geographical writing which related to the Negeb (note the names Ataroth = Ephrath, Naarah, Shiloh, Tappuah = Nephtoah). קדש is not any Kedesh in the north, but the so-called Kadesh-barnea (cp. on Tobit i. 5). 'What Gilead can mean in this connection it is hard to say' (Kittel), at least from the ordinary point of view. 'If the name is not corrupt it can only have come in as a gloss' (Benz.). In *E. Bib.*, col. 1628, note 2, it is suggested that גלעד may be miswritten for גליל, the wrong word and the right being, as often, left side by side (cp. the corruptions mentioned under 'Gilead, 2'). גלעד, however, as an abundance of evidence shows (see, *e.g.*, on Jer. viii. 22), is not only a trans-Jordanic region, but a district in the Negeb. In fact, all the localities in *v.* 29 belong to the Negeb, including the last three, 'Gilead, and the *gālīlāh*, all the land of Naphtali.' גליל, גלילה, and גלגל may possibly be early popular corruptions of ירחמאל; cp. גליל הגוים, Isa. vii. 23, where הגוים may possibly arise out of some badly written form of ירחמאל (cp. גוים, Gen. xiv. 1; חרשת הגוים, Judg. iv. 2) and be a gloss on גליל. In any case, גליל is a name of the Negeb. Did the places and districts mentioned form part of a larger region called 'the land of Naphtali,' and was this 'Naphtali' identical with the 'tribe' so called? In Isa. viii. 23 'the land of Zebulun (= Ishmael?)' and the 'land of Naphtali' are mentioned together. Or has there been a confusion between נפתלי and נפתחי (cp. on Gen. x. 13)? I should prefer to suppose that 'Gilead and the Galil' covered a larger region than 'the whole land of Naphtali.' The 'Asshur' spoken of is of course lower down in N. Arabia than the Negeb.

xv. 32. Jotham, also a son of Jerubbaal (Judg. ix. 5), and a member of a Calebite genealogy (1 Chr. ii. 47). A Jerahmeelite name. So, too, is Zadok (see the occurrences). The name ירושא (ירושדה, Chr., is less probable) reminds us of בעשא (1 K. xv. 16, etc.) from ישמעאל. Is it a corruption of ירושא? ירוש' precedes, which may account for the mishap.

CHAP. xvi. 3. Note the reference to the sacrifice of children, which, though it doubtless spread northward, was specially a Jerahmeelite practice. Cp. on xxi. 1, and on Jer. ii. 34.—*V.* 5. See on Isa. vii. 1.

xvi. 6. Klost., partly anticipated by Thenius, corrects אָרָם throughout into אֲדָם, and אַרְוּמִים into אֲדוּמִים (with K_r. and G); he also omits רִצִּין, assuming the redactor who placed the verse in this connection to be in error. So Benz., Kittel, Burney. It was, however, a Miṣrite king who was virtually (not nominally) lord of 'Ezion-geber' in Solomon's time (1 K. ix. 26 *f.*), and it is now a Cushite king who 'recovers' the neighbouring part of Elath for Aram ('Aram' will cover both Miṣrim and Cush) in the time of Ahaz. Between Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii. 48) and Ahaz we may assume that Elath had for some time been in the possession of 'Aram.' In *v.* 6*b* for אַרְוּמִים (a mixed reading), and in 2 Chr. xxviii. 17 for אַדְוּמִים, it appears that we should read אֲרָמִים. Note in the latter passage that the appeal of Ahaz to Asshur is brought into connection with an invasion of Arammites (assuming the change proposed above) and the Philistines. Now the Philistines here, as so often, are the Zarephathites. Possibly in 2 Chr. xxviii. 18 there is a confusion between Israel and Judah. For 'Aijalon' is plausibly identified with 'Ijon,' which in 2 K. xv. 29 is apparently represented as in the Israelite territory. As to the erroneous מַלְכִי in 2 Chr. xxviii. 16, see above on xv. 19.

xvi. 9. The fate of the Israelitish Negeb (xv. 29 *f.*) is now shared by Cusham, the people of which are deported to Kir, if for קִירָה we should not read יִרְחַמָּאֵל or אֲשַׁחֲרִיָּה (see Am. i. 5). For דְּמַשֶּׁק read כְּנֻשָׁם, or perhaps rather אָרָם-כְּנֻשָׁם; the דְּרַמְשֶׁק of Chr. may come from דְּרַמְשֶׁק.

xvi. 15. יְהִיָּה לִי לְבַקֵּר. 'The significance is obscure. לְבַקֵּר means "to examine."' So Burney, who thinks the least questionable rendering, 'shall be for me to inquire by,' lit. 'to investigate,' *scil.* the oracle, perhaps by examination of portions of the sacrifice. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaïomen*, i. 24, thinks that the phrase refers to a particular kind of royal sacrifices (cp. W. R. Smith, *Die Rel. der Semiten*, p. 289). More probably, something shocking to later Jews is covered over by this form of the text. רֶכֶב sometimes comes from יִרְחַמָּאֵל (see on xix. 23), and בַּל from מֵאֵל (as an element of יִרְחַמָּאֵל. That the temple at Jerusalem was often not strictly confined to the cultus of Yahwè we know. Read יְהִיָּה לִירְחַמָּאֵל, *i.e.* the brazen altar, which the new altar

supplanted, was to be devoted to the cultus of the Jerahmeelite Baal.

CHAP. xvii. 3 *f.* Omit 'Shalmaneser' (see Kittel). Winckler now assents (*Krit. Schr.* ii. 19; *KAT*⁽⁸⁾ 268). Mišrim and Israel reject the suzerainty of the successor of 'Tiglath-pileser.' Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hoshea,' col. 2127, and cp. 'So,' and especially Wi. *KAT*⁽⁸⁾ 146. A curious problem is presented by C^L at xvii. 4; instead of $\Sigma\eta\gamma\omega\rho$ or $\Sigma\omega\alpha$, we meet with $\alpha\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ τὸν Αἰθίοπα τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. From our present point of view the mystery can be easily explained. $\alpha\delta\rho.$ τὸν Αἰθ. is 'Jerahmeel the Cushite' (see on xvii. 31, xix. 37). According to this statement, Hoshea sent an embassy, not to Sib'e the Turtanu (תרתן, see *KAT*⁽⁸⁾ 146), but to Jerahmeel the Cushite, who was then 'residing,' *i.e.* as king, in Mišrim. (Possibly, however, του κατοικ. springs from a gloss ישמעאל, 'Ishmaelite,' which was corrupted, as often, into ישב). Burney's note is hardly satisfactory.

xvii. 5 *f.* The fate of the northern שמרון is most probably not mentioned in the original O.T. texts; see on Isa. xxviii. 1-4, Mic. i. 6. It is the fate of the שמרון in the Negeb which finds mention in xvii. 5.—בְּחֶלְהָ (in xviii. 11, בְּחֶלְהָ). A place in N. Arabia is required; or should we say rather a river? In xvii. 6 and xviii. 11 C^L , and in xvii. 6 C^{BA} read ποταμοῖς γωζαν (or γωζαρ), where MT. gives נְהַר גֹּזָן in apposition to וְרֵבְרָב. חֶלְהָ is presumably an expanded fragment of ירחמאל. What, then, is חֶבֶר, and what גֹּזָן? The redactor no doubt thought of the Hābūr and the Assyrian province Guzanu, where the Habur was (see *E. Bib.*, 'Halah,' 'Habor,' 'Gozan'). But what did the original document mean, and what was its reading of these names? The names with which 'Gozan' is combined in xix. 12 compel us to think that גֹּזָן is a (deliberate?) corruption of כְּרִשְׁתָּן. Now it so happens that in v. 12 two rivers of Cusham, or Aram-cush (see on xvi. 9) are mentioned, *viz.* Amana and Parpar. If Halah and Amana represent Jerahmeel, it becomes natural to expect that the two other names of rivers, Parpar and Habor, will also correspond. This, however, is not the case. Parpar is evidently = Ephrath, but Habor represents either Rehob(oth) or the Chebar of Ezekiel, which (see on Ezek. i. 3) most probably = Jerahmeel. If

the latter view is correct, MT. is, after all, right against ⚙; הלח and חבור are simply variants, and represent the same 'river of Cusham,' which bore a name, or names, the ultimate origin of which was 'Jerahmeel.' See following note. It need hardly be added that many of the distortions of 'Jerahmeel' may early have attained an independent existence.—וְעָרֵי מְדֵי ⚙ και ορη Μηδων. Instead of this, 1 Chr. v. 26 gives וְהָרָא, between וְחָבֹר and וְנָהָר. For possible explanations of הָרָא see *E. Bib.*, 'Hara.' Without the Jerahmeelite key, however, the mystery about it cannot be dissipated. The probability is that וְהָרָא is a corruption of וְרַחמַאל, which is a gloss, most probably on הלח. The Chronicler, therefore, does not recognise עָרֵי מְדֵי, and it is just possible that וְהָרָא, like וְהָרָא, is a corruption of וְרַחמַאל. מְדֵי by itself, wherever it occurs, certainly does come from 'רַח'. In this case, the true reading 'רַח' is a gloss. Apart from this, עָרֵי is at any rate better than קָרֵי (see, however, *Wi. Alttest. Unt.*, p. 109). See on v. 9, and cp. 'in the cities of Shimron,' v. 24.

xvii. 9. 'From the tower of the watchman to the fortified city' (also in xviii. 8*b*) is strange. In xviii. 8 (see note) it is natural to read מִצְרִים עַד-עִיר מְבֻצָּר, 'from the Miṣrite Migdal to the fortified city [= Miṣṣur].' Here it is perhaps an intrusive gloss on עָרֵי מְדֵי in v. 6.

xvii. 24. The colonists from N. Arabia who filled the places of the Israelites in the Negeb. בבל is probably a corruption of some abridged and distorted form of וְרַחמַאל. כּוּתָּה represents, not Kutha, but כּוּשׁ or כּוּשִׁים. עָנָא is uncertain, but probably represents עָרַב (see on v. 31). הָקָת = מְעַכָּת. סְפָרוּיִם has grown out of סְפָר = צִרְפַּת (cp. סְפָרָת, Neh. vii. 57). Possibly there was a second Zarephath. In any case, the inhabitants of the Israelite Negeb had not a long journey to take. See *E. Bib.*, 'Sepharvaim.' This remarkable passage, in which even the insight of Winckler seems to be at fault, refers not to 'Samaria' but to Shimron, *i.e.* to the Israelite territory in the Negeb, the capital of which was Shimron.

xvii. 30 *f*. A most difficult passage. We begin with the impossible word עָרִים, the easiest correction of which is עָרָבִים, 'Arabians' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Avvim'). See Dt. ii. 23,

Josh. xiii. 3, which, critically regarded, show that the Avvim dwelt on the N. Arabian border of Palestine. עֵזָא (v. 24) is, therefore, presumably from עֵזָאב (cp. קֵרִית-אֲרָבַע = עֵזָאב). We now pass on to the names, so variously and insecurely explained, of deities. It is hardly too much to say that they yield up their secrets in the light of the new theory struggling into existence. The commentators with one voice call them 'Samaritan' deities; they are not, however, really 'Samaritan,' but Shimronite (see preceding note). The deity of בבל is סְנוּת, *i.e.* not מַעַנַת (Am. v. 26), but נִשְׁתָּה, *i.e.* the great 'Cushite' goddess, called (if the text is right) in Jer. vii. 18 'the queen of heaven' (cp. note, and on Jer. iii. 24). The appended בנות has nothing to do with Ass. *banītu* (see *E. Bib.*, 'Succoth-benoth'). It must be a corruption—very possibly of וְנוֹת. נִרְגַל represents מִרוּחַל, *i.e.* יְרוּחַמָּא. אֲשִׁמָּא comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (Kittel, however, produces a river אֲשִׁמָּא near Tyre). נְבַחוּ (or, less probably, נְבַחֻן) is 'unknown' (Kittel), unless textual criticism be applied in combination with the new theory. No other people is stated to have made two deities, but is 'Nibhaz' really a fresh deity? It is not preceded by אֵת, and we may therefore presume that it is an intrusive gloss from the margin. Take on ך from וֵאת, and we get נְבַחוּךְ or (ו and ך being very often confounded) נְבַחֻךְ. What this is we can hardly doubt. A N. Arabian name is wanted, and the choice is very limited. Most probably נְבַחוּךְ is יְרוּחַמְ[א]ל written backwards (the final ל in these names often become ך); יְרוּחַמָּא was probably written in the margin as a gloss on אֲדֹרְמֶלֶךְ. תְּרוּתָק, then, is the only deity of the 'Arabians.' To explain this, we must not have recourse to Assyrian (see, however, *E. Bib.*, 'Tartak'); תְּרוּתָק is not improbably קְתֹרָת written backwards, and this group of letters, equally with קְטֹרָתָה, seems to be a corruption of תְּרוּחָה, which (see *E. Bib.*, 'Terah') almost certainly comes from יְרוּחַמָּא[ל]. Cp. on xix. 9. תְּרוּחָה, however, doubtless early obtained an independent existence. אֲדֹרְמֶלֶךְ[ד] and עֲנַמְלֶךְ are still more obviously from יְרוּחַמָּא[ל] (cp. on xix. 37), nor must the variety of conflicting explanations blind us to the extreme probability of this view. The cruel god, to whom children were sacrificed, was the Baal of Jerahmeel (cp. on Jer. ii. 34). See *E. Bib.*, 'Sepharvaim';

but cp. also 'Adrammelech,' 'Anammelech,' and 'Nisroch' (these articles assume that an Assyrian king is the agent in this narrative).

CHAP. xviii. 2. Kgs., אֲרָמֵלֶךְ; Chr., אֲנָמֵלֶךְ. The compound name is rather more probable. See on 1 K. xiv. 1.

xviii. 4. On 'Nehushtan' see *E. Bib.*, s.v. Plainly there are two questions, (1) What was the real origin of the 'brazen serpent?' and (2) What was the real name under which it was worshipped? The story in Num. xxi. 6-9 is etiological; it is chiefly valuable, in combination with 2 K. xviii. 4b, as showing that in the regal period superstitious Israelites sacrificed to the idol to obtain the recovery of their sick. Was the idol of directly Babylonian origin, or was it derived from the N. Arabians (leaving the question of its ultimate origin undecided)? In the article 'Nehushtan' reasons are shown for supposing a Babylonian origin. Notice, however, that in the time of Hezekiah's father there was a strong religious as well as political connection between Judah and the N. Arabian Asshur (Ashhur), and it is very possible that Ahaz took not only the pattern of an altar from Cusham (see on xvi. 10 ff.), but also the idol here referred to. That the name נְחֻשְׁתָּן is wrong seems to be certain. In the *E. Bib.* article several conjectural origins are mentioned. From our present point of view a better one can be offered. נְחֻשְׁתָּן should be נְחֻשֵׁן. The meaning of Naḥṣon might be 'little serpent.' Most probably, however, this is a mistake, and the name is partly a corruption, partly an expansion, of נְחֻשָּׁן. The idol referred to was probably an image of the Cushite or Jerahmeelite Baal, such as is referred to as having existed in the temple at Jerusalem in the last years of the kingdom of Judah (see on Ezek. viii. 3, 5). Hezekiah naturally broke up this idol and 'the Asherah' when 'he rebelled against the king of Asshur and served him not' (v. 7). Later writers confounded 'Cushan' with another image of Babylonian affinities—the so-called 'brazen serpent.'

xviii. 8. Hezekiah's (temporary?) successes against the Zarephathites (Pēlistim). These extended to the territory of 'Azzah ('the strong'), i.e. perhaps Zarephath. A second definition is also given, מִמְּגֹדֶל נְצָרִים עַד-עִיר מְבַצֵּר (cp. on xvii. 9). Here נ' should be מְצָרִים; note that in 1 K. xvii. 9

we read of *צִידוֹן אֲשֶׁר לְצִידוֹן*, where (see note) *צִידוֹן* comes from *מִצּוֹר*. *עִיר מִבְּצָר* is a description of *מִצּוֹר*, i.e. the city of Mišsor. Cp. Josh. xix. 29; the original document underlying this passage must have had *עִיר מִבְּצָר מִצָּר*, and have referred to the N. Arabian border-land; also 1 S. vi. 18.

xviii. 9 f. *שְׁלֹמֹנְהֶסֶר*, i.e., as most say, Shalmaneser IV. Again, in xvii. 2 (gloss?). The Babylonian Chronicle gives the name of Tiglath-pileser's successor as Šulman-asarid. According to Schrader (*ZKF* ii. 197 ff.) there is a transcriptional error in the Hebrew text, and we should read *שְׁלֹמֹנְהֶסֶר*. Does our passage state that the Assyrian king took Samaria? Most probably it does. C gives *καὶ κατέλαβeto*; the Hebrew text has *וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ*, which, following *וַיִּצַר*, is most naturally pointed *וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ*. The points, however, give *וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ*, which it is very natural to prefer, if the *שְׁמֵרוֹן* referred to is Samaria. For beyond question Sargon and not 'Shalmaneser' took Samaria. We must, however, after all that has gone before, pronounce it to be more probable that *שְׁמֵרוֹן* is the Shimron in the Negeb, and that 'Shalmaneser,' like 'Tiglath-pileser,' is a N. Arabian king. It was apparently a king called Shalman who took Shimron and with it the Shimronite Negeb, and perhaps we may rightly see a reference to this in Hos. x. 14, if Beth-arbel in that passage should rather be Beth-jerahmeel (see note). A king of Moab called Šalamanu is mentioned by 'Tiglath-pileser.' The same name may have been borne by a king of Ashhur. *אֲשֶׁר* may itself represent *אֲשֶׁר*.

xviii. 13-xix. 37. Not only is this narrative composite, but there are traces in it of a combination of two traditions, one referring to an Assyrian, the other to an Asshurite or N. Arabian invasion (against Winckler and Prašek, see *E. Bib.*, 'Sennacherib,' § 5).¹ That xviii. 13b-16 refers to Sennacherib's invasion in 701 is probable; the parallelism between the 46 fenced cities, etc. of Sennacherib's inscription

¹ Prašek's latest utterance ('Sanheribs Feldzüge gegen Juda,' i., in *Mitteil. der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1903, part 4) takes no account of this article, which probably appeared just too late for him. It is an able work, but relies, as I venture to think, unduly on the Massoretic text. The same remark applies to Winckler. Until these critics have done more justice to the new point of view in Old Testament criticism, no sound progress can, as it seems to me, be hoped for.

and *v.* 13^b is striking. But at any rate the rest of the narratives, which critics have analysed into two distinct accounts, refer to a N. Arabian invasion. The redactor misunderstood this, and revised the text in accordance with the theory that here, too, the invasion of the Assyrian king was referred to. If this be so, the name סנחריב must have a twofold representative character; (1) it must stand for Sin-ahī-irba, the name of the Assyrian king Sargon's successor; and (2) it must have been partly corrupted, partly altered from some conventional or real name of a N. Arabian king. חריב (חרים) would be a perfectly natural corruption of ירחם (cp. on חירם, I K. v. 15), נ as often may represent the final letter of ירחמאל; ס may either be an editorial prefix (cp. on סנבלט, Neh. ii. 10) or a corruption of מ (the מ in ירוח repeated). Probably too, here as often elsewhere (see on 2 S. xv. 11), ירושלם is a corruption of ישמעאל. The place meant is Beth-ishmael or -jerahmeel (p. 286).

xviii. 14. לנישה, preceded and followed by Pasek. If the king of Asshur referred to is the Assyrian king Sennacherib, the place intended may be that defined by Eus. and Jer. as 7 R. m. S. of Eleutheropolis, and referred to on a bas-relief of Sennacherib as having been taken by that king (Winckler, *Textbuch*,⁽²⁾ 47). We do not, however, know from any other source that Sennacherib received ambassadors from Judah at Lachish, and it is possible that לנישה was inserted in *v.* 14 by the redactor in order to fuse the two independent narratives, לניש being referred to in *v.* 17 as the place where the king of Asshur was when he sent a 'great host' against Jerusalem.

xviii. 17. לחיש here is probably a corruption of אשכל, i.e. possibly חלצה (see *E. Bib.*, 'Negeb,' § 7, 'Ziklag'), but more probably ישמעאל, i.e. 'Ir Ishmael' or 'Ir Jerahmeel.' תרתן and רב-סרים are wanting in Isa. (xxxvi. 2), and since in the sequel mention is only made of רב-שקה (cp. also G's πρὸς αὐτόν, *v.* 18), it seems probable that רב-שקה alone is correct. תרתן is, no doubt, the Ass. *turtānu*, i.e. commander-in-chief. Whoever wrote this word in *v.* 17 identified the king referred to with Sennacherib. But was this the view of the original writer of the document? There are

historical reasons for doubting this (see *E. Bib.*, 'Sennacherib'), and these doubts are confirmed by the fact that no perfectly satisfactory explanation has been given from Assyrian of the titles Rab-saris and Rab-shakeh. Upon the theory that a N. Arabian invasion is intended, at any rate, in the greater part of the narrative, we may (applying the methods adopted elsewhere) explain Rab-saris as a corruption of 'Arāb-asshur (= Asshurite Arabia), and Rab-shakeh as a corruption of 'Arāb-cush (= Cushite Arabia). The narrative is possibly an amplification and development of a short and simple record in which Asshurite and Cushite Arabia were spoken of as taking part in an invasion of Judah; possibly, too, the narrator used the record in a corrupt form, which presented the names in forms approaching Rab-saris and Rab-shakeh. At any rate, there are parallels enough for the corruption of אשור into סררים, and of כוש into שקה. Cp. on Jer. xxxix. 3. See also *E. Bib.*, cols. 4001, 4903; Zimmern, *ZDMG*, liii. 116, note; Winckler, in *KAT*⁽³⁾, 273.

xviii. 21. The figure of the reed is from Ezek. xxix. 6 *f.*, and the narrator means by מצרים the same region as the prophetic writer, viz. Mišrim (Mušri). פרעה is either a later insertion, or a corruption of פראו (Pir'u). The Asshurite king had a quarrel with Mišrim (see on xix. 9).

xviii. 26. Rab-shakeh (?) is requested to speak in *arāmīth*, i.e. in the language of Aram or Jerahmeel, with which Hezekiah's courtiers are well acquainted. Cp. Neh. xiii. 23 *f.*, where read, 'In those days also I saw the Jews who had married Asshurite wives [*glosses*, Jerahmeelite, Mišrite], and of their children half spoke Asshurite.'

xviii. 27*b.* It is plausible to read אֶת-חֲרוֹבֵיהֶם לְאָכַל, 'to eat their carob-pods and to drink their sour wine.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Husks.' Certainly the text is impossible.¹ But the parallelism of חֲרוֹבֵינִים (vi. 25) and עֲמֵם suggests a more completely defensible remedy.

¹ König (*Styl.* 267) objects to emendation, on the ground that elsewhere the text-tradition alters the text in an æsthetic direction. But there is a whole group of passages in which the early redactors had not this object before them; a corrupt text has here been manipulated by them in a very unæsthetic direction.

(‘together with you’) should follow על-החמה. The intermediate words come from ethnics. ישמ' = אתבעל = אנלאת; ירח' = חריהם (I K. x. 25). ישמעאלים = שמלות = לשתות. ירח' = חריהם also = ישמ' (cp. שונם, שונם, צין, אנוש, שונם). The K_{ri} readings may represent ישמ' ירח' (cp. on קיא, צאה, קו, צו, Isa. xxviii. 8, 10 (pp. 33, 144)). The ‘Jerahmeelites’ or ‘Ishmaelites’ are the people of the Negeb. Cp. on xviii. 13–xix. 37 (end).

xviii. 32. ‘A land of corn and wine’ (as Dt. viii. 7 *f.*). Unless we are prepared to suppose that here the redactor has manipulated the text, introducing a reference to Babylonia, we must hold that some part of N. Arabia is meant. Certainly the Negeb seems to have been regarded in S. Palestine as rich in agricultural products. See on Gen. xlix. 11, Num. xiii. 23, Ezek. xxvii. 18, Ps. civ. 14*b*, 15*a*.

xviii. 34. Cp. on Isa. x. 9–11. ספרים, ארפד, חמת, ערה and הנע probably come from מענת, אפרת, צרפת. ערה and הנע do not occur in the || Isa. xxxvi. 19; they are found, however, in 2 K. xix. 13 and Isa. xxxvii. 13. They represent two fragmentary distortions of ירחמאל (cp. on לעיר, xix. 13). For the place called here ‘Jerahmeel’ see on Hos. x. 14. We must, of course, supply (from ש^ל) ארץ שמרון (ואיה אלהי ארץ שמרון). שמרון is the Shimron in the Negeb. (*Vv.* 32–35 seem to be an interpolation; cp. Duhm on Isa. xxxvi. 18–20).

CHAP. xix. 8. It appears (see Duhm; and *Intr. Is.*, p. 229 *ff.*) that of the two accounts of the expedition against Jerusalem, one represented the messengers to Hezekiah as starting from ‘Lachish’ (see on xviii. 17), the other as starting from Libnah. If it is the king of Ashhur who sends the messengers, both Lachish and Libnah must be sought in the Negeb. ‘Lachish’ will come from ‘Eshcol’ (cp. on xiv. 19); for ‘Libnah’ cp. on Num. xxxiii. 20 *f.*, Dt. i. 1, and note the gentilic ‘Libni,’ Num. iii. 18, etc. Cp. on xxiv. 17.

xix. 9. תרהקה, ‘king of Cush.’ According to most, the narrator, or his authority, is here well-informed, inasmuch as Taharkô did not become king of Egypt till 694–693 (*E. Bib.*, ‘Tirhakah’), while Sennacherib’s expedition to the West land took place in 701. Doubtless the redactor meant by תרהקה the still famous Taharkô. But was this the name used by the original writer? If it is on the whole

probable that his 'Asshur' was in N. Arabia, and that the king of 'Asshur' was called by him 'Jerahmeel,' it becomes plausible at once to suppose that the original name was תרתק, which (see on xvii. 30 *f.*) probably comes from תרה. The 'great king' of Asshur claimed suzerainty both over Judah and over the smaller 'Jerahmeelite' kingdoms (see on Isa. x. 10). His claim, however, was disputed by Judah, by Mišrim, and by Cush. The 'great king,' therefore, sought to bring each of these countries into subjection. (Even if we accept this theory, we may, of course, use the facts of the life of Taharkô to illustrate the passage as read by the redactor).

xix. 12. From our present point of view, Haran is the southern place of that name (see on Gen. xi. 31), and 'Rezeph' is a corruption of 'Zarephath' (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rezeph'). 'Eden' (עֵדֵן) is the Eden-jerahmeel revealed by textual criticism in Gen. ii. 8 (see also on Am. i. 5, Ezek. xxvii. 23). 'Gozan' has probably arisen out of a corruptly written פושן (cp. on xvii. 6). The 'bne Eden' are further defined as being in תל אשור, or, rather, תל אשור, or, best of all, תבל-אשור (see pp. 91 *f.*).

xix. 13. Cp. on xviii. 34. לעיר (not in xviii. 34) is here prefixed to ספרוים (so in Isa. xxxvii. 13). No doubt it is a corrupt fragment of ירחמאל, *i.e.* the city of Jerahmeel, a place-name which also probably underlies הנע וקודה (see on xviii. 34). Cp. on אל-העיר, 1 K. xx. 30*b*.

xix. 23. Evidently corrupt. To restore the text successfully we must remember that the invader is a N. Arabian Asshurite, and that the territory invaded is that of Judah in the Negeb, also that the metre of the poem is the so-called *kīnā* metre. As to the details. In *v.* 23*a* רנב represents ירחמאל (cp. on Ezek. xxiii. 23, xxvi. 10); so also מרום and הרים. In *v.* 23*b* מלון (Kgs.) and מרום (Isa.) both represent ארמון (cp. אלמנות and ארמ', competing readings in Isa. xiii. 22); קצה (Kgs.) or קצו (Isa.) springs from קצם or אשחר (cp. on Ezek. vii. 6); ועיר from יער, and כרמלר from ירח'. Read therefore—

ביד מלאניך הרפת | יהודה ותאמר
ירחמאל אני עליתי | ירכתי לבנון

point of view. Yet, comparing the *καὶ ὡς ἄγρωστis* of **Θ** in Isa. xxxvii. 27, *i.e.* וּבְשִׁמְרִי, we might *perhaps* restore (וּבְשִׁמְרִי.) The three places meant seem to be Beth-jerahmeel, Ashhur- (or Ashtor-)jerahmeel, and Rehoboth (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboth'). *V. 26b*, therefore, is a gloss on עָרִים בְּצָרוֹת, *v. 25*. For other views (resources of despair, surely) see Marti on Isa. xxxvii. 27 (שְׁדוּרָה קָדִים); Nestle, *PSBA*, xxv. 63 [1903], who suspects a reference to the Egyptian *shadoof* (turned by the foot); and Klost., followed by me in *SBOT*, pp. 28, 116 (וּבְשִׁמְרִי); also Kittel, *ad loc.*—לְפָנַי קָמָה, of course, comes from לְפָנַי קָמָה; so Wellh. (Bleek's *Eint.*⁽⁴⁾, p. 257), and most after him. Burkitt (*PSBA*, xxiv. 217 [1902]) points out that this is really confirmed by the Syr.-hex. in Field's *Hexapla*.

xix. 27 *f.* Accepting Wellh.'s suggestion, and remembering that the poem is in the *kīnā* metre, we are obliged to omit יָדַעְתִּי, as well as וְאֵת הַת' אֱלֹי. וְאֵת is a corruption of a dittographed יָדַעְתָּ הַת' אֱלֹי. But this is not the whole story. We have hardly a right to excise יָדַעְתִּי without accounting for it. Did a scribe insert it from the mere love of amplifying? Besides, אֱלֹי and יָעַן are also difficult; אֱלֹי is superfluous (cp. שְׂאֵנָנֶךָ), and יָעַן is awkward. As to יָדַעְתִּי. Sometimes (*e.g.* Ps. xxxi. 15, lxxxii. 6) this word has come from יִרְחַמְאֵל. This is almost certainly the case here; the sense almost requires this, and we can best account for אֱלֹי, אֱלֹי, and the הַת in הַתְּרַגְּוֹךָ by supposing that these also represent יִרְחַמְאֵל (יער = יען, on which cp. note on 2 S. xxi. 19, Ps. cxxxii. 6). The result obtained is as follows—

לְפָנַי קָמָה וּשְׁבַתָּה | וְצִאֲתָה וּבִבְיָה
וּרְגִזָּה וּשְׂאֵנָנֶךָ יִרְחַמְאֵל | עָלָה בְּאֲזָנַי:

That יִרְחַמְאֵל, 'O Jerahmeel,' is a mere stop-gap, no one will venture to assert. Cp. on *v. 25*.

xix. 35. Why this exact number, 185,000? As in many similar cases, it is due to the redactor, who misunderstood corruptly written ethnics. The original text had אֲשִׁיר—גְּלוֹסֶס [יִרְחַמְאֵל]—[יִרְחַמְאֵל] יִשְׁמַעְאֵל קָשָׁם [יִרְחַמְאֵל] וּגְו'. Marti remarks, 'Whether *v. 36b* can be rendered, "When one arose early in the morning, one found them

all lifeless corpses," is surely very questionable,' and, with Duhm, supposes the words to represent a popular witticism. If, however, this is the only meaning the text will bear, can the text, we ask, be correct? The most doubtful word is not וישנימו but נלם. In a less degree פגרים מתים is also objectionable; מתים (in spite of Gesenius's comparison of Syr. *pagra*, 'de quovis corpore, etiam vivo') is superfluous. Now נלם is one of the current corruptions of ירחמאל; not improbably פגרים (like בגדים in xxii. 14) is a corruption of ירחמאלים, which was originally written as a correction of נלם. The sense then becomes, 'and when men arose, etc., behold, the Jerahmeelites were dead.' On the singular story of Sethos and Sanacharibos in Herod. iii. 141, see *E. Bib.*, 'Sennacherib,' § 5, where Herodotus is proved to have fallen into a confusion of persons. See on xxiii. 29.

xix. 36 *f.* ניבדה (where ני = ת, ר = ו, ה = ח) most probably comes from ירחמאל, some form of which was assumed by Hebrew writers to be the name of the capital of the N. Arabian Asshur.—נסרך. The name has been much discussed (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb., pp. 113 *f.*; *E. Bib.*, 'Nisroch'), and Sayce's theory (wrongly ascribed by Kittel and Burney to Halévy as first proposer) that Nisroch (?) comes from Nusku, a god connected with Nabū, and also identified with Gibil the fire-god, has found some acceptance. In *E. Bib.*, *l.c.*, נסרך is supposed to be miswritten either for ענ[ר]מלך, 'Anumelek' (MT., 2 K. xvii. 31, ענמלך), or, more probably, for מרדך (MT. מרדך). These explanations (the latter given independently by Winckler), however, are only plausible on the theory that the original narrative referred to a king who resided at Nineveh in Assyria. From our present point of view נסרך is most easily explained as a corruption either of נמרד or of ירחמאל. A late writer might perhaps suppose that 'Nimrod' was the name of the god as well as of the founder of Nineveh. This would enable us to keep אדר or the underlying name for the assassin of 'Sennacherib.' But it is more probable that אדר, *i.e.* ירחמאל (see next paragraph), is an early correction of נסרך; cp ענמלך in xvii. 31.

We now pass on to אדרמלך. This name, too, has exercised the critics. In the Babylonian Chronicle only one son

is mentioned as the murderer of Sennacherib, and Winckler (*AOF*, vii. 59; *KAT*,⁽³⁾ p. 85) thinks that Adrammelech and Sarezer represent two names of the same person. More probably, however, אדרמלך comes from ארמלך (a well-known Phœn. name, Cooke, pp. 18, 20), and this from ירחמאל, which was written in the margin as a correction of נסרך. From the margin 'ירח', in the correct form אדרמלך, penetrated into the text at an unsuitable place. Thus Sarezer was provided with a fellow-conspirator. Cp., however, Cheyne, 'Prince Adrammelech,' etc., *Exp.T.*, June 1898.—שְׂרָאֲצַר (*v.l.* שְׂרָאֲצַר). According to Winckler (*AOF*, *l.c.*), from Sar-etir. More probably, however, the name is due to a redactor; underlying it, there should be a name or title referring to some native of the southern Asshur. The best explanation (but cp. on Jer. xxxix. 3) is that שְׂרָאֲצַר comes from שֶׁר אֲשֹׁר, 'a prince of Asshur.'—בְּנוֹי (Kr. here, many MSS., all vss., and || Isa.) is rightly absent from Kt.—אֲרָרַט. See on Gen. viii. 4. The original text had אָרַם, *i.e.* the southern Aram.—אֲסַר-חֲדַן. That the redactor thought of the Assyrian king, Asur-ah-iddina, is beyond doubt. But that here, as elsewhere, the text has been manipulated, is almost equally certain. But what is the underlying name? Probably אֲשֶׁר-חֲרֹן, whose חֲרֹן (like רחל in Gen.) is a fragment of 'ירח'; ל, as so often in these names, became ן.

Thus the verse becomes, 'And as he was worshipping in the house of Jerahmeel his god, a prince of Asshur smote him with the sword. As for him, he escaped into the land of Aram. And Asshur-ḥaran (?) his son reigned in his stead.'

CHAP. xx. 12. בְּרִאֲדָד is a corruption, not of מְרִאֲדָד (as several MSS., G , Pesh., Targ., and || Isa. xxxix. 1), but of בְּרִאֲדָד (= Bir-dadda, a N. Arabian name, see *KB*, ii. 222 *f.*), and בְּלֵאֲדָן probably comes from this same word dittographed. ('Son of Baladan' is a poor gloss). The king referred to is one of the Jerahmeelite princes who had owned the supremacy of Ashhur, but were now conspiring to repudiate it.

xx. 14, 17 *f.* בְּבַל, as so often, is a literary corruption of some form of ירחמאל. The capital of Cusham or Aram-cush (MT. כְּשָׁדִים) is meant.

CHAP. xxi. 1. 'Manasseh.' The name may perhaps be a sign of the annexation by the Judahites of territory which had once belonged to the northern tribe of Manasseh. Cp. xxiii. 4, 15-20, and see on 2 Chr. xxxiv. 6. This annexation may account for the gravitation of this king towards Jerahmeelite cults; note the comparison of Manasseh's religion to that of Ahab (husband of a Misrite princess). Note also in *v.* 6 the reference to the sacrifice of children (cp. on xvi. 3). The queen-mother's name is **חֶפְצִיבָּה**. In *E. Bib.*, *s.v.* 'Hephezibah,' this is identified with the Phœnician name, **חֶפְצִבְעֵל** (*CIS*, i. 102; Cooke, p. 90). But whether the name originally meant 'pleasure of Baal' is doubtful. **צִבְעֵל** may be the connecting link between **צִבְעֵן** (*Gen.* xxxvi. 2) and **יִשְׁמַעֵאל**; cp. **אִיזַבְל**, Ahab's wife's name. **חֶפְ** may come from **חֶפְר**, which is the name of a son of Manasseh (*Josh.* xvii. 2); cp. also on 'Hepher,' 1 K. iv. 10.—13. Point **שְׁמֶרוֹן**.—18. See *E. Bib.*, 'Uzza, Garden of.'—19. **חֶרֶץ**, like **חֶצְרֵר**, may come from **אֶשְׁחַרֵר**; **יִטְבָּה** from **יִפְתָּח** (see *E. Bib.*, 'Jotbah').

CHAP. xxii. 1. Cp. the N. Arabian name, **יעוש**, *Gen.* xxxvi. 5, etc.—'Adaiah'; cp. **עֵדָה**, *Gen.* iii. 19, a Jerahmeelite name.

xxii. 3 *ff.* The geography of the narrative has evidently been shifted. Even 'Jerusalem' is probably inaccurate; the city meant is [Beth]-ishmael; cp. on xxiii. 13. The temple of this place had probably been almost destroyed. Josiah ordered its purification (as regards cultus) and reparation. In the course of the repairs, Hilkiah found the famous law-book of the Negeb, and perhaps carried out a further redaction and expansion of it.

xxii. 12, 14. 'Shaphan' has nothing to do with totemism, though for a time such a connection seemed plausible (see *E. Bib.*, 'Shaphan'). **אֲחִיקָם**, **אֲכֹבֹר**, and **מִיכָיָה** are all Jerahmeelite names, and so, too, presumably is Shaphan. The best theory is to connect **שַׁפָּן** with **צַפֹּן** (the name of a N. Arabian region; see on *Jer.* i. 14 *ff.*); cp. **שַׁפַּט** from **צַפַּת**. 'Huldah,' too, does not properly mean 'weasel' (!), but is probably in its origin a literary corruption of **חֶרְלָה**, *i.e.* **חֶרְלִית = רֶחַמְאֵלִית**. The Nabatæan name **חֶלְדָּר** (*CIS* ii. 158; Cooke, p. 256) may be a stone-cutter's

mistake; חרלי, too, in 2 Chr. xxviii. 12, an Ishmaelite name, should perhaps be חרלי. 'Huldah' is the wife of Shallum (Ishmaelite? Salmæan?), who is distinguished (1) as בן-תקוה, where תקוע = מענת (in the Negeb), and (2) as בן [ירחמאל] שְׁמֵרוֹן יִרְחַמֵּאל, *i.e.* בן-חרחם שמר הבגדים of Shimron-jerahmeel.' חר' = ירחמאל, written too soon, and therefore to be neglected. שמר is שְׁמֵרוֹן written shortly ('שמר'). בגדים is a manipulated corruption of 'ירח' (cp. גמדים).—For בירושלם read בישמעאל; the two names are often confounded. If 'Huldah' had dwelt in Jerusalem, why should this have been mentioned?—במשנה, *i.e.* בישמעאל (cp. שמן, Isa. x. 27), originally a correction on the mis-written בירושלם. If we do not wish to hold that Huldah dwelt in Beth-ishmael (or -jerahmeel), one of the chief cities of the Negeb, we must suppose that a part of Jerusalem bore the name 'Ishmael.' Cp. on Zeph. i. 10; also *E. Bib.*, 'Huldah,' 'Tekoa.'

CHAP. xxiii. 4. The southern Bethel is meant (see on 1 K. xii. 29, Am. vii. 13). For 'Kidron,' see on 2 S. xv. 23.—V. 5 נְפָרִים. See on Hos. x. 5, Zeph. i. 4.—מְלֹת. The word follows השמש and הירח. Most probably from ישמעאלית, 'the (great) Ishmaelitish goddess'; cp. מלכת ישמעאל, if we may so read in Jer. vii. 18. Similarly תמו (see on Ezek. viii. 14); cp. also ומומים, Dt. ii. 20, from ישמעאלים. Perhaps we may omit השמש and הירח as interpolations, in which case the Baal and his consort (ישמעאלית and הבעל) will stand together. 'All the host of heaven' (which follows) of course includes sun and moon (cp. xvii. 16, xxi. 3).—7. Benz., 'The writer of *v.* 7*b* seems not to have known what the קדשים were for, since he makes them into weavers.' But possibly we should read נושים, 'Cushites' (see on 1 K. xiv. 24). The Cushites were temple-ministers; see on Ezek. xliv. 9*a*, Zeph. i. 8 *f.*, 2 S. v. 8 ('therefore the Jerahmeelites are servants of Yahwè's house').

xxiii. 8. The difficulties of this verse are great. Why 'from Geba to Beersheba'? Did Judah proper really extend northward only as far as Geba (see *E. Bib.*, 'Geba.')? Next, even if we read שְׁעָרִים for שְׁעָרִים, who can explain the topographical notice in *v.* 8*b*? The parallel phrase 'from Dan

to Beersheba' originally described the Israelitish Negeb (see on Judg. xx. 1, 2 S. xxiv. 2), and 'from Geba to Rimmon' (taking these words by themselves) in Zech. xiv. 10 can only mean 'from Geba to Jerahmeel,' and both these place-names necessarily belong to the Negeb. Then, אשר-פתח העיר, אשר-על-שמאול איש, and בשער העיר—are not these in some way related? Then, אשר-על-שמאול איש, how is this to be construed in the clause? And what business has 'Joshua, chief of the city' in a description of a gate? It is a weak remedy for אשר-על-ש' איש to insert בָּא (Klost., G. Hoffm., Ki., after ש^L ; cp. Perles, *Anal.*, 49). Only a thorough-going and yet regular criticism will help. We may assume that the passage referred originally to the Negeb (annexed by Judah); מְעַרֵי יִרְחֵמָאֵל (cp. יהודה from ירחמאל in the corrupt phrase בית-לחם יהודה). As to v. 8b, it should probably run thus ונתן את-במות השָׂדִים ונתן את-במות השָׂדִים, 'and he pulled down the *bāmōth* of the *shēdīm* which were in the entrance of the gate of Jerahmeel.' The corrupt text also permits us to see that there was a variant to ירחמאל, viz. (as so often) ישמעאל. The city meant was one distinguished religiously by having beside its gateway *bāmōth* of Baal and his consort, here called *shēdīm*. יהושע is an invention of the redactor, based upon fragments of both readings ירחמאל and ישמעאל (*i.e.* ירח + ש). אשר-על-שמאול comes from שער ירחמאל שר העיר. ישמעאל represents שער ישמעאל שר העיר. The passage implies that the inhabitants of the Negeb still practised the old cults of the country, and had Israelitish priests. To these priests Josiah gave other places of abode, and their *bamōth* he profaned; and the specially famous *bamōth* of Jerahmeel (see on Jer. ii. 34, iii. 24, Mic. i. 5-7) he broke down.

xxiii. 10. לְמֶלֶךְ. Rather לְמֶלֶךְ. מֶלֶךְ, according to most recent scholars (see *E. Bib.*, 'Molech,' § 5), was a title of Yahwè. The evidence, as sanctioned by a keener criticism, seems to show that מֶלֶךְ is a popular corruption of ירחמאל (*i.e.* the Jerahmeelite Baal). See on Lev. xviii. 21, Jer. xxxii. 35. In the latter passage the *bamōth* of 'the Baal' are put in equally close connection with מֶלֶךְ.—11. The passage has been discussed in *E. Bib.*, 'Nathan-melech,' 'Parbar.' For

מבא read probably מַעְרָב, 'on the west of,' and for the unintelligible בפרורים read בַּפְּרָדִים. The name נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ seems to be a popular corruption of אֵיתָן יִרְחֵמָל. There was an Ethanite or Jerahmeelite, whose office was to attend to the mules—the king's riding animals. Near his chamber were the horses which the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun, together with the chariots of the sun, which latter Josiah is stated to have burned.—13. הַר הַמְּשָׁחִית. Hoffmann (*ZATW* ii. 175), Perles (*Anal.* 31), and Kittel (*ad loc.*) suppose מְשָׁחִית to be an intentional, witty alteration of מִשְׁחָה. But what evidence is there for מִשְׁחָה, 'oil'? Surely הַמְּשָׁחִית, like הַמְּנַתֵּשׁ in Zeph. i. 11, comes from הַמְּשַׁחֲחִים, for an explanation of which see 2 S. xv. 32, אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ, שֵׁם לְאֱלֹהִים מַעֲלֵה הַיָּתִים. See on Neh. xiii. 15, and cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Destruction, Mount of,' also (for the original name), *Crit. Bib.* p. 288, foot. There is good reason to think that the 'mountain' spoken of was really close to Beth-ishmael in the Negeb.

xxiii. 15, 19. Here a revision of the text leads to important results. A recent writer speaks thus (Day, *JBL*, 1902, pp. 208 *f.*).

We are told in the later narrative that Josiah carried his reform, not only into Ephraim and Manasseh, but also into Simeon and Naphtali (xxxiv. 6). Did the writers locate Simeon in the north because they knew no better than to place there a tribe that long before their time had been absorbed by Judah? Naphtali appears to have become . . . a name for all Galilee. The writers of 2 Chr. think that the whole land must have been purged. In giving their conception of the extent of the reformation, they name all parts of the land as it was known to them. All this is in glaring contradiction to the earlier story, where Josiah is said to have gone only into Samaria when upon his iconoclastic pilgrimage.

The truth, however, from the newer point of view, appears to be that Manasseh, Ephraim, Simeon, and Naphtali in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 6 are the territories in the Negeb which were anciently colonised by the tribes bearing the names; the closing words of the verse should probably run בְּרֵהוֹבֹת [יִרְחֵמָל] יִשְׁמַעֵאל, 'in Rehoboth of Jerahmeel (or Ishmael).' Cp. on 2 Chr. xv. 9, xxviii. 12, xxx. 1, 10 *f.*, and see on Isa. ix. 7-x. 4.

xxiii. 29. פְּרֻעָה נָכְה. So in *vs.* 33-35, but in Jer. xlvi. 2 נָכְה פ', and in 2 Chr. xxxv. 20, 22 נָכְה (without פ'). That the redactors thought of the Egyptian king Nekôu II., whom Herodotus (after Hecataeus) states to have warred with the Syrians, and to have defeated them at Magdolon, after which he took Cadytis, a large city of Syria (ii. 159), is beyond reasonable doubt. But Egypt was not half so likely to have interfered with the affairs of Palestine as a N. Arabian power. The description of Josiah's encounter with Necho may be plausibly read so as to fit this view. 'In his days the king of Mišrim went up against the king of Ashhur to the stream Ephrath; and king Josiah went against him, and he slew him at Migdal.' Then (*vs.* 33 *f.*) we are told that the Mišrite king put Jehoahaz in chains at Riblah (= Jerahmeel) in the land of Maacath (see *E. Bib.*, 'Riblah'), and took him away to Mišrim. It is true that Herodotus (*l.c.*) speaks of the warlike expedition of Νεκως in Syria. But it is this same writer who elsewhere (ii. 141) speaks of Σαναχάριβος, king of the Assyrians and Arabians, as going against Σεθως king of Egypt, whereas, doubtless, it was a king of the Asshurites and Arabians who went against the Egyptian king Seti (see *E. Bib.*, 'Sennacherib,' § 5). A similar confusion seems to have been made with regard to 'Nekôs.' It was not an Egyptian but a N. Arabian king who made the expedition of which Herodotus speaks. The Greek writer knew nothing of the N. Arabian peoples, and concluded that, as Nekôs was the most powerful king near the S. border of Syria, Nekôs must have been the king meant by the notice which had reached him. Precisely such a mistake was made by the Chronicler and by the redactor of Kings, and all the more easily because the ethnic Mišrite appears not to have gone out among Jewish writers even after, according to Winckler, the old Mišrite territory had passed from the Mišrites to the peoples called Kedar and Nebaioth. If so, we may suppose that the original narrative in Kings spoke of פְּרֻעָה or פְּרֻעָה without נָכְה as the king whom Josiah opposed. Herodotus's 'Magdolon' is more correct than the 'Megiddo' of Kings and Chron.; the confusion of מְגִדּוֹ and מְגִדָּל was very easy. Herodotus also throws some light on the facts by stating

that 'Nekōs' fought with the 'Syrians.' It was, at any rate, virtually the Asshurites with whom the Miṣrite king contended; the *Káδυτις* of Herodotus was possibly Kadesh. Prior to measuring himself with the king of Ashḥur he wished to become possessed of the old Jerahmeelite Negeb, in which Migdal (perhaps Migdal-cusham, Judg. ix. 46) was situated.—On the text of the closing words (נראתו אתו is impossible), see Klost. (who refers to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23), and *E. Bib.*, 'Josiah,' col. 2611, n. 1. Note that in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 בַּמַּעַנָה מִגְדָּל should most probably be בַּמַּעַנָה מִגְדָּל, or בַּמַּעַנָה מִגְדָּל ('ב' and 'מ' have a tendency to be confounded). Cp. on Zech. xii. 11.

xxiii. 31. חַמְתִּיאל comes from חַמְתִּיאל; אל is formative. The queen-mother by her name was a Hamathite, *i.e.* Maacathite.

xxiii. 34. Eliakim made king; his name changed to Jehoiakim. The motive for such a change is not easy to see. Did the conqueror simply accept the name proposed by the priests? Or was the name originally 'Yerahyakim,' for Yerahme'el-yakim,' *i.e.* 'Jerahmeel raises up'? Cp. on xxiv. 17.

CHAPS. xxiv.-xxv. Here again the question arises whether the (composite?) narrative does not confound two distinct invasions. It would be hypercriticism to deny that Nabu-kudur-uṣur, king of Babylon, invaded Judah. Berossus (*Jos. c. Ap. i. 19*) is said to have spoken of the rebellion of the satrap appointed by Nabopalasar in Egypt, and the region of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, of his defeat by Nabuchodonosor, and of the captives of the Jews, Phœnicians, Syrians, etc., made by that prince after his accession to the throne (cp. Winckler, *Keilinschr. Textbuch*⁽²⁾, p. 58, note 3). There is also a fragment of a cuneiform inscription relative to a campaign against Hatti-land (*i.e.* the region to the W. of the Euphrates) in 602 B.C. Still there are cases enough elsewhere of the (probable) confusion of two distinct invasions of Palestine (see on xviii. 9, 17, xxiii. 29, Isa. xx. 1) to make the story plausible even here (cp. on Jer. xxxvii. 5). A study of the later O.T. literature leads irresistibly to the conclusion that whatever the Babylonian operations in Palestine may have been, they did not set the same mark on

Jewish tradition as another invasion—that of the N. Arabians. That the name נבוכדנאצר or נבוכדראצר meant, to the redactor of Kings, the Babylonian king Nabū-kudur-uṣur, is unquestionable. But experience justifies us in doubting whether this was the name in all the original documents. Most probably נבוכדראצר (נ for ר, after ד, is a corruption) is, usually at least, a redactional transformation of נְבֻרֹד אֲשֻׁר, 'Nebrod-asshur'; cp. Mic. v. 5 [6], where 'Asshur' and 'Nimrod' are parallel. Cp. on Jer. xxvii. 6, and for Nebrod = Nimrod see **Ⓞ**, Gen. x. 8 *f*.

xxiv. 2. For מַשְׁדִּים read נְיָשִׁים or אַרְם-כּוּשׁ, for מוֹאָב and עַמּוֹן read perhaps מַצּוֹר and יַרְחַמְאֵל. Since אֲרָם, as well as עַמּוֹן, represents יַרְחַמְאֵל, it is possible that the original passage meant 'bands (cp. 2 K. v. 2, "the Arammites had gone out in bands") of the Cushites, of the Jerahmeelites, and of the Miṣrites' (Winckler admits Arabian 'kasdim,' *AOF*⁽²⁾, ii. 250 *ff.*). Note that *v.* 2 has the appearance of being the *beginning* of the account of an invasion; *i.e.* the Cushite, the Jerahmeelite, and Miṣrite 'bands' were the precursors of an army. *Vv.* 2-4, therefore, do not probably follow *v.* 1.

xxiv. 7. This verse seems to be the continuation of *v.* 1. It states that the king of Miṣrim remained quietly in his own land. His plan of annexing the Negeb to Miṣsor had been defeated, for his suzerain the king of Jerahmeel (MT. בְּרָל) had taken all the territory which Pir'u of Miṣsor had temporarily occupied 'from the torrent of Miṣrim to the stream of Ephrath' (מַצְרַיִם, מִצְרָת).

xxiv. 8. Jehoiachin's mother came from Ishmael (יְרוּשָׁלַם and יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל are confounded). But Ishmael is a synonym for Jerahmeel. Jehoiakim's mother also came from Jerahmeel (רוּמָה, xxiii. 36, is a corruption).

xxiv. 17. Mattaniah is made king, and his name changed to Ṣidkiyyah. Why? Ṣidkiyyah must have meant more than Ṣidkite (a clan-name). May the יָה in such names be a corruption of יָרַח (for יַרְחַמְאֵל), so that the name would be capable of being interpreted 'Jerahmeel is righteousness,' or 'Righteousness of Jerahmeel.' Cp. on xxiii. 34. Zedekiah's mother comes from Libnah, very possibly the Libnah in the Negeb (see on xix. 8).

CHAP. xxv. 4-6. Zedekiah flees in the direction of

Arabia (עֲרַב; cp. on Dt. i. 1), but is taken in Jerahmeelite Arabia (בְּעֵרַב יְרַחְמֵאל). He hoped, perhaps, to reach the Miṣrite army (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zedekiah'). 'Riblah' is a southern city (see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*).

xxv. 20. נְבוּרֶאֱדָן. A good Babylonian name. But it may have been produced by the redactor out of a N. Arabian name, either Bir-dadda (see on xx. 12) or Nebrod-aram.— רַב־שָׁקָה. The analogy of רַב־סָרִיס and רַב־שָׁקָה suggests that רַב־ט' may come from a N. Arabian district-name; one naturally thinks of רְחֹבֹתַיִם. There were probably several Rehoboths. How the original sentence ran we cannot tell. Cp. on Gen. xxxvii. 36.

xxv. 22 ff. See on Jer. xl. 15 ff., xliii. 2. The names all point to the Negeb (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Tanhumeth'). For instance, 'Kareah' = Jerahmeel; 'Netophathite' = Naphtuhite (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Naphtuhim'). 'Maacathite' = belonging to the southern Maacah. Mizpah may represent 'Zarephath.'

xxv. 27. אוֹרֵל מַרְדּוּךְ. The redactor obviously meant Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor, Avil-Marduk, no historical inscriptions of whose reign have come to light. Berossus says that this king ruled *ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς*. His reign, however (562-560 B.C.), was surely too short to be that referred to in *vs.* 29 f. ('all the days of his life'). It is only a slight improvement which Tiele (*BAG* 457 ff.) produces by supposing (on biblical-chronological grounds) that the true liberator of Jehoiachim was Nergal-sar-uṣur, commonly called Neriglissar; this gives four years (560-556), instead of two, to account for the Hebrew phrase referred to. One can hardly doubt, however, that the king intended was the leading N. Arabian king, and that the underlying name is יְרַחְמֵאל בְּרִדָד (cp. on xx. 12). It would be delightful to replace this notice with security in its complete historical setting. Did the friendly treatment of Jehoiachin involve the recognition of the Jews as a nation, and therefore of the Jewish cult? If so, it would seem that the temple must, as a consequence, have been rebuilt, and that licence must have been given to the exiles to return. Tradition is opposed to this, and so too, apparently, is the great prophecy of restoration in the Book of Isaiah. But see Cheyne, *Ps.*⁽²⁾ *Introd.*, and especially Winckler, *AOF* ii. 198, 439; cp. *KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 284.

ADDENDA

1 Kings xvii. 12, xviii. 10. Why יהוה אלהיך? Kittel replies, 'In the former case because the speaker is a heathen (?); in the latter because Elijah stands in a special relation to Yahwè.' The reasons are very weak. Most probably the original reading was יהוה ירח[מ]אל, which appears to have been a current name of Yahwè in the Negeb, indicating that he was identified with Jerahmeel. See on Gen. ii. 4^b. If so, 'Baal' was distinguished by the narrator from Jerahmeel, which is very possible.

xviii. 12. יהוה ירח is followed by a masc. verb. Why? רוח is fem. According to Stade (*SBOT*) רוח is a later addition, to remove the anthropomorphism. The original reading, however, most probably was יהוה ירחמאל. רוח was suggested by an incomplete ירחמאל ('ירח'), and, for the sake of sense, was prefixed to יהוה.

2 Kings v. 11. אל-המקום has not been satisfactorily explained. Stade excises it as a gloss. He is right, but the form needs correction. In Gen. xii. 6, Isa. xxxiii. 21, מקום is a corruption of ירחם (= ירחמאל); cp. also יקמעם (1 K. iv. 12). Probably אל-המקום represents ירחמאל, a correction of אלהיו. A current name of the God of Israel appears to have been יהוה ירחמאל (see preceding notes). It is true that the God of Aram bore a name which ultimately represents 'Jerahmeel'; the origin of 'Rimmon' or 'Remman' (ר) however, had no doubt been forgotten. [Stade seems wrong, in omitting יהוה, with ר].

PART V

JOSHUA

NO one who has studied the recent commentaries, histories of Israel, and treatises on Hebrew names, can fail to see how much investigation is still required in the Book of Joshua. There are, first, the ordinary and most easily recognised textual questions; next, the historical problems which are largely mixed up with less obvious, but not less real, textual problems; and lastly, the problems of the significance, linguistic and geographical, of clan-names and place-names. All these need to be taken up from a larger point of view, and some of them for the first time. An attempt is made to do so here, except, indeed, in so far as the constructive treatment of historical questions is concerned. That must be left, if it please God, for the near future, when perhaps the wished-for help will have been received from fellow-students working on the same lines. It may, however, at least be suggested to commentators that the view of the conquest of the land of Israel, as having been effected rapidly and completely under Joshua, becomes, not, indeed, historical, but less strikingly irrational, if the land which Israel, according to the earlier form of the narrative, occupied was the N. Arabian border-land, than if, as the present text represents, it was Palestine to the west of the Jordan. Also that the narrative of the conquest of 'Jericho' (including among its details the incidents of the 'harlot' Rahab and the 'mantle of Shinar') becomes more intelligible by the application of a keener textual criticism, while the strange story of the 'hill of the foreskins' now for the first time reveals its own origin; and further, that riddles

like לירדן ירחו (xiii. 32) and ביהודה הירדן (xix. 35) appear to have at length yielded to criticism. The geographical significance of the proper names too can be better seen, now that by the application of the comparative method, and the study of recurring types of corruption, it has become possible to see that in their earliest form very many of the place-names record the original settlements of the tribes which occupied the N. Arabian border-land. The expression 'better seen' is here used to guard against the erroneous supposition that a claim is made by the present writer to finality. The work in hand is difficult, and though possibilities and probabilities have been anxiously weighed in the light of a widened point of view, the writer knows full well that the years will bring many welcome supplements and corrections.

CHAP. i. 2. Joshua (see on Num. xiii. 4-16) is to lead the people across the same stream which its ancestor Jacob crossed when returning to 'his country' (Gen. xxxii. 11). As we shall see, Jacob's country was in N. Arabia, and the stream was the ירדן (Yarḥon = Yerahmeel). Note the ancient correction of ירדן into ירחו ('ירחו'), Num. xxii. 1, etc., which leaves hardly a doubt as to the true reading.

i. 4. The geography has been transformed. הגדול should be either גלעד or הגלעדי, and אפרת = פרת; see on Gen. xv. 18. For הים האחרון Dt. xi. 24 has הים הג' אה' comes from ירחם or ירחמאל; cp. אחר often for ירח', also ירחן. Thus the two phrases are synonymous (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3010). The Lebanon is the southern range so called (see on Jer. xxii. 20, 1 K. v. 20, 2 K. xiv. 7).—כל ארץ החתים interrupts, and is evidently a gloss (not in $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{BAL}}$). The phrase itself surprises Dillmann and Steuernagel; 'Hittites' and 'Canaanites' are not generally synonymous. But, as usual, חתים represents רחבתים (see on Gen. x. 15). 'Rehobothites' and 'Zarephathites' are used widely, though not as synonymous with 'Canaanites' (rather 'Kenizzites').

i. 14. חמשים. For this much misunderstood word, see on Ex. xiii. 18, 1 K. xviii. 1.—15 (end). See on Dt. iv. 47.

CHAP. ii. 1. חרש. *BDB* say, 'noun masc. as adv., "silently, secretly."' But this implies an excessive deference to MT. Clearly we must read אַשְׁחֹר, '(to) Ashḥur,' one of

the terms for the N. Arabian borderland, though also used with a special significance. Cp. on חרם, Judg. i. 35, and on הרשה, 1 S. xxiii. 15.—‘Jericho.’ But the previous statement mentioned Ashhur as the point for which the spies were to make. This confirms the view (see on Gen. xiv. 7, Num. xxxiv. 4) that קדש in קדש ברנע is miswritten for חרש, *i.e.* אֲשְׁחָר, and that ברנע comes from רמען, *i.e.* ירחמאל. Now Ashhur-jerahmeel seems to be the true name of the capital of Bashan (cp. on Dt. iii. 17). There is no reason, however, why there should not have been another place bearing a name which was virtually Ashhur-jerahmeel, though in the speech of the people it became Heresh-ram’an (קדש ברנע) and (omitting the first half of the name) ירחון or ירחו. The later pronunciation of ירחו was Yerēho or Yeriho (here, MT. gives יריחו).—Let us now return to חרש, which, by the way, the accentuation unites to לאמר. If the true name of the city was Ashhur-jerahmeel, it becomes probable that לאמר here, as occasionally elsewhere (*e.g.* Jer. iii. 1, see note), has come from ירחמאל, or has displaced an imperfectly written ירה. Read, ‘as spies to Ashhur-jerahmeel [saying].’—זונה. Why to the house of a harlot? To attract less attention, say the commentators. A weak answer, when we consider that Jephthah and (in G^{BL}) Jeroboam are made sons of harlots by a pure mistake of the scribes (see on Judg. xi. 1, 1 K. xi. 26, and cp. on 1 K. xxii. 38), זונה being a corruption of some popular abbreviation of ישמעאלית, cp. צין, צאן, צען. The original text must have stated that the Israelitish spies found hospitality in the house of an Ishmaelites—a fact specially noticed, because ‘Jericho’ was a city of the Ishmaelites (= Jerahmeelites or Ashhurites).—רחב should be connected with the name of some clan, or people, or place. רחב and חָבֵר (cp. on Num. x. 29) have been suggested (*E. Bib.*, col. 2399). From vi. 25 we learn that the clan of רחב (or חָבֵר?) existed long afterwards in the midst of Israel. Cp. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten*, p. 5.—7. הירדן. The original story had הַיַּרְדֵּן (i. 2).

CHAP. iii. That the original story spoke of the capture of a city called Jerahmeel is in the highest degree probable. Did it also say anything of the wonderful crossing of a stream by the Israelitish host? I see no reason to doubt

this. The substratum of this story seems to be mythological (Winckler, *GI* ii. 106 *f.*), and even if it should turn out that the stream called Jarḥon was not a very great one, this need not diminish our enjoyment of the narrative, which partakes of the nature of a fairy-tale. The case is parallel to that of the rivers of Paradise, which were identified (how unfitly!) with the streams of the N. Arabian border-land. This renders it superfluous to indulge in the otherwise plausible hypothesis that two traditions were confounded, one of which had no crossing of any river, and referred to the conquest by the Judahites of the city of Jerahmeel, and the other to the crossing of the Jordan near Dāmīeh, and the conquest of a Jerahmeelite city by the Ephraimites. See *E. Bib.*, 'Jericho,' § 4, where it is held that 'the crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites under the Ephraimite Joshua was, in its original form, parallel to the migration of Jacob-Israel across the Jordan, which an early tradition placed at the point where it is met by the Jabbok.' Against this observe that most probably the Ephraim which Joshua represents is a southern Ephraim, and the Jabbok a southern stream; cp. also in general G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geogr.* 659-662), whose argument is directed against Stade from a different point of view.

iii. 16. The following corrections appear practically certain. We have here two parallel, alternative descriptions. One runs thus—**ויעמדו הַיָּמִים הַיְרֵדִים יְרַחְמֵאֵלָהּ בְּאֶרֶם הַעִיר אֲשֶׁר-צִרְפַּת**. 'Jerahmeel' is here the name of a district. 'Aram' may perhaps be the city previously called **יְרִיחוֹ** (= **יְרַחְמֵאֵל**). **קָאֵם**, **קָמוּ**, and **קָמוּ** (for the first cp. **קָאֵם** in Hos. x. 14; for the second, see on Gen. xvi. 13, xxii. 13; for the third, cp. **רַחֲקִים**, Ps. lxx. 6) represent respectively, the first **יְרַחְמֵאֵל**, the second and third together **אֶשְׁחֶר יְרַח**, a fuller phrase for the Jerahmeelite region or district, which we shall again and again meet with. **בְּאֶרֶם** and **בְּאֶרֶם** both represent **צִרְפַּת**. The second runs thus—**וַיַּעֲבֹד אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יְרַחְמֵאֵל**. Cp. on Dt. lii. 17. Note that **וַיַּעֲבֹד**'s rendering includes the words *ἕως μέρους Καριαθιαριμ* (see *E. Bib.*). This it is usual to regard as corresponding to **צִרְפַּת**; according to Hollenberg *Καριαθ.* is an ex-

pansion of *σαρθαν* (cp., however, *E. Bib.*, col. 2398, note 2). But it is certain that **ס**'s rendering is no longer in its original form; it is conflate. One thing seems clear, that the writer of *Καριαθιαρειμ* had before him a text in which the Jerahmeelite scenery of the narrative was more evident than it is now. We are not bound to adopt either *קריית ירחמאל* or *קריית ירוחק*; *קריית* may perhaps be a bad emendation of *הרוחק*. But we are justified in insisting on the view that 'Jerahmeel' came into the description, from which it follows that the later tradition was quite wrong in its geography. Cp. on 1 K. vii. 46.

CHAP. iv. 3 (cp. 8). 'And lay them down *במלון* הלילה.' C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* i. 327) has already remarked on the strangeness of the term *המלון*. He thinks that the story of the twelve stones originally stood in one of the Elijah-traditions (cp. *v.* 5, end, with 1 K. xviii. 31), and that *מלון* comes from this tradition (cp. 2 K. vi. 1-6). But the truth about *מלון* will be clear to us if we refer back to a strange story about Moses, in which *במלון* also occurs (Ex. iv. 24); see also on 2 K. xix. 23, Jer. ix. 1. No doubt *מלון* in all these passages comes from *ירחמאל*. The stones were actually set up (*vv.* 19 *f.*) in Gilgal. 'Gilgal' as we have seen (on Dt. xi. 29 *f.*) was in the Jerahmeelite region. It is possible that *הלילה* in the appended words of *v.* 3 ('אשר וגו') really comes from *ירחמאל* (cp. on 2 K. viii. 21, Ps. lxxvii. 3, xci. 5)—a gloss on *מלון*, so that the redactor's work was limited to connecting the two corrupt words *במרון* and *הלילה*.—13. *ערבות יריחו* (so *v.* 10), from *ירחון*, *i.e.* 'Arabia of the (stream) Jarḥon.' Cp. on Dt. i. 1 and on *ער' מואב*, Num. xxii. 1.

CHAP. v. 2 *ff.* The current criticism is very defective here, owing to the want of a sufficiently thorough criticism of the text. With Hollenberg, Wellhausen, etc., we may agree that the original part of *vv.* 2-9 is limited to *vv.* 2 *f.*, 8 *f.* (or, rather, as Carpenter and Battersby), *vv.* 2 *f.*, 9, and that the object of the inserted passage was to harmonise the original account with the statement of Gen. xvii. that circumcision was the sign of the covenant of Israel with Yahwè. It is wrong, however, to affirm that *שורב* and *שנית* in *v.* 2 were also inserted in the same harmonising spirit, for these

words are corrupt; all that we can say is, that the faulty readings may have been facilitated by a desire to prepare the way for *vs.* 3-7 (8). It is also an erroneous view that the short original account said anything at all about circumcision. As in Ex. iv. 24-26 (quoted as a parallel to *vs.* 2 *f.*, 8 *f.* by Kuenen), also in Gen. xxxiv. (see *E. Bib.*, col. 4439), and in 1 S. xviii. 25-27 (see note), the reference to circumcision is due to faults in the text. The true name of the 'hill' spoken of in *v.* 3 has nothing to do with fore-skins;¹ it is a corruption of גבעת ירחמאלים (for this name, see on 1 S. x. 5), for which it may suffice here to refer to the gloss ערלים (as if 'uncircumcised ones') on פלשתים, or, rather, צרפתים. We now pass to *v.* 2. Joshua is told to make 'flint knives' (הַרְבֹּת צָרִים) and circumcise the Israelites 'again, the second time.' The key to 'חר' צ' is supplied by a phrase in *v.* 9. חרפת מצרים, though, as it stands, an ambiguous and improbable phrase, must nevertheless be correct as regards מצרים. It is true, 'flint knives' might be an archaic survival (see *E. Bib.*, col. 2685), but the double plural (הַרְבֹּת צָרִים) would not be likely in a technical term. The two phrases, חרבות צרים and חרפת מצרים, are variants; each supplies half of the true text, which is חרבות מצרים, 'swords of the Misrites.' It is now possible to give decisive corrections of ושוב מל (or, as (ש), ושב), of שנית, and of עשה לך. ישמעאל and ישב (שב) are frequent corruptions of ישמעאל, and comparing further the names שובל and אשבל, which have the same origin, we cannot hesitate to correct ישמעאל. שנית, however strange it may seem to the inexperienced, comes from a corrupt form of ישמ' (so in Isa. iv. 6, Ezek. xi. 11), and so also does עשה לך (cp. on 'Eshcol,' Gen. xiv. 13, Num. xiii. 23). To take a step further, we must once more combine *v.* 2 with *v.* 9. In *v.* 2, correctly read, (*i.e.* omitting the three ישמעאל), the divine speech is reduced to the fragment חרבות מצרים את-בני-ישראל. In *v.* 9, however, we read in MT. (ש agrees), היום גלותי את-חרפת מצרים, מעליכם. This gives us as the necessary correction of the speech in *v.* 2, היום גאלתי את בני יש' מחרבות מצרים, (for גאלתי, see on Ps. xxii. 9). ורחמאלים = עמלקים in *v.* 9 can now be easily accounted for. It is a corruption of

¹ Also nothing to do with the Babylonian Aralu (*E. Bib.*, col. 1716).

which is a gloss on מצרים, parallel to the gloss ישמעאל in *v.* 2. It is almost needless to add that *v.* 3 is a redactional piece of work, except גבעת הערלות, *i.e.* גב' ירחמאלים; we omit אל as dittographic, and replace ב. Where the words 'at the hill of the Jerahmeelites' belong we shall see presently.

v. 13-15. Omitting *vv.* 10-12 (P), we come (as it seems) to an account of a divine revelation to Joshua (cp. on *v.* 15*a* with Ex. iii. 5). But where *is* the revelation?¹ The answer is that part of it, at any rate, is to be found in a distorted form in *vv.* 3 and 9. In the original story *v.* 15*a* was followed by these words, ויאמר ה' אל-יהושע היום גאלתי את-בני-מחורבות מצרים. The 'drawn sword' of the speaker would be an apt comment on such a speech. And in the opening of *v.* 13 ביריחו (clearly unsuitable) should be changed into גבעת ירחמאלים. Apparently the 'Jerahmeelites' hill' was close to Gilgal, where, according to Judg. ii. 1 (see note), מלאך יהוה had his station.²

CHAP. vi. 4. 'Seven trumpets of rams' horns.' Revised Version, with margin, 'or, jubile trumpets.' The combination of שופרות with היובלים, and in *v.* 5 of קרן with היובל, is remarkable. According to the common theory, both שופר and יובל meant originally 'ram,' and hence 'ram's horn' (see Ges.-Bu., *s.v.*). There is no evidence, indeed, that שופר ever means 'ram' in the O.T., and no secure evidence that יובל does. Why, *e.g.*, should קרן היובל mean 'a ram's horn?' And why do we never find the analogous phrase קרן השופר? Lastly, the phrase שנת היובל (Lev. xxv. 13, etc., P), if explained 'year of the ram's horn,' appears scarcely distinctive enough for the great ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως³ (Ⓢ). The philological facts on which the ordinary theory is based are sound, but the theory may nevertheless be wrong. It seems wiser to say that the origin of שופר is almost as uncertain as that of החצצרה. To me it appears

¹ Holzinger well remarks that a mere repetition of Ex. iii. 5 is improbable.

² Similarly Steuernagel, comparing Judg. ii. 1, assumes that the appearance described was at Gilgal.

³ Ⓢ gives ἀφείσις for רור, Lev. xxv. 10, for יובל, Lev. xxv. 28, etc., and for ששטה, Dt. xv. 1, etc.

possible that these three terms, 'חצ', 'ש', and ירבֵל all come from the names of N. Arabian peoples. This is, at any rate, probable for ירבֵל. We have seen in the course of these inquiries that certain objects from N. Arabia are described as being Jerahmeelitish or Ishmaelitish (bows, mantles, and *cymbals* may be mentioned), and we shall see later that the 'Jabal' and 'Jubal' of Gen. iv. 20, the 'Obil' of 1 Chr. xxvii. 30, and the 'Ubal' of Dan. viii. 2, etc., are Jerahmeelite names. It is natural to suppose that the trumpet or horn of *yōbēl* came from N. Arabia, and that the word *yōbēl* (like ירבעל) comes from ירחמאל. Quite independently of this, it has been held that צלצלי שמע in Ps. cl. 5 must mean 'cymbals of Ishmael' (read ישמעאל). It may not be superfluous to remark that the story of Hiram the artificer appears to show that bronze-work was anciently a specialty of the Jerahmeelite region (see on 1 K. vii. 13 *f.*, 46). The secret of שנת הירבֵל has not yet been fully penetrated. 'Year of the Jerahmeel-trumpets' is an inadequate meaning. 'Year of Jerahmeel,' however, is not impossible; this might mean 'the year of the reassignment of the Negeb.' I here assume that the phrase is very ancient, and comes from a law-book which had special reference to the Negeb. The origin of the corruption ירבֵל was, of course, forgotten.

vi. 19, 24. The treasury of Yahwè's house intended here is probably that of Beth-jerahmeel (see on Dt. xii. 5). See on ix. 27.

CHAP. vii. 1. עָקָן (cp. ענק, Num. xiii. 22, יעקן, Dt. x. 6, and יקנעם, xii. 22), and עָכָר (see E^B , Pesh., and cp. vii. 25, and 1 Chr. ii. 7, 4 Esd. vii. 37 [107]) are both early distortions of ירחמאל, and equally justifiable readings. With 'Akar we may compare the legendary Aḫīḳar (Achiacharus of Gk. Tobit; Vg. Achior). נרמי also comes from 'ירח' (cp. 'Beth-hakkerem'). זבדי and זרח too are N. Arabian clan-names (*E. Bib.*, 'Zabdi,' 'Zabdiel'; cp. 'Zimri,' 'Zerah').

vii. 2. E^B omits מקדם לבית אל; E^A , מקדם לבית-אל. Steuernagel follows E^B ; he holds that בית-און is a deliberate alteration of בית אל, Beth-el being regarded as a place of idolatry. This, however, is an error; see next note.—דְּעִי

(⊗, Γαι; sometimes ἡ πόλις = העיר). A strange name for a city evidently of great importance. Of course, 'heap' cannot be the meaning (cp. C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* i. 336). The word may be a corruption of עָרֵב; cp. on אַיִים in II. Isaiah. There was a famous place in N. Arabia called Kirjath-'arāb, i.e. Rehoboth (not Hebron), but this does not appear to have been near Beth-el; besides, Joshua is said to have assigned Rehoboth (Hebron??) to Caleb (xiv. 13). There is, however, one important place near Beth-el, viz. Beth-aven, or rather Beth-on (cp. on Am. v. 5, Hos. iv. 15); and the question is, whether 'Ai' does not mean the city which preceded the later Beth-on, and was itself called 'On' (און) or 'Beth-on,' and perhaps also 'Beth-eden' (see on Am. i. 5). Possibly עי was a deliberate alteration of און to keep the two sites distinct. In Isa. x. 28 we find a place called 'Aiath' (or perhaps 'Ai'; cp. ⊗), but this was not necessarily more than a ruin; the 'Ai' of Ezr. ii. 28, Neh. vii. 32, and the 'Aija' of Neh. xi. 31 are probably archaistic. Hence even if עַם-בֵּית און be a gloss (see preceding note), we must not defend this on the ground that בֵּית און is a dogmatic alteration of בֵּית אל.—7. It is simplest to read קְהָרְמִי.

vii. 21. לָשׁוֹן, 'bar (of gold),' can now be confirmed by the use of *lišanu* in Ass. and Bab. inscriptions (Bruno Meissner, *ZATW*, 1903, pp. 151 *f.*). It is strange, however, that this should be the only occurrence of the word in such a sense, and considering that one might well expect a gloss on such an obscure geographical name as שַׁנְעַר, it is better to regard ל' as a corruption of שַׁמְעַאל, as in xv. 2, xviii. 19, Isa. xi. 15, Ps. cxx. 3, cxl. 12. As so often, the marginal gloss got into the text at an unsuitable place. It may have been already corrupt when it thus shifted its position. אַחַד might be redactional. But more probably both אַחַת and אַחַד are fragments of יְרוּחַמַּאל, which, like לָשׁוֹן (שַׁמְעַאל), is a gloss on שַׁנְעַר.¹ But what is שַׁנְעַר? Is it = šani-'iri, i.e. 'land of two cities,' as Schrader once supposed (*KAT*⁽¹⁾ 34)? Or is it = Šumir,

¹ The view in *E. Bib.*, col. 1751, that ל' is a corruption of שַׁרְיוֹן, 'cuirass,' is plausible. But experience of the types of corruption favours the above theory.

a Babylonian district of doubtful location, as Schrader afterwards held (*KAT*⁽²⁾ 118 *f.*)? Or is it = Šanḥara, a region mentioned with Ḥatti in *Am. Tab.* 25, 49? Surely these are all equally hazardous explanations. Many parallels, however, suggest that 'Shinar' is a compound N. Arabian name. Virtually, it is = שְׁנַאב and בִּשְׁן, *i.e.* it comes from שֵׁן עַרַב, where שֵׁן (cp. שֵׁן) represents יִשְׁמַעֵאל. 'Shinar' then means 'Ishmael of Arabia.' For G's paraphrase *ψιλῆν ποικίλην*, see on 2 S. xiii. 18 *f.*

vii. 24, 26. The scene of Joshua's warfare is in the S. borderland. Not only, therefore, does עַנְוֹר (like עַנְבוֹר) probably come from יְרֻחַמָּאל (see on *v.* 1), but עַמְק, as in Ps. lx. 8, etc., must come from מַעַנַת. עַמְק would not be a very natural word for a valley in the region indicated.

CHAP. viii. 17. בְּעֵי רֵבִית אֵל. G does not express אֵל רֵבִית. Was this introduced by a scribe (Steuernagel), or through 'awkward editorial supplementation' (*Oxf. Hex.*). Perhaps the original text had בֵּית אֵן, here and here only, for דְּעֵי (see on vii. 2), of which there were two competing corrections, עֵי[ה] and אֵל רֵבִית.

CHAP. ix. The agreement with the Gibeonites. The narrative is composite. Steuernagel divides it between D² and P. Both strata contain the same statement as to the fate of the Gibeonites, whose lives indeed are spared, but who are assigned as slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the sanctuary of Yahwè (see on *vv.* 23, 27). 'When the Gibeonites were really put into this position,' says Steuernagel, 'cannot be made out with certainty; probably it took place in the time of Solomon (1 K. ix. 20 *f.*, Ezra ii. 55 *f.*).' But of the two passages which he quotes the first alone is to the point, and that only to a slight extent; it speaks of the forced labour of the non-Israelites of Solomon's dominion, including the 'Hivites' (cp. Josh. ix. 7); the second is disfigured by textual corruption (see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon's Servants'). The probability is that both parts of the strange story in chap. ix. have been manipulated by redactors, and that originally the narrative only stated that the powerful Gibeonite people escaped extermination, not by superior prowess, but by a mere *ruse*, and that the notion of their

being condemned to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' arose through the corruption of עֶרֶב רְהוֹבוֹת יִשְׁמַעֵאל ('Arabia, Rehoboth-ishmael') into עֶבֶד וְחֹטְבֵי עֵצִים וְשֹׁאֲבֵי-מַיִם¹ ('Arabia, Rehoboth-ishmael'). The corruption is closely analogous to that in Ezr. ii. 55^a (see *E. Bib.*, *l.c.*). We may also compare, for the corruption of עֶרֶב into עֶבֶד, the corrupt עֶבֶד אָדָם from עֶרֶב אָרֶם; for that of רְהוֹבוֹת into חֹטְבֵי, see on Num. xi. 4, 2 S. viii. 8, Ezek. xxxix. 6; for that of יִשְׁמַ' into עֵצִים, on Dt. ii. 8 (עֵצִין); and for that of יִשְׁמַעֵאלִים into שׁוֹאֲבֵי-מַיִם, we may compare יִשְׁמַ' = שְׁמַע = שֶׁבַע in xix. 2, and מִשְׁאֲבִים (from יִשְׁמַ') in Judg. v. 11, also מַיִם in xi. 8, 2 S. xii. 27. It really appears as if one of the main historical difficulties of the Joshua-narratives had been removed, and fresh light had been thrown on the genesis of some of the later narratives.

ix. 1^a. Read בְּעֶרֶב הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּקֶהַר וּבְצִרְפַּת וּבְכָל רְחוֹב יָמֵן [הַגִּלְעָד יִרְחַמְעָל הַלְּבָנוֹן]. [הַגִּלְעָד יִרְחַמְעָל הַלְּבָנוֹן]. מוֹל = יִרְחַ', as in Dt. i. 1. 'Gilead, Jerahmeel, Lebanon' is a gloss on רְחוֹב יָמֵן (cp. on Dt. i. 7).—'Gilead,' in 2 S. ii. 9, is the most important part of the S. borderland.—The list in *v.* 1^b is a gloss on כָּל-הַמְּלָכִים in *a*; the original reading in *a* may have been [מְלָכֵי אֲמֹרִי (? אֲרָמִי)] (ס; Steuernagel).—3. As the historical and geographical setting shows, Gibeon must be in the southland. The other mentions of the place in the O.T., critically treated, favour this view. Note, for instance, that in 1 Chr. ix. 35 (viii. 29), the 'father'² of Gibeon is יַעֲוֹאל (= יִרְחַמְעָל), whose wife's name is 'Maacah,' and that, according to *v.* 38 (viii. 32), Jeuel's family dwelt in יְרוּשָׁלַם, which, the names being Jerahmeelite, may be, and probably is, a corruption of יִשְׁמַעֵאל; *i.e.* the land of the Gibeonites was in the N. Arabian borderland. It is still more important that the references to the pool of Gibeon in 2 S. ii. 13 *f.*, Jer. xli. 12 occur in contexts which point distinctly

¹ The singular and plural, side by side, in *v.* 23, has naturally excited surprise. On the new theory 'Arabia,' or 'Ishmaelite Rehoboth,' was a marginal note stating where Gibeon was. Note that one of the Gibeonite cities is called 'Beeroth,' *i.e.* 'Rehoboth' (*v.* 17).

² It is most probable, however, that אֲבִי in these and similar passages (*e.g.* 1 Chr. ii. 21, 23 *f.*, 42, 44 *f.*, etc.) has supplanted an original עֶרֶב. If so, in ix. 35 אֲבִי נֹב should be עֶרֶב נֹב, *i.e.* 'Arab-gibeon,' a gloss on 'Gibeon.' Cp. the proper names Abshalom and Abishai = 'Arāb-ishmael, and see on xv. 13.

to this region. Cp. also above (introd. to chap. ix.), on 'עבד וגו' in *v.* 23.

ix. 7. אֶל-הַחֹרִי, rather אֶל-הַחֹרִי, *i.e.* אֶל-הַאֲשֻׁרִי or אֶל-הַשְּׁחָרִי (cp. on Judg. iii. 3). See on x. 41, 'the land of Gishran = (Ashhur) unto Gibeon.'—10. See on Num. xxi. 21-35, Dt. iii. 17.

ix. 17. ⚡ omits 'on the third day.' The three other Gibeonite cities. (1) כַּפִּירָה. Cp. the בְּנֵי חֲרִיף, Neh. vii. 24, mentioned before the b'nê Gib'ōn. Probably from חֲפֵר, Hopher, 1 K. iv. 10. The יִרְדָּה of Ezra ii. 18 probably comes from [כַּפִּירָה]; but cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Hariph.' In Neh. vi. 2 Chephirah is probably intended by בַּקְעָת אֲוֹנוֹ; read אֲוֹן בַּמְעַנָּת אֲוֹן, 'Ḥiphram (?) in Maacath-on.' This passage suggests that Chephirah (Ḥiphrah?) and, therefore, Gibeon were not very far from Ai (Beth-on?); cp. on vii. 2. (2) בְּאֲרוֹת, *i.e.* probably one of the places called רַחְבּוֹת. (3) קְרִית יַעֲרִים, probably from ק' יִרְחַמָּאֵל (cp. יַאֲרִי). Note that the prophet Uriah of 'K.-jearim' flees to Mišrim (Jer. xxvi. 20 *f.*), just the natural refuge for him if this place was in the Negeb. Cp. on xv. 9.

ix. 23, 27. The Gibeonites being a people of the Negeb (*v.* 3), the sanctuary which they are to serve is also in the Negeb, by which we here mean the N. Arabian borderland (see on Dt. xii. 5).

CHAP. x. 1. 'Adoni-zedek [⚡, harmonistically, Ἀδωνι-βεζεκ] king of Jerusalem.' On the names in Assyrian historical and business records compounded with Adūni, Adūnu, see Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾ 398, note 2. It is enough to mention here Adūnibaal (beside Abibaal), a son of a king of Arvad (*KB* ii. 173). From our point of view Adūni-baal and Adoni-zedek are both compounded of ethnic or district names of the N. Arabian borderland. בַּעַל (as often, *e.g.* Baal-gad) is a corrupt fragment of יִרְחַמָּאֵל; צַדֵּק is an old clan-name (see on 2 S. viii. 17), though also probably the name of the god worshipped especially by the Sedeḫ clan (cp., for facts, Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾ 473 *f.*); עַדְן is the name of a district famous in legend and in prophecy (see on Gen. ii. 8, Am. i. 4 *f.*, and *E. Bib.*, 'Paradise,' § 7). Such names were carried by immigrants to Phœnicia, and naturally abounded in the Negeb.

ירושלם, as often (see on ix. 3), comes from ישמעאל 'Ishmael' or 'Jerahmeel' was one of the chief places in the Negeb. See on Judg. i. 5. We need not therefore cast about for an excuse for the apparent anachronism 'king of Jerusalem.'

x. 2. Adoni-zedek is afraid because Gibeon 'was a great city, like one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai,' etc. What an obscure and prolix story! How can Gibeon have been greater than Ai, and yet (unlike Ai) have had no king? The remedy is simple. The first גדול[ה] probably comes from גלעד (see on xiv. 15). ערי הממלכה reminds us of בית ממלכה = בית ירחמאל, Am. vii. 13. The original text said simply, 'they feared greatly because Gibeon was a city of Gilead.' To this two glosses were appended, כאחת ערי ירחמאל, 'like one of the cities of Jerahmeel,' and a much later one, inconsistent with the former, וכי היא גדולה וגו', 'and because it was greater (than Ai, etc.).'

x. 3. As to the personal names. For הורם read הורם; see on v. 33. In both passages ⚡ gives αιλαμ [BA] or ελαμ [L]. 'Horam' and 'Elam' both come from ירחמאל (cp. on עילם, Gen. x. 22, Ezra ii. 7). פרעם probably represents פרעו; cp. Pir'u, king of Muṣur (*KB* ii. 54). יפיע; cp. פועה and פואה. But ⚡^B (ιεφθα) suggests either יפת or יפתח. The name Japahi given to a prince of Gazri (Gezer) in *Am. Tab.* 204, 4, etc. may be compared with יפיע. We also find Japti'-Addu. Is Japahi = Japti' = יפתח? See on צלפחד, xxvi. 33. דביר is properly a place-name; see on xv. 15. All these seem to be Negeb names. Next, as to the place-names. חברון, as usual, has grown out of, or been substituted for, רחבות, while ירמות (like the ירמות of I Chr. viii. 14, etc.) represents ירחמאל. Possibly indeed ירמות, as an alternative form to 'ירח', was not uncommonly used, for מות in Isa. xxviii. 15, 18 (|| שאול = ישמעאל) and מות[ה] in Isa. xxv. 8 are best viewed as ultimately = ירחמאל. Note that in I Chr. *l.c.* ירמות is a brother of ששק (= כוש, cp. קיש). Also that in xv. 35 ירמכות is mentioned with עדלם, certainly a Jerahmeelite settlement. לניש, as in 2 K. xviii. 14 (see note), represents the Negeb name אשכל (see on Num. xiii. 23). עגלון; see on Judg. iii. 12.

x. 5. דְּהַאֲמָרִי. 𐤄, however, presupposes דְּהַיְבָסִי, *i.e.* דְּהַיְשְׁמַעֲלִי, which (since 'Ishmael' and 'Jerahmeel' are synonyms) points to דְּהַאֲרָמִי (instead of דְּהַאֲמָרִי) = דְּהַיְרַחְמַאֲלִי. Cp. on xxiv. 8, 12, 15.

x. 10 ff. Not the northern but a southern 'Beth-horon' is meant (cp. 'Sanballat the Horonite,' Neh. ii. 10).— 'Azekah.' A place in the Negeb (see on 1 S. xvii. 1).— 'Makkedah.' See next note. For בַּמַּעֲנַת בְּעַמַּק אֵילֹן read בַּמַּעֲנַת בְּאֵ (see on xv. 8), and for סֵפֶר הַיִּשָּׁר read סֵפֶר אֲשַׁחֲרוּ, 'book of Ashhur.' See on 2 S. i. 17-27, end.

x. 16-27. The cave of Makkedah, like that of the Zidonians in xiii. 4, that of Obadiah in 1 K. xviii. 4, that of Adullam in 1 S. xxii. 1, and that of Machpelah in Gen. xxiii. 9 is probably due to mistake. מַעֲרָה (cp. רַאמֹת, רַמָּה) is one of the early corruptions of יְרַחְמַאֲלִי; so, too, probably is מַקְדָּה. It is also obvious that מַעֲרָה and מַקְדָּה are easily confounded. The writer of *vs.* 16-17 had before him a plain statement of the conquest of Makkedah (*v.* 28), into which, however, a *var. lect.* מַעֲרָה had found its way from the margin. To justify this strangely isolated mention of a cave, he imagined the story in *vs.* 16 ff.—29. 'Libnah.' See on Num. xxxiii. 20 *f.*, 2 K. xix. 8.

x. 33. In the meagreness of tradition it was natural to select a form of 'Jerahmeel' (דְּהַרְםִי) as the name of the king of Gezer or Geshur (= Ashhur). Cp. on 1 K. ix. 15.—38. 'Debir.' See on xv. 15.—40. A geographical summary. Cp. on Dt. i. 7, where חוֹף הַיָּם, *i.e.* רְחוֹב יַמֵּן, corresponds with אֲשַׁחֲרוּת, *i.e.* either עֲשַׁתוּר or אֲשַׁחֲרוּת (see on Dt. iii. 17) here.

x. 41. אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן. צְרַפַּת.—עֲזָה. A riddle hitherto unsolved, but scarcely insoluble. The 'land of Goshen' mentioned here and in xi. 16 is not very different from the 'land of Goshen' in Gen. and Ex. 'Goshen' in Gen. and Ex. is in the land of Mišrim; the identification with the Egyptian name Ḳesm (philologically precarious, see W. M. Müller, *E. Bib.*, col. 1759, note 8) is excluded by this precise statement. The key is supplied by 𐤄's equivalent for the Calebite name גִּישָׁן in 1 Chr. ii. 47, which is γῆρσσωμ. Now גִּישָׁן or גִּישָׁן certainly comes from גִּישָׁן = גִּישָׁן. גִּישָׁן therefore comes from גִּישָׁן =

גִּבְעוֹן = גִּבְעוֹן = אֲשְׁחֹר. So also the place-name ג' in xv. 51.—
'Unto Gibeon,' which was an Ashhurite city (see on ix. 7).

CHAP. xi. 1-9. The conflict with Jabin. Cp. on Judg. iv. The geography is transformed.—1. יָמִין = יָמִין (see on Judg. iv. 2). Here, however, as also in 1 S. xii. 9, G^{BA} has *ιαβεις* = יַבֵּשׁ, *i.e.* יִשְׁמֵעֵאל. Jaman (Jerahmeel) and Ishmael are synonymous. חֲצוֹר comes from אֲשְׁחֹר; cp. on חֲצוֹר, Ezek. xxvii. 18.—'Jobab'; see on Gen. x. 29, xxxvi. 33.—'Madon.' G^{BF} *μαρρων*, but Eus. *μαρωμ*, which seems right. It is the place referred to in מִי מָרוֹם (*v.* 5) and מִי מַגְדוֹל (Judg. v. 19). The former phrase may come straight from מִי יָרַח, the latter mediately through מִי מַגְדוֹל.—2. נְפֹתָיוּחַ עֵרֶד probably from נְפֹת דָּוִד, probably from נְפֹתָיוּחַ עֵרֶד. Cp. on 1 K. iv. 11.—*V.* 4 is probably altogether an interpolation; *v.* 5*a*, with 'all those kings met,' connects directly with *vv.* 1-3. The object of the insertion was to introduce a list of the countries or peoples represented in Jabin's host. At any rate, all that follows וְכָל-מַחְנֵיהֶם is explanatory of that phrase; read עַם [עַרְב־יִרְחָמָאֵל] אֲשׁוּר עַד-שַׁפַּת יַם-יִרְחָמָאֵל וְנוֹשׁ יָרַח וְעַרְב־אָדָם. Cp. on Gen. xxii. 17, Judg. vii. 12, 1 S. xiii. 5, 2 S. xvii. 11, 1 K. v. 9. The 'Sea of Jerahmeel' is the so-called Dead Sea (xii. 3).

xi. 5. מִי מָרוֹם. Formerly identified with the Hüleh lake, but without good reason. A. Šanda (*MVG* vii. 2, pp. 39-50) compares the Marum of the cuneiform inscriptions and the Marama of Egyptian documents. But מָרוֹם is one of the corrupt forms of יִרְחָמָאֵל (see p. 31), and מַגְדוֹל (see on Judg. v. 19) is another. If we are right in combining our passage with Judg., *l.c.*, the 'waters' referred to will be those of the נַחַל כְּנָעַן (see on Judg. v. 21).

xi. 6*b*. 'Thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.' A late redactor's pious reconstruction of a ruinous text. Read אֶת-כְּנוֹשִׁים אֶת-יִרְחָמָאֵל וְאֶת-יִרְחָבָתִים [צַרְפַּת יִשְׁמֵעֵאל]. Cp. on Gen. xlix. 6. For עֵקֶר [ת] cp. עֵקֶר = אַחֲרוֹן = יָרַח; ת is a fragment of אַת.

xi. 8. Read עַד-מִצְוֹר עֵרֶב וְעַד-צַרְפַּת יָמִין וְעַד-מַעֲנַת מִצְפָּה. Unless there be a N. Arabian צִדוֹן (to which nothing points), מִצְוֹר as well as צַרְפַּת must be a miswritten מִצְוֹר. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 3164, note 3, and on 'Misrephoth-maim,' col. 3155.—*g**b*. In its true form a gloss on *v.* 8*b*, viz. אֶת-כְּנוֹשִׁים אֶת-יִרְחָמָאֵל.

[צרפת ישמ'] ואת-רחבתים ; cp. *v.* 6*b*.—10. הממלכות האלה ; 12. המלכים האלה (⊗ here, τῶν βασιλέων). *V.* 12 is difficult, not only through האלה, but through the double reference to the kings. In *Isa.* x. 10 ⊗ presupposes הממלכות האלה, which, equally with MT.'s מ' האליל, comes either from מ'מל or from ירחמאל (double representation), and here, too, MT.'s and ⊗'s reading comes from ירחמאל. Cp. also on האלה, xvii. 9, *Judg.* ii. 23, 1 *K.* v. 7. The sense becomes, 'all the cities of Jerahmeel (cp. gloss in *v.* 4) Joshua took.' But we cannot stop here. In *v.* 10, too, המ' האלה must come from ממלכות ירח'. Hazor (Ashhur) was 'the head of all the kingdoms of Jerahmeel.'

xi. 13. This follows strangely on *v.* 12. It becomes clearer when connected with *v.* 11*b*. Joshua burned only one city, viz. Hazor; the other cities were left (cp. *Judg.* i. 19*b*, 21, etc.). These cities are described as העמדות על-תלם (⊗ implies על-תלם). Clearly this is corrupt. תלם is undoubtedly from ישמעאל; see on טלם, *Josh.* xv. 24; תמול, 1 *S.* xxi. 6. Has anything fallen out between העמ' and על-ה? The easiest restoration would be על-הר ישמ'.

xi. 16*b*. A gloss on the preceding description; ו, as often, means 'in fact,' 'that is.' Read והת-הר ישמעאל וצרפתים.—17. Either this geographical description has been manipulated, or popular names are used which led the redactor (in his ignorance of southern geography) to suppose that the whole land of Israel, with partly ideal boundaries, was meant. The mountain-range known as החרק is no doubt some part of the southern ranges. חרק, which may possibly come from ירח', seems to be a clan-name of the southern Gilead. See on חקק, xix. 34; also on *Num.* xxvi. 30; and cp. חלקי, חלקיה, also חלקת, xix. 25, xxi. 31. שער probably comes, not from מצור, but from אשרור גד. בעל is not 'Lord of good fortune,' but = 'Jerahmeel of Gad'; בעל often represents the מאל in ירח'. We must not forget that the region referred to is not in the far north but in the far south; Maacath (so read for *bik'ath*), Lebanon, and Hermon are southern as well as northern names. Cp. on *Judg.* iii. 3.

xi. 21. 'Anakim,' 'Hebron,' 'Debir.' See on xv. 13-15.—ענב (Anab), probably from גבעון, though the redactor, who used an imperfect text, may have thought of the site

still called 'Anāb (see *E. Bib.*, 'Anab'). יהודה, as often, may come from 'ירח, and ישראל be miswritten for 'ישמ; Jerahmeel and Ishmael are synonyms.—22. Read 'only in 'Azzah (a title of Zarephath?), Rehoboth, and Asshur.'—23. 'And the land had not ממלחמה' (so xiv. 15*b*). 'מלח, as in Hos. i. 7, ii. 20, Zech. ix. 10, x. 4, Ps. lxxvi. 4, is a corruption of ירחמאל. Cp. on Judg. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28.

CHAP. xii. 1-6. See on Dt. i. 4, ii. 36, iii. 8, 10-12 16 *f*. In *v*. 3 read [ועדים עָרַב] כנרות מורחה [ועדים עָרַב] וְעָרַב עַד-יָם כנרות מורחה [ועדים עָרַב] ים-ירחמאל מו', in accordance with the true text of Dt. iii. 17. Two alternative readings. The 'Sea (Lake) of Kinneroth' and the 'Sea (Lake) of Melah' (or Jerahmeel) are the same, viz. the 'Dead Sea.' Cp. on xi. 4.—סלנה. A puzzling word till we become aware that סלך, סקל, and שקל are current corruptions of ישמעאל (cp. p. 264). 'Salecah,' in fact, records an old Ishmaelite settlement.

xii. 10. Read ישמעאל and רחבורה. These names decide the general character of the list.—17. 'Tappuah,' see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*—18. 'Aphék.' See p. 206, near foot.—לשרון. If מלך is right, read לשון, *i.e.* either שלון (= Shiloh), or better ישמעאל (see on xv. 2).—20. 'Shimron-meron.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Shimron,' § 1.—22. 'Jokneam.' See on xix. 11.—23. 'Dor,' etc. See on xi. 2.—גוים לגבל. Graf (*Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, p. 870) makes a good case for לגליל; cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 1628. But both גבל (as in Dt. xi. 30) and גליל (as in 1 K. ix. 11) are current corruptions of גלעד. In the present case, לגבל comes from גלעדים (2 K. xv. 25), which was intended as a correction of גויה.

CHAP. xiii. 1-7. Here our study of the text compels us to traverse the statements which are becoming traditional among critics. These statements are only justified on the hypothesis that the received text is in the main correct, *i.e.* that it represents what the original writer, or writers, said. Now, however, that it has been rendered in the highest degree probable that the original text was manipulated by a redactor, or redactors, who had incorrect views both of ancient history and of its geographical setting, we are compelled, not so much to contradict as to transform them. 'In 2-6,' says the *Oxf. Hex.* (ii. 341), 'R^d explains the previous statement in a quite different sense as applying to remote

outlying regions in the south and north. Yet again in 7 these distant patches are to be distributed among the nine and a half tribes which settle west of the Jordan. Plainly 2-6 is not really related to 1 and 7, for the land to be divided in 7 is not that described in 2-6.—*Vv.* 1-7 are therefore assigned to an older source (J), and *vv.* 2-6 to R^p. Unfortunately it has, from our point of view, to be affirmed that the original J considered that the land which was to be allotted was in the N. Arabian borderland. It spoke not of 'Jordan' but of 'Yarḥon,' *i.e.* the stream of Jerahmeel, not of Canaan but of Kenaz; and, whoever be the writer of *vv.* 2-6 and 8-12, the region in his mind's eye was not different from that referred to in *vv.* 1 and 7.

xiii. 2. גשורי. See on 1 S. xxvii. 8.—3. שיחור, not the Nile, but Ashḥur in N. Arabia. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shihor'; cp. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* iii. 1, p. 285. The two discussions are, it should be added, quite independent. The view here given is supported by ⚡, which presupposes, not מן-השיחור but מישימון (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀουκήτου), *i.e.* משמעאל (see on Num. xxi. 20). Possibly הגשורי כל is a later insertion.—The five 'potentates' (רונים, see on Judg. iii. 3) of the Zarephathites reside in 'Azzah (*i.e.* Zarephath-'azzah; cp. on Judg. i. 18, 1 K. xvii. 9). Asshur, Eshcol (Ashkal?), Rehoboth, Ekron (cp. on Judg. i. 18).—ערים, probably from ערבים (cp. pp. 377 *f.*). Here (cp. Dt. ii. 23) ⚡ presupposes חיי.

xiii. 4. For מערה read either מענה (⚡ ἐναντίου Γάζης), taking ענה as = Zarephath, or מראמה ('ר an early modification of ירחמאל. From the traditional point of view, Bennett's מארו is plausible. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Mearah.'—'Aphek.' See on xix. 30.

xiii. 5. וארץ הגבלי (so read) and כל-הלבנון are equivalent; possibly the latter is a gloss. There was a Gebal in the N. Arabian borderland. See on 1 K. v. 32; also on Judg. iii. 2 (where the phrase has also been discovered).—בעל גד. See on xi. 7; also on Judg. iii. 3.—מענת = חמת (*v.* 13).—9. See on *v.* 16.

xiii. 13. 'In the midst of Israel,' *i.e.* in the Negeb.—16. Read העיר אשר במענת ירחמאל. The 'city' intended is Aroer, or (see on 2 S. xxiv. 5) Aroer-yaman. It lay towards

Maacath (see on Judg. xi. 33).—‘Arnon.’ See on Num. xxi. 13.

xiii. 18. ‘Kedemoth’ (cp. ‘the wilderness of Kedemoth,’ Dt. ii. 26), a Jerahmeelite region. See on ‘b’nê Kedem,’ Judg. vi. 3, and *E. Bib.*, ‘Rekem.’—19. ‘Šereth haššahar,’ *i.e.* צרפת אשחור, ‘Šarephath of Ašhur,’ to distinguish from other Šarephaths.—בְּהַר הָעֵמֶק. It is usual to interpret עמק here, and in *v.* 27, as = the Jordan valley (cp. G. A. Sm. *Hist. Geogr.* 655; Buhl, *Pal.* 112). But in the original record (as originally in Judg. vii. 1, 8, 12, xviii. 28, Ps. lx. 8, etc., the reading was מענת. ‘The highlands of Maacath’ is a very possible phrase. Cp. שדה מענת, ‘the uplands of Maacath,’ Gen. xiv. 17 (revised text).—20. Steuernagel supplies תחת before א’ הפ’. Rather read אַשְׁחור ירח, the name of a place as well as a mountain (see on Dt. iii. 17). Evidently a place-name is required.—21b. See on Num. xxxi. 8. Note that סִיחון corresponds with מדין. It was therefore the name of a district; the original is אשחור.

xiii. 23-28. The original writer meant the southern Reuben and Gad. He wrote, probably, not הירדן וגבול, but הַיַּרְדֵּן וְגַבְלָהּ. The ‘border of the Reubenites’ (*v.* 23) was the stream of Jarhon (= Jerahmeel) and the land of Gebal (cp. on 1 K. v. 32). See on Num. xxxiv. 6.—26. בטנים. Probably from נבטים, *i.e.* a settlement of the Nebat-clan (see on 1 K. xi. 26). But see also on 2 S. ii. 29.—לֹדְבָר or דבר לו (2 S. ix. 4), *i.e.* either עָרַב גְּלָעָד, or, much less probably, בָּאָר, בית גל or גל. Cp. on xv. 15. Probably *v.* 26 should come after גלעד in *v.* 25 (Holz.).—27. בעמק; see on *v.* 19.—בית-הָרִים, presumably from ב’ ירחמאל (cp. on הרים, x. 33). But הַר הַר may be a better reading (see on Num. xxxii. 36).—סכנת. Probably from סלכת (= ישמעאלית); not necessarily the Salecah of xii. 5, xiii. 11.—צִפּוֹן. Cp. the Gadite names צִפּוֹן and צִפְיִין, and note that צִפּוֹן is the name of a N. Arabian district. See on Jer. i. 14, xv. 12, and especially *E. Bib.*, ‘Zaphon.’—הירדן וגבל. Correct as in *v.* 23. A gloss, || ערב הירדן (so read) farther on.—30. שָׁשִׁים עִיר, *i.e.* רַחֲבַת יִרְחָ; see on Num. xxxii. 41.—ישמעאל. One of those quaint early transformations of ethnics, of which we have so many in Judges (*e.g.* xii. 9, 14). Read ישמעאל ערב, an early gloss on בשן, which really comes from אבשן or

אָרִישׁ, *i.e.* 'עָרֵב יִשָּׁם' (see on Num. xxi. 33). We hear of 'sixty cities' again—if the text may be trusted—in Dt. iii. 4 and 1 K. iv. 13, where they are located in חֶבְלֵי אֲרָגָב, in בִּשְׁן, and also in 1 Chr. ii. 23, where (according to the text) the Havroth-jair (twenty-three in number, *v.* 22), together with Kenath and its towns, make up 'sixty cities.' In each case make the same correction.—32*b*. See on Num. xxii. 1.

CHAP. xiv. Here begins the assignment of the land of Kenaz (read קֶנֶז). Caleb, a Kenizzite who had joined the Israelites, receives the first portion. Caleb, of course, is the name of a large clan or tribe (cp. 1 S. xxx. 14). See on Num. xiii. 6, Judg. i. 13, and cp. on xv. 13.

xiv. 15. הָאָדָם הַגְּדוֹל בְּעַנְקִים, 'the greatest man among the Anakim'? A foolish idea, badly expressed. Read יִרְחַמְאֵל בְּלֶעַד הַעַנְקִים (for הָאָדָם see on Gen. vii., and for הַגְּדוֹל on x. 2, Gen. xv. 18, Dt. i. 7, etc.), a gloss on עֵרֵב. $\text{\textcircled{S}}^{\text{BAL}}$ has *μητρόπολις τῶν ἐνακ[ε]ίμ*, which springs from a parallel gloss (see on xv. 13).

CHAP. xv. 2-12. Borders of Judah. Cp. on Num. xxxiv. 3-6. In *v.* 1 read אָרָם (Num. xxxiv. 3, revised text).—2. The south boundary line begins 'at the end of the Jerahmeelite Lake, at Ishmael that looks southward.' לִשְׁ[וֹן] (so *v.* 5) comes from יִשְׁמַעֵאל; see on vii. 21.—3. הַקֶּרֶקַע[ה], surely a distorted version of 'Jerahmeel.'—6. בֵּית-הַגְּלָה, 'partridge-house.' Is this a trace of primitive totemism (*E. Bib.*, 'Names,' § 104)? But totemistic appearances have hitherto proved fallacious. גַּחַל (see Ps. cxx. 4, cxl. 11) is one of the current corruptions of יִרְחַמְאֵל; another corruption is מַח[וֹ]לָה out of which, indeed, הַגְּלָה may have directly sprung. In xviii. 21 it is given as a place in Benjamin; it is the Benjamin in the N. Arabian borderland which was originally meant.—אֲבֵן בְּהֵן בֶּן-רְאוּבֵן. As Hogg acutely points out, בְּהֵן is a corruption of רְאוּבֵן, and the true reading probably is 'אֲבֵן ר' or 'אֲבֵן ב' (*E. Bib.*, col. 535, note 4; and 4090; cp. col. 3332, foot); in xviii. 17 $\text{\textcircled{S}}^{\text{BL}}$ implies 'בְּנֵי ר', 'Reuben,' as its name (cp. 'Jerubbaal') indicates, was originally a Jerahmeelite tribe.—7. עַכּוֹר is certainly in the south borderland (see on vii. 24, 26); like אֲרֵנִי it comes from יִרְחַמְאֵל בְּלֶעַד probably from גְּלָל.—אֲרָמִים (so xviii. 17). Read אֲרָמִים. Cp. on 1 S. xvii. 1,

end.—‘En-shemesh,’ ‘En-rogel’ = ‘En-cusham’ (or ‘En-ishmael’), and ‘En-jerahmeel’ respectively; perhaps, however, ‘En’ (עין) should be ‘Ir’ (עיר). Cp. on 1 K. i. 9.

xv. 8. Many of these names appear to have had a double existence. There was, very possibly, not only an En-rogel (see on 2 S. xvii. 17), but also a ‘ravine of the sons (read בני, as in 2 K. xxiii. 10, Kt.) of Hinnom’ in the south border-land as well as near Jerusalem. הנם may be another independent offshoot of ‘ירח’ (cp. חמן), though it may also be explained as = נעמן (*E. Bib.*, col. 2071); note that ‘Naaman’ belongs to a group of N. Arabian names (Na’am, Naḥam, Naḥamani, etc.).—היבוסי. Ⓢ^B τοῦ Ἰεβους; Ⓢ^{AL} Ἰεβους (cp. xviii. 16; Ⓢ^B Ἰεβουσαι; Ⓢ^{AL} Ἰεβους; xviii. 28, Ⓢ^{BAL} Ἰεβους. ‘היא ירוש’ here and in xviii. 28 is a gloss. But the gloss is not in its original form. ‘ירוש’ is miswritten for ‘ישמ’ (a common confusion), and יבוס (Ⓢ) is no ‘pseudo-archaism’ (see on Judg. xix. 10), for יבש, יבם, and ישב are all current corruptions of ‘ישמ’. The ‘Jebusites’ are, by their name, Ishmaelites. It is highly probable that there was a ‘עיר ישמ’ on the border of (the later) Judah and Benjamin, and another in the south borderland (see on 2 S. v. 6-8).—עמק רפאים. The original text must have had מענת אפרים; see on Isa. xvii. 5.

xv. 9. נפתוח, originally a N. Arabian name; cp. the ethnic נפתחיים Gen. x. 13, and see on *שש*. 19, 34, xvii. 7.—‘Ephron.’ The name of a Rehobothite clan (see on Gen. xxiii. 8). Should we not read ערי אל-ארץ עפרון? (not in Ⓢ) and הר are of course variants, and both may have sprung from ארץ, written אר.—בעלה.—See on *שש*. 60.—10. הר שעיר; Ⓢ^B ὄρος Ασσαρ. Read הר אשחר; cp. on הר חרם, Judg. i. 35.—הר יערים = ‘הר ירח’.—כסלון.—שקל, שכל, and שכל, all represent ישמעאל (see pp. 49, 264, and on *שש*. 30, 39, xix. 12, 18). כסלון, therefore, must be formed from an abbreviation of ישמ’ (a synonym of ‘ירח’). Possibly ‘נכס’ היא נכס is an alternative gloss to יערים ‘הר קר’ *שש*. 9.—‘Beth-shemesh,’ either from Beth-ishmael or from Beth-cusham (cp. on 1 S. vi. 9).—11. ‘Ekron’; see on Judg. i. 18.—שכרון probably from אשחר.—‘Mount Baalah.’ ‘Baal’ often represents ‘Jerahmeel.’ Some spur of the Jerahmeelite ranges is meant.—יבנאל. Ⓢ^B λεμμα, as if לבנה (cp. on *שש*. 42). MT.,

however, is plausible. Cp. 'Jabin,' 'Bani,' 'Benaiah,' 'Ibneiah,' etc. For יָמָה the original text probably had יִמְנָה, 'to Yaman,' and in *v.* 12, for 'הימה וגו' [גִּלְעָד וְגִבְלָה], יִמְנָה [גִּלְעָד וְגִבְלָה]. Cp. on Num. xxxiv. 6 *f.*

xv. 13. ק' עָרַב = ק' אָרַב (see on Gen. xxiii. 2). The rest of *v.* 13 testifies to 'awkward erudition,' says Holzinger. This is a hasty judgment; the passage goes with xiv. 15 (see note). As elsewhere (see on ix. 3, with note), אָבִי comes from עָרַב. The resulting phrase עָרַב הָעֵינָק is clearly a gloss on עָרַב (underlying אָרַב). Ⓞ^{BAL} reads differently; μητρόπολις [τῶν] ενακειμ = אָם הַעֲנָקִים. The sense μητρόπολις for אָם is based upon 2 S. xx. 19, where Ⓞ has πόλις καὶ μητρόπ. ἐν Ἰσραηλ, but here, unfortunately, the text is in the utmost disorder. Probably 'עַם הָעֵנָק', in the text of Joshua used by Ⓞ, sprang from 'ירחמאל הענ'; cp. on אָמָה, 2 S. viii. 1. 'Hebron,' as often, should be 'Rehoboth' (Gen. xiii. 18, xxiii. 2, xxxvii. 14), a leading city of the Jerahmeelites, who are called, in *a*, b'ne ha-anāk (see *E. Bib.*, 'Anak,' 'Rehoboth').

xv. 14. In Num. xiii. 22 the phrase, 'the three sons of Anak,' is wanting. We might therefore suppose that יְלִידֵי הָעֵנָק meant 'offspring of Anak.' But in reality יְלִידֵי comes from יִרְחַמְאֵל (cp. on Jer. ii. 14), which is a gloss on הָעֵנָק. Cp. on Num. *l.c.*

xv. 15. דָּבָר. A hard name to explain. Most probably דָּבָר (but in *x.* 3 דָּבִיר) is the לְדָבָר of xiii. 26, which, in turn, is the 'לָ ד' or 'לָ ד' of 2 S. ix. 4 *f.*, xvii. 27 respectively. That 'לָ ד' and 'לָ ד' come from גִּלְעָד is extremely probable; no other view at any rate appears tenable; and בָּר, as well as בָּאָר, probably comes from עָרַב (cp. עָרַב אֲשַׁחַר from רַב שָׁקָה). Other names for the locality are קִרְיַת סָפֵר (as here) and ק' סָנָה (*v.* 49). The former is, not 'city of books' (Ⓞ, πόλις γραμμάτων), nor 'city of the scribe' (Steuern., after W. M. Müller and Sayce), but = 'city of Şarephath' (by transposition and popular corruption); cp. on סָפֵר, Gen. x. 30, סָפֵר, Obad. 20; not, however, meaning the Şephath (= Şarephath) of Judg. i. 17. The latter, hitherto poorly explained as a scribe's error, may, according to parallels, come from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; see on סָנָה, *v.* 31. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Kirjath-sannah,' 'Kirjath-sepher.'

xv. 16. עֲנָסָה (Ⓞ, partly, ἀσχα) means not 'anklet' (!)

but 'Ashhur,' personified as a woman. Cp. אַחִישׁ ('Achish) and עַכְשׁוּב (Ps. cxl. 4), both from אַשְׁחֹר. Note that Caleb, 'Achsah's father, is lord of Rehoboth ('Hebron'), and that 'Achish is king of 'Gath,' which is best identified with Rehoboth (see p. 235, and *E. Bib.*, 4028, foot).—17. 'Othniel, son of Kenaz'; cp. 1 Chr. xxvi. 7, 'Othni, son of Obededom' (*i.e.* Arāb-arām). אֵל is formative; עַתְנִי is probably from אֵיתְנִי. Cp. in the story of Judith (which, in its earlier form, had to do with the N. Arabian borderland), 'Uzziah, b. Micah, of the tribe of Simeon, Hābri b. Othniel, and Carmi b. Malchiel'—all Jerahmeelite names. Note, too, that Ethan, in 1 K. v. 11, is an Ezrahite. *i.e.* Ashhurite.

xv. 19. According to Moore, ג' עלִי־ן, גלַת מִים, and תַּחַת־ן are proper names of Canaanite (not Israelite) origin. Similarly Budde, who, however, thinks that מִים is an Israelite gloss on the obscure word גלַת. It has not been noticed that מִים sometimes represents יָמָן or יַרְחֻמָּאֵל (2 S. xii. 26, 2 Chr. xvi. 4, Ps. lxx. 10, and probably Gen. vii. 6, Josh. xi. 8), also that -ad in 'Gilead' has a tendency to become -ath (see on 1 S. xvii. 4a). Thus גלַת מִים becomes גַּלְעָד יָמָן, 'Yamanite Gilead.' Consequently עלִי־ן and תַּחַת־ן must also be corruptions of N. Arabian names, such as יַשְׁמַעְאֵלִים and נַפְתָּחִים (cp. on נַפְתָּח, xv. 9). For another attempt, see *E. Bib.*, 'Keilah.'

xv. 21 ff. A close study of these names shows very clearly that they belong to the S. borderland and indicate Jerahmeelite settlements. Only a few need be referred to here; for the rest, see *E. Bib.* In v. 21, יַרְחֻמָּאֵל represents a combination of distorted forms of יַרְחֻמָּאֵל and יַשְׁמַעְאֵל respectively (for יַשְׁמַעְאֵל, cp. on צַלַע, xviii. 28, and on יַקְב־זַאב, Judg. vii. 25). For אַדוּם read אַרֻם. In v. 25, חֲצוּר is mentioned twice over; the second time as equivalent to חֲצֵרוֹן. Between חֲצוּר and חֲצֵרוֹן we find חֲדַתָּה וְקֵרִיּוֹת. The presumption is that the same name underlies both these words, and that it is the second part of a compound name beginning with חֲצוּר (אַשְׁחֹר). We must take our choice between רַחֲבֹת and יַרְחֻמָּאֵל (*i.e.* יַרְחֻמָּאֵל). The element חֲצַר in two names (*vs.* 27 ff.) also probably comes from אַשְׁחֹר (cp. צַחַר, Ezek. xxvii. 18). שׁוּעַל no doubt comes from שׁוּאֵל or יַשְׁמַעְאֵל; probably, therefore, גַּדָּה comes from another tribal

name בֶּת־פֶּלֶט. 'Beth-pelet'; see on Num. xvi. 1. נְסִיל (*v.* 30); see on xix. 4. סַנְסַנָּה (*v.* 31); see *E. Bib.*, 'Sansannah.' But considering that סִין, צִין, סִיוֹן, צִיוֹן, צֶעַן, צִיאֹן form a group of current corruptions of שְׂאוּל or יִשְׁמַעֵאל, we may best regard this as a corruption of one of these names (cp. on *v.* 15, 49). In *v.* 32 read (with all critics) 'En-rimmon,' though 'Ir-rimmon' (city of Rimmon) is also possible. 'Rimmon' comes from 'Jerahmeel' (see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.* § 2). In *v.* 33, as elsewhere, שְׂפֵלָה has probably been substituted for פְּלִשְׁתָּה, which in turn has come from צַרְפַּת. For 'Zorah,' see on Judg. xiii. 2. 'Eshbaal' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Seth') is a secondary formation from 'Ishmael.' See on 'Eshtemoh,' *v.* 50. In *v.* 34, for עֵין גִּנָּיִם, ⚙ has πηγῆν γραμμάτων, as if סִפָּר; but really perhaps from π. γαννιμ. גִּנָּיִם, however, must be wrong; perhaps we should read גִּנָּיִם; cp. Ginath or Gunath, 1 K. xvi. 21. תְּפִירוֹת comes from קְפִירוֹת (see on *v.* 9). For וְעֵינָם, see on Gen. xxxviii. 14. In *v.* 35, שׁוֹכָה. In 1 S. xvii. 1 ⚙^{BL}, and in 2 Chr. xi. 7 ⚙^{BA} give σοκχωθ. Can שׁוֹכָה be a late error for סוֹכָה, and this (like סְנוֹת; cp. on xiii. 27) come from סִלְנַת? See on xii. 5. Cp. another שׁוֹכָה in *v.* 48. There were, most probably, several places called Salecah ('Ishmaelitish'). For עֲדָלָם, see on 1 S. xxii. 1. In *v.* 37 'Zenan' comes ultimately from חֲדוּשָׁה, from חֲרֻשָׁה = אֲשַׁחַר. In *v.* 38, יִקְתָּאֵל, see on 2 K. xiv. 7. In *v.* 39, לְכִישׁ = אֲשַׁנְּלָל = יִשְׁמַעֵאל. Cp. נְסִיל, xix. 30. 'Ishmael'; see *E. Bib. s.v.*, and on Mic. i. 11. In *v.* 41 (xix. 27) 'Beth-dagon' perhaps comes from 'Beth-gadon' (see on Judg. xvi. 23). The redactor perhaps confounded this with a Beth-dagan elsewhere (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Beth-dagon').

xv. 44. Note that 'Mareshah' in 1 Ch. ii. 42 is the father of 'Hebron' (Rehoboth), and that the b'nê Mareshah are Calebite. See on Mic. i. 14 *f.*, 2 Chr. xiv. 9 *f.*—49. ק' סְנָה, ⚙ πόλις γραμμάτων, to conform with *v.* 15. But see on *v.* 15.—50. עֲנָב. See on xi. 21. אֲשַׁתְּמוֹעַ or אֲשַׁתְּמוּדָה, as xxi. 14. One of the corruptions of יִשְׁמַעֵאל is שְׂתִים (see on Judg. x. 3; cp. on שְׂתִים, Num. xxiv. 3). The ת must not divert us from the only plausible explanation both of אֲשַׁתְּאוּל (*v.* 33) and of אֲשַׁתְּמוֹעַ. Secondary formations with letters inserted must apparently be admitted. Cp. on 1 S. xxx. 28.

xv. 51. גִּשְׁן. See on x. 41.—הוֹלֶן or (1 Chr. vi. 43)

חִילָן. Cp. חֶלֶן, Num. i. 9; חֶלְחֹל, *v.* 58; also חוּל, one of the b'nê Aram, Gen. x. 23. The common original is ירחמאל; the popular speech produced many such independent formations. Cp. also on xix. 25, Judg. v. 28, and *E. Bib.*, 'Holon.'—גְּלֹה. Perhaps from גלעד (cp. גלית = גלעד), unless it be a corruption of קעילה. See on 2 S. xv. 12, and *E. Bib.*, 'Giloh.'—52. עָרַב = אַרַב, an Arabian settlement.—דוּמָה; see on Gen. xxv. 14.—אשען. Cp. עשן, *v.* 42; בית-שאן, xvii. 11. 'ישם' is the common original.

xv. 53. בֵּית-חַפּוּת. Another Naptuhite settlement; see on *v.* 34, xvii. 7.—54. חַמְטָה probably = the *κειμαθ* of C^b , 1 S. xxx. 29, *i.e.* Maacath. A S. Maacathite settlement. See on חמוטל, 2 K. xxiii. 31.—צִיעֵר. See on 2 K. viii. 21.—55. יוּטָה. Perhaps from יטבה (cp. on 2 K. xxi. 19).—58. 'Halhul,' see on *v.* 51.—'Beth-zur,' perhaps = 'Beth-zophar' = 'Beth-zarephath.' Cp. on 'Zuriel,' Num. iii. 35.—59. אֶלְתָּקָן; cp. אלתקה, xi. 44; אלתקא, xxi. 23; יקחאל, *v.* 38, 2 K. xiv. 7 (see note); all from ישמעאל.—59. See C^b 's insertion, where the names are equally Jerahmeelite (*e.g.* Beth-lehem = Beth-jerahmeel).—'Beth-anoth.' See on 'Beth-anath,' xix. 38.—60. 'Kirjath-baal,' 'Kirjath-jearim'; see on 2 S. vi. 2.—וְהַרְבָּה. Perhaps ו should be omitted, and 'הר' regarded as an honorific title of 'קריית ירח'. There were other cities called 'Jerahmeel,' but this was the great one, where kings resided (see on 2 S. xv. 11). 'Two cities with their villages' is, of course, the redactor's insertion.—61 *f.* Here, as elsewhere, עֵין גְּדִי should be read עֵין גָּדִי (see on Gen. xiv. 7, but also on 1 S. xxiv. 1). עֵיר מְלַח is a popular corruption of 'עיר ירח' (cp. on 2 S. viii. 13). This implies that the places referred to are in the Negeb. בֵּית עֲרַבָה may come from עָרַב. Cp. 'Arāb-jerahmeel' (perhaps) in 2 S. xvii. 26, xxiv. 4; see notes. מִדְיָן may represent מִדְיָן; but cp. on 'priest of Midian' Ex. iii. 1. סִנְכָה almost certainly comes from סִלְכָה = סִנְכָה. נִבְשָן is problematical (see *E. Bib.*, col. 3406). Perhaps, as in the case of סִנְכָה, one letter is dittographic. בִּשְן most probably = עָרַב יִשְׁמַעֵאל = אַבְשָן (see on Dt. i. 4, Judg. v. 28).—63. See on *v.* 8, Judg. i. 21.

CHAPS. xvi. *f.* The tribe of Joseph. Again, it is probable (from the names) that the writings used by P and

by R in their original form referred to the geography of the Negeb (cp. p. 374, top). The Chronicler confirms this view. For in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 6 we should read 'in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim . . . in Rehoboth-ishmael.' In xvii. 16, 18, textual criticism notices another reference to Rehob(oth)-ishmael as the territory of the Joseph-tribe.

xvi. 1. מִירוֹן יִרְחוֹר לְמִי יִרְחוֹר. Steuernagel regards לְמִי יִרְחוֹר as a gloss; Ⓢ did not read the words. This, however, is a mistake. יִרְחוֹר = יִרְחוֹן, a correction of the false reading מִירוֹן. See on Num. xxii. 1. לְמִי ר' has also been misunderstood. It comes certainly from יִרְחוֹמָל, which is a gloss upon יִרְחוֹן. Similarly, in xiii. 22, Num. xxvi. 2, xxxiv. 15, etc. The stream intended is that which, as a boundary stream, bore the name 'Jerahmeel.'—2. עֲטָרוֹת. An early corruption of אֶפְרַת. Cp. on 1 Chr. ii. 54, Num. xxxii. 3, 34.—יִפְלֵט. יִפְלֵט is an Asherite, 1 Chr. vii. 32 f. With the name, cp. Palṭi, 1 S. xxv. 44 (of the Negeb), and see on Peleth, Num. xvi. 1.—'Beth-horon.' See on x. 10.—3. 'Gezer.' See on x. 33.—5. 'Addar.' Cp. 1 Chr. viii. 3 (Addar, son of Bela = Jerahmeel); Arod, Num. xxvi. 17.—6. מִנְּמַחַת, probably from מַעֲנַת.—תְּאֵנַת שִׁלֹה. 'Fig-tree of Shiloh' (so *E. Bib.*, cols. 3316, 4859; cp. Ⓢ)? But more probably from עֲנַת שִׁלֹה, 'Anathoth of Shiloh,' to distinguish from the Anathoth N.E. of Jerusalem. Cp. on Jer i. 1.—יְנוּחָה. Cp. on 'Janoah,' 2 K. xv. 29, also on 'Noḥah,' 1 Chr. viii. 2.—8. There was probably a northern wady called Kanah (see *E. Bib.*, s.v.). Did the Ephraimites carry the name northward? For a southern Kanah must be presumed to have existed. קָנַת, too, is most probably a southern name (see on Num. xxxii. 42), and certainly קָיִן.—10. Note Ⓢ's addition, and cp. on Gen. xiii. 7.

CHAP. xvii. Observe that some of the names are compounded with 'Ishmael.' See on *vs.* 7, 11, and note 'Rehoboth-ishmael,' underlying corrupt words in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 6 (see above, on chaps. xvi. f.). For the names in *v.* 2 see on Num. xxxii. 42.—7. Read 'Maacath (xvi. 6) that is eastward of Cusham.'—For אֶל-הַיַּמִּין אֶל-יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ⓢ has ἐπὶ Ἰαμεὺν καὶ Ἰασσειβ. Correctly, only יִשְׂרָאֵל should, as often (*e.g.* in *v.* 11), be יִשְׂמַעֵאל. The sense becomes, 'to Jamia (= Jerahmeel)'; the appended words 'to Ishmael' are a

gloss or variant.—עיר-נפתוח should probably be עיר-נפתוח (cp. on xv. 34).—9. Read נגבה לנחל ערי ירחמאל לאפרים. For 'ירח' = האלה, see on xi. 10, Isa. x. 10. Then continue במענת ירח (cp. on תוך, Ps. lxxiii. 14), a gloss. מנשה is out of place. וגבול מנ' follows.

xvii. 11. בית-שאן = ישמעאל, an Ishmaelite settlement.—יבלעם, from בלע (see on Gen. xiv. 2), *i.e.* a Jerahmeelite town; cp. on Num. xxii. 5.—דאר; see on xi. 2.—תענך, almost always joined to מגדו (rather מגדול?). For possible origin of name see on Judg. v. 19.—ישבו (four times) comes from ישמעאל, 'Ishmael' = the Negeb. Similarly הנפת = 'נפתוח', 'Ishmael-naphtoah.' So speculations as to the 'three Naphoth' lose their basis.

xvii. 14-18. The Josephites' complaint of their insufficient allotment. 'In the highest degree peculiar, and by its awkwardness of expression suggesting the initial period of Hebrew prose' (Ewald, Dillm.). A keener textual criticism is urgently required. Budde and others have made a beginning. See also corrections in *E. Bib.*, 'Perizzites,' 'Rephaim.'—15. Joshua's reply to the petition is, 'If thou art (as thou sayest) a large people, go up to the woodland (יער), and clear it for thyself [Ishmael, in the land of the Zarephathites (the Rephaites, in the land of all the Rephaites)].'—16. To this the Josephites reply, 'It is beyond us to obtain the woodland [Rehob-ishmael], because of all the Kenizzites who dwell in the land of Maacath [namely, those who are in Beth-shean and its towns, and those who are in Maacath-jizreel].'—17 *f.* Joshua rejoins, 'Thou art a large people, etc.; for the woodland shall be thine, and thou shalt clear it, etc., for thou shalt dispossess the Kenizzites [in Rehob-ishmael], for thou hast superior strength.' In *v.* 15, היערה has given much trouble. Budde (*ZATW*, 1887, p. 125; cp. 1888, p. 148) and Holzinger would read גלעד יערה. But the text-reading is better. It is the יער of the Zarephathite country that is meant. פרוי, as usual, should be צרפתיים, to which הרפאים (also miswritten as הר-אפרים) is a variant. שם, as often, is a fragment of ישמ'; note that ש does not render רפאים . . . שם. In *v.* 16, ימצא is generally misunderstood. ההר should be היער; cp. on *v.* 18. רכב, as elsewhere (*e.g.* Jer. xlvi. 9, Ezek. xxvi. 7), represents רחב;

⊗, Ἴππος ἐπίλεκτος. ברול, as often (e.g. Judg. i. 19, iv. 3, 1 S. xvii. 7), represents either ישמעאל (if the linking form is זורל) or ערב ישמ' (if, on the analogy of דמשק (= ארם אשחר) and רבשקה (= ערב אשחר), we explain ברול as = ערב ישמעאל, 'Ishmaelite Arabia.' The latter view is preferable, but it is convenient in translation to give simply 'Ishmael.' Thus, here at least, the 'chariots of iron' disappear; for parallels, see Judg. i. 19 (note), iv. 3, and cp. on Ex. xiv. 7. העמק, as often, represents מענת. Similarly, ע' יודעאל comes from 'מענת יו', 'Jizreelite Maacath' (Judg. vi. 33), a portion of the larger 'land of Maacath.' For the older view of the 'vale of Jezreel' see *E. Bib.*, 'Jezreel.' In v. 18, כי הר and כי יער are variants. The right reading is probably כי היער הוא comes from יהיה [לך]. Read הקנני (as often). כי רכב ברול לו is, exegetically, very harsh. Read ברחב ישמעאל לו; represents אל in ישמ'. At the end, follow ⊗ (with Steuernagel).

CHAP. xviii. 1. Originally this stood before xiv. 1 (Wellh., *CH*, 130); xviii. 1b thus becomes intelligible. But which Shiloh does P mean? At any rate, the writings used by him meant the Jerahmeelite Shiloh (see on 1 S. i. 3).—17. גלעד, like גלגל in xv. 7, probably comes from גלעד. Cp. גלעד and גלית for גלית, Am. i. 6, 9, 1 S. xvii. 4.

xviii. 19. The original writer probably spoke of a place called 'Ishmael' at the south end of the stream Jarhon. לשון from ישמ'; see on vii. 21.

xviii. 21-24. Originally the Benjamin in the borderland. See *E. Bib.*, 'Zemaraim,' last small type paragraph.—21. עמק קציץ. A strange name for a town! עמק as often (see on 2 S. v. 18) comes from מענת. קציץ may be grouped with the הציץ of 2 Chr. xx. 16, and the הציץ[ו] of Gen. xiv. 7, 2 Chr. xx. 2, perhaps too with סום, Isa. lxvi. 20, Ps. xx. 8, lxxvi. 7, etc. The original of all these corrupt names (unless indeed סום = כוש) is almost certainly אשחר.—22. בית ערבה; see on xv. 6.—צמרים; see *E. Bib.*, 'Zemaraim.'—23. ערים. As in xiii. 3, Dt. ii. 23, from ערבים.—[ה]פרה and עפרה, both probably from אפרת or פרת (see on Jer. xiii. 4). To be distinguished from the Bethlehem-ephraim.—24. נפר. Probably from העמונים.—העפני (stench-town ??), probably a dittographed העמ[ו]ני.—25 ff. נפירה, בארות. See on Josh. ix. 17.—[ה]מצה; cp. מוצא, 1 Chr. ii. 46, viii. 36,

ix. 42.—רקם, from ירחמאל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem').—ירפאל. Perhaps from יר[ח]מאל, a gloss on רקם. Again, perhaps, miswritten as תראלה (ת for מ, ה for ח); cp. מרעלה, xix. 11.—28. צלע, from ישמעאל (see on 2 S. xxi. 14).—האלף, probably from יר[ח]מאל; cp. on Ps. l. 10.—28. For ירושלם read ישמעאל (as in xv. 9).—גבעת קרית, a combination of alternative readings. The second part of the place-name has been swallowed up by the following word ערים (cp. Ⓞ). Read, therefore, either גבעת יערים or קרית י' (יערים from ירחמאל). See on 2 S. vi., Jer. ii. 34, iii. 24, vi. 1 ff.

CHAP. xix. The problems connected with Simeon would seem, under our hands, to have become much simplified. A northern Simeon has only come into existence through the late redactor's transformation of the geography of his texts. See on Gen. xxiv., 2 K. xxiii. 15, 19, 2 Chr. xv. 9. The Simeonites, by their very name, are seen to be of Ishmaelite—*i.e.* N. Arabian—origin, and they seem not to have belonged to the most progressive branches of the race.—4. 'Bēthūl'; in xv. 30, called 'Chesil.' בתול comes by transposition from תובל, *i.e.* ישמעאל (cp. on אתמול, 1 S. x. 11); so also does נסיל (see on נסלן, xv. 10).—חרמה; see on Num. xxi. 3.—5. צקלב from צקלגל, *i.e.* גלעד, ישמעאל (see on 1 S. xxvii. 6).—בית המרכבת, בית רחבות; see *E. Bib.*, 'Marcaboth.'—חצר סוסה, doubtless from 'שמ'.—6. אשחר ישמ'.—7. שרוהן. From אשחרון. See *E. Bib.*, 'Sharuhem.'—8. בעלת באר, rather ערב באר, 'the Arabian Baalath' (1 Chr. iv. 33, 'Baal'). 'Baal' often comes from 'Jerahmeel' (cp. xviii. 14).—[ראמת] רמת נגב. Cp. 1 S. xxx. 27. Perhaps a misplaced gloss on עין רמון (*v.* 7) or עיר ר' (see on *v.* 13).¹—11. לימה. Both words are peculiar. Why לימה? 'Observation of the Sprachbewusstsein,' says König (*Synt.* § 330 *z*). But the preceding Pasek warns us to suspect the text. The word מרעלה (cp. תראלה, xviii. 27) has also an improbable air. The remedy is plain. Both words represent ירחמאל, 'towards Jerahmeel' (cp. on *v.* 29, end).—דבשת (a hump?) is also corrupt. Ⓞ^b has Βαυραβα = בית ערב. Read perhaps יבשת; ישמעאל = יבש; 'Ishmael' is personified as a woman. Cp. on יבשת, Ps. xcv. 5.—יקנעם, another N. Arabian

¹ רמת, like רמת, *v.* 21, ידמת, xxi. 29, איחר, Ex. vi. 23, and אתרים, Num. xxi. 1, originates in ירחם = ירחמאל. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 4011.

name. Cp. on עֵקֶן, vii. 1. The fact that there was a northern Jokneam (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 393) does not militate against the prior existence of Jokneam (a settlement of the 'Achan-clan) in the S. borderland.—12. נְסֻלוֹת תָּבֶר. Cp. נְסֻלוֹת, *v.* 18; נְסִיל, xv. 30; כְּתִלִישׁ, xv. 40; see on נְסֻלוֹן, xv. 10. נְסֻלָּת is to נְסִל = 'שִׁמ' as בְּעֵלָת is to בְּעַל = יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. תָּבֶר, probably from רְחֻבָּת (Judg. iv. 8, viii. 18); cp. the by-form באֲרוֹת. So the name is virtually Ishmael-rehoboth.—דְּבָרָת, an early condensation of a compound name. See on דְּבוּרָה, Judg. iv. 1, and note the gentilic name דְּבָרִי, borne by the father of שְׁלֵמִית (= Ishmaelitess) in Lev. xxiv. 11. As to the situation. The modern Dabūrīyeh, 'on the side of a ledge of rocks at the W. base of Mt. Tabor' (Rob. *BR* iii. 210), may perhaps represent an ancient דְּבָרָת. But our experience suggests the view that the Issacharites (Ashhurites) brought the name from their earlier home in the S. borderland.—יִפְיעַ. See on x. 3.—In *vs.* 12 *f.* Steuernagel would excise מוֹרַח הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ and מוֹרַחַּה as glosses to קְדָמָה. They imply that קְדָמָה means 'eastward.' But has it not rather come from רְקָמָה, *i.e.* 'towards Jerahmeel'? Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem.'—13. 'Gath-hepher.' See on Jonah (p. 150).—עֵתָה קֶצֶן. עֵתָה may be simply a dittographed גָּתָה; or, with Ⓢ , we may read עֵיר ק'. At any rate, the true place-name underlies קֶצֶן, and this is to be explained like חֶצְזֵן (Gen. xiv. 7), *i.e.* it probably comes from שְׁחֹר = אֲשַׁחֹר. See on קֶצֶן, xviii. 21.—רִמּוֹן הַמְּתָאֵר הַנֶּעֱדָה. Plausible as the current explanation may be (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rimmon,' 2 (3), comparison of parallels and geographical consistency suggest a different view as in the highest degree probable. Read רִמּוֹנָה רְאֵמָת יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. This is partly confirmed by Ⓢ^{BAL} (see *E. Bib.*); הַנֶּעֱדָה may be grouped with הַמְּאָה, Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39, and הַנֶּע, 2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 11. The place referred to had two equivalent names, 'Rimmonah' and 'Ramath.' Both are pretty widely spread popular corruptions of יִרְחֻמָּאֵל. To prevent confusion the second name had 'Jerahmeel' attached to it, to indicate that it was in the Negeb and not in Palestine proper. For a parallel see *vs.* 7, 8, where רִמָּת נֶגֶב is probably a gloss on עֵין רִמּוֹן (or עֵיר ר'),

xix. 14. גִּי יִפְתָּח אֵל. As usual, a N. Arabian locality was originally intended. Iphtah is to be grouped with

'Nephtoah' (see on Judg. xi. 1, 2 K. xv. 16); *el* is formative. For older views see *E. Bib.*, 'Dabbasheth,' 'Jiphtah-el.'—15. 'Nahalal.' Cp. on 'Nahaliel,' Num. xxi. 19.—'Shimron,' 'Beth-lehem.' There was a southern as well as a northern Shimron, and very possibly a northern as well as more than one southern Beth-lehem (Beth-jerahmeel). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shimron,' 'Nazareth.'—18. 'Chesulloth.' See on 'Chisloth-tabor' (*v.* 12).—'Shunem.' See on 1 S. xxviii. 4, 2 K. iv. 8.—19. 'Hapharaim.' Read 'Hapharām' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Names,' § 107). See also on 1 K. iv. 10 (Hēpher).—אֲנָחֶרֶת, like אַחֲרֹן (see on Dt. xi. 24), from יִרְחַמָּאל, with feminine ending.—20. הַרְבִּית. Read, probably, רַחְבֹּת. C. Niebuhr proposes דְּבַרְת; cp. Ⓢ^B and xxi. 28.—קִישִׁיִן, either from קִישֶׁן (Ⓢ^B *Κεῖσων*), a popular corruption of כִּישָׁן, or from קִדְשֹׁן. The || passage, 1 Chr. vi. 72, has קִדְשֶׁ. Cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 2683.—אֲבִיָּן. From צַבָּא, which, like צִבְאָה (see on 2 S. ix. 2) = צַבְעֹן, *i.e.* 'שמ'. Cp. on אֲבִיצָן, Judg. xii. 8.—21. 'Remeth'; see on 'Ramath-negeb,' *v.* 8 (note).—'En-gammin.' See on 2 K. ix. 27 (*p.* 362).—22. 'Tabor.' See on *v.* 12.—שַׁחְצוּמָה, a puzzling name (see *E. Bib.*, col. 4421). In view of the numerous names made up of two corrupt, mutilated elements, we may venture to explain Shaḥṣūm as = Ashḥur-ishmael, the feminine ending attached as in Ramah, Baalath, etc.—יִרְדָן, as usual, from יִרְדֵן.

xix. 24-31. It is specially important here to remember that the foundation of P's work is a geographical survey which related to the N. Arabian borderland, and that 'Asher,' like 'Issachar,' was most probably produced by the popular speech out of 'Ashḥur.'

xix. 25. חֶלְקָת. See on חֶקֶק, *v.* 34.—חֶלִי. Read חֶלֶף (as Ⓢ^B), *i.e.* יִרְחַמָּאל (see on *v.* 33).—בִּטְוִן. See on בִּטְוִיִּם, xiii. 26.

xix. 26. מַלְכִּיֶלֶךְ. From מַלְכֵי־אֵל. Cp. on Gen. xlvi. 17 (Malchiel is an Asherite).—'Mish'al,' from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל.—'Carmel.' Originally the southern Carmel (= Jerahmeel) was meant.—'Shihor-libnath.' See *E. Bib.*, *s.v.* 'Shihor' is no doubt = the N. Arabian district-name, Ashḥur, which, like Jerahmeel, gave its name to different settlements. This Shihor or Ashḥur was near Libnah, or belonged to the Laban clan.—'Beth-dagon. See on xv. 41.—27. גְּבוּלָה. Rather גְּבוּל = גְּבֻלָּה (cp. on 1 K. ix. 13).—'Beth-emek,' 'Neiel,' see on

Num. xxvi. 33. The following word, מַשְׁמַאל ('on the left hand'?), is a difficulty. It nowhere else occurs in P, and why should this particular member of the list of names have this special topographical definition? Surely 'מש' is a corruption of שַׁמְעַאל, which is a gloss on the name which underlies נְבוֹל. There were other places of the name; this one, however, was in 'Ishmael' = 'Jerahmeel,' *i.e.* the Negeb. —28. עֲרֹב or עֲרוֹן (xxi. 30), perhaps עֲרוֹן (from עָרַב). רַחוּב = רַחוּבוֹת. קְנֵה. Cp. on xvi. 8.—עַד-צִידוֹן וְקָה. Here the redactor's manipulation can be clearly seen. So many indications show that the original lists referred to the Negeb that, unless we assume that there was a Zidon in the Negeb or in Muṣri, we must here, as elsewhere, probably correct צִידוֹן into מִצְוֹר, and suppose an anticipative reference to the city of Miṣsor, of course, which is mentioned again in *v.* 29. (We might read צַעַר, but cp. on Gen. xix. 20.) רְבָה should probably be עָרַב. It was not the N. Syrian but the Arabian Muṣri to which the original list referred.—29. 'Ramah.' A Ramah near Tyre? For conjectures assuming this view, see *E. Bib.*, 'Ramah,' § 6. The name, however, indicates that a Jerahmeelite settlement is intended, and can best be explained on the hypothesis that the original writing referred to the south borderland.—וְעַד-עִיר מִבְּצֹר צֹר. ע³ expresses עִין instead of עִיר (see *E. Bib.*, 'Tyre,' § 1, and cp. Dillm. *ad loc.*). Probably, however, we should rather read וְעַד-עִיר מִצְוֹר, 'to the city of Miṣsor,' and so in 2 S. xxiv. 7. Cp. my note on Ps. lx. 11 (in cviii. 11 עִיר מִצְוֹר becomes מִבְּצֹר), and on 2 K. xviii. 8.—חֹקֵה. G. F. Moore's tempting identification with the Uṣu of the Assyrian inscriptions (*Judges*, p. 51, note †) must, I fear, be put aside; the redactor (who seems to have shifted the geography of the lists) can hardly have known of Uṣu. In 1 Chr. xvi. 38, xxvi. 10, 16, we find among the doorkeepers (שַׁעֲרִים), originally 'Asshurites' (אַשּׁוּרִים), of the temple the names Obed-edom (rather 'Arābarām) and Hosah (חֹקֵה). Consistency requires that this should be a N. Arabian name. Its origin is obscure. In Chron. *l.c.* we expect such a name as חֹרַם = אַשּׁוּרִים ('Asshurites' are spoken of), nor should we be surprised to find it in the original list of the towns of Asher (from 'Asshur' = 'Ashhur').—הַיָּמָה. Originally יָמָה, 'towards Jaman' (Num.

xxxiv. 5).—We can now understand מחבל אנויב. Steuer-nagel remarks, 'Following **G**, read ומחלב ואנויב, and connect these words with *v.* 30.' For only slightly different views, see *E. Bib.*, col. 102, note 1; Moore, *Judges*, 51. Two points, however, have to be considered: (1) that חבל again and again (see on Dt. iii. 4) has come from ירחמאל; and (2) that in *v.* 11 the two words, לימה ומרעלה (side by side), both represent ירחמאלה (error and correction). It is difficult to avoid concluding that הימה מחבל in *v.* 29 represents ימנה (see above), where 'ירח' ('to Jerahmeel') is a gloss on ימנה ('towards Jaman'). The ה- in ואנ' is redactional, a consequence of the faulty reading, מחבל. The next name in MT. is עפה (*v.* 30), which, after Hollenberg (*ZATW* i. 100 *f.*), it is usual to emend into עפה or ענו, *i.e.* as the commentators suppose, the modern 'Akka. Geographically, this can be made plausible (see Moore, *Judges*, 51), though the strong idealisation of the territorial limits of the northern Asher is most surprising (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Asher,' § 3). One may agree that ענה is an approach to the original reading, but experience enables us to go farther. The original writer did *not* idealise Asher; he spoke of a district in N. Arabia, and wrote, not ענה, but מענת. This needs no special confirmation; it is self-evidently true. Still it is worth noticing that Pesh. and two Heb. MSS. (de Rossi) read עמק, *i.e.* מענת. —אפק. Is this Aphek, which (see xiii. 4) was on the border of the (southern) Arammites, the Apku of Esarhaddon's inscription, quoted in *E. Bib.*, col. 4529 (top)? So, at any rate, Šanda (*MVG*, 1902, p. 58). Apku was 'in (country) Sa-me-n[a],' *i.e.* perhaps in Ishmael, and was in the direction of the wady of Muşur.—'Rehob,' *i.e.* 'Rehoboth' (see on Num. xiii. 21).

xix. 33. מחלה, certainly not 'from Heleph.' Either it comes from a dittographed גבלם (*E. Bib.*, col. 2005), or, more probably, like מחבל (*v.* 29) and האלה (xviii. 28), it represents ירחמאל, which was a correction of לקום, and has intruded from the margin.—בצענים can also now be definitively explained. צענים (cp. on צאנן, Mic. i. 11) would represent ישמעאלים. The form found, however, is בצ'; this comes from צבענים, which (see on Gen. xxxvi. 2) is still nearer to ישמ'. Perhaps some great battle, with hostile

Ishmaelites or Jerahmeelites, took place near the sacred tree (אלון). Cp. on Judg. iv. 37 ('*zōn me'ōnenim*).—אדמי הנקב. אדמי הנקב is puzzling. It might mean 'the pass' (so most), but is this likely? אדמי probably comes from 'ארמי, *i.e.* ארמים (cp. E^{BA}); see on אדמה, *v.* 36; אדמים, xv. 7. Now ארמים ארמי for 'נקב אר' is hardly conceivable. E supposes the word following אדמי or ארמי to be a place-name (or [E^{A}] a part of a compound place-name). We may plausibly take ארמי to be an early gloss on צעננים (= 'שמ'), and read והנקב. A clue to this name is wanting.

xix. 34. אונות תבר. Cp. און-שארד, 1 Chr. vii. 24*b*. The two parallel compound names represent respectively זאן-רובת and זאן-אשחר. זאן, like עון, צאן, and צען (see on 1 S. xvi. 11, Mic. i. 11, Num. xxxiv. 26), represents ישמעאל; see, further, on 2 K. xxv. 23. For תבר, see on *v.* 12.—חוקק. Cp. חוקק, 1 Chr. vi. 60. Like חלקת in xix. 25, xxi. 31, and the personal name, חבקוק, it probably comes from רב-יהודה הנרדן—*E. Bib.*, 'Helkath.' This ancient enigma can now, it would seem, be solved. The non-recognition of ביהודה in E led Holzinger to suppose that it was excised by the translator (or the scribe whose work he used?) as 'suspicious,' *i.e.* corrupt. In *E. Bib.*, col. 2623, it is maintained that ירדן was written twice, and one of the 'Jordans' wrongly emended into 'Judah.' See also Torrey, *New World*, viii. 776. We have, however, now plenty of evidence that יהודה and ירדן are constant types of corruption, which replace ירחמאל and ירחון respectively, and since the redactor is evidently working on territorial lists, which originally referred to the south borderland, we need not hesitate to read *v.* 34*b* thus, 'and it strikes Zebulun on the south, and strikes Asher on the west, and Jerahmeel (*i.e.* the border-stream called Jerahmeel or Jarhon) on the east.'

xix. 35-38. All these place-names seem based upon names of clans and districts. Ziddim, Zer, Hazor, En-hazor, are best connected with אשחר; Adamah and Ramah with ארם; Iron (יראון) and Horem with ירחמאל; Hammath with Maacath, Beth-shemesh with Cusham; Kedesh needs no explanation (cp. Judg. iv. 6, where a southern Kedesh was plainly meant by the original narrator). The doubtful ones are—(1) רקת ונורת. This should probably be קרית נורת.

As for ננרת, it is now possible to go beyond *E. Bib.*, cols. 747 *f.* Without denying that kn-na-ra-tu in the Retennu list of Thothmes III., no. 30 (*RP*⁽²⁾ v. 45; *WMM*, *As. u. Eur.* 84, note 1) has to be explained in the same way, I hold it to be plain that ננרת is a Jerahmeelite name. From 2 S. vi. 5, 1 K. x. 12, we see that ננור was liable to be read for אחרון = ירחאן = ירחמאל (for 'אח', see on Dt. xi. 24). Cp. קרנים, also from 'יח' (Gen. xiv. 5). For אדרעי (= ערד), see on Dt. i. 4. In 'Migdal-el,' *el* is formative; 'migdal' probably comes from גמר = ירחם (cp. on Gen. x. 21 and 1 S. xiv. 2). 'Beth-anath' may come from בֵּית אֵיתָן. On אדמה note that Kampffmeyer would read אדמה (for אדם) in 1 K. vii. 46, where, however, the true reading is אָרָם. See *ZDPV* xvi. 14.—'Beth-shemesh'; see on xv. 10.

xix. 40 *ff.* Cp. on Judg. i. 34 *f.* That Dan was one of the tribes which dwelt in the south borderland appears from Judg. xiii. 25 and xviii.; 'Zorah' and 'Eshtaol' (see on xv. 33, Judg. xiii. 25) were certainly in this much disputed region.—41. 'Ir-shemesh' = Ir-ishmael, or Ir-cusham; see on 'Beth-shemesh,' xv. 9. We need not be surprised at finding Dan compared in Dt. xxxiii. to a 'lion's whelp that leaps forth from Cusham.'—42. 'Shaalabbin,' elsewhere 'Shaalbim' (see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*). The place-name, however, is corrupt; the original may be 'Beth-sha'alim' (cp. on 1 S. ix. 4), if we should not rather say, 'Beth-ishmael' (cp. 'Leshem,' v. 47 = 'Ishmael'). The totemistic theory both of Shaalbim and of Aijalon (as if = Fox-town, Stag-town) must be abandoned.—'Aijalon' (אֵילֹן) and 'Elon' (v. 43). The original is ירחמאל; cp. on אֵילֹן, Judg. xii. 11.—'Timnah'; see on Gen. xxxviii. 12, Judg. xiv. 1.—'Ekron,' עַקְרוֹן (see on Judg. i. 18). That there was a true 'Philistine' Ekron need not be denied. But there was also a Zarephathite Ekron, which the Danites may for a time have conquered. The 'Philistine' Ekron in the Assyrian inscriptions is Amḫarruna (*Del. Par.* 289), which, like מִי יַקְרוֹן in v. 46, possibly comes from ירחמאל. See on Josh. vii. 1, and *E. Bib.*, 'Me Jarkon.' Places with names which arose out of 'Jerahmeel,' but which, in their corrupt form, early attained an independent existence, abounded in S. Palestine and in the borderland.—44. 'Eltekeh.' See on xv. 59.—'Gib-

bethon. Is it for 'Gibeathon'? See *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*, and on 1 K. xv. 27.—45. 'Jehud.' Cp. the personal name, 'Jehudi,' Jer. xxxvi. 14, also on 'Ammihur' (⊗, Ammihud), 2 S. xiii. 37.—בְּנֵי-בָרַק. Cp. 'Barak,' Judg. iv. 6. That there was a southern clan-name, ברד, is shown by the occurrences of the expanded gentile ברניה (see *E. Bib.*, 'Berechiah'); probably בנר (Gen. xlvi. 21) is only another form of this. Cp., also, עקרב, עקרב, and עקרב. In Sennacherib's Annals (ii. 66) we find the place-name, Banai-barqa.—46. 'Mejarkon'; see on *v.* 43 (Ekron).—הַרְקוֹן; dittographic.—יָפוֹ. The original text probably had יָפֵעַ (*v.* 12). Cp. on Jon. i. 3, 2 Chr. ii. 16.—47. Cp. on Judg. i. 34 *ff.* לָשֵׁם, like לֵישׁ, comes from יִשְׁמַעֵאל.—50. תִּמְנַת-אֲשֻׁרָה = ת-חורם, *i.e.* תִּמְנַת-אֲשֻׁרָה, 'the Ashhurite Timnah.' The southern Ephraim is meant.

CHAP. xx. Cities of refuge—three on the west, three on the east of the stream Jarḥon (cp. on Dt. iv. 41-43).—7. 'Kedesh,' בגליל. Read, rather, בגלעד (see on xxii. 23).—8. ירחו, *i.e.* 'ירחו', a correction of ירון (see on Num. xxii. 1). ⊗ does not express the correction, and also neglects מורחה.—ראמות, *v.l.*, ראמת. See on xix. 8.

CHAPS. xxii.-xxiv. There has been much manipulation and expansion of an older text, glimpses of which can be obtained.

xxii. 11. בגלילות. See on xviii. 17, and on Dt. xi. 30 (גלעד from גליל).

CHAP. xxiv. 1. 'And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem.' In the writing which P probably used, the phrase, 'all Israel,' meant 'all the Israelites in the N. Arabian borderland' (see on 1 K. viii. 65, Judg. xx. 1, 2 S. ii. 8 *f.*, *v.* 1).—'Shechem,' as usual, has come by transposition from 'Cusham.' It is not a historical fact that this convention under Joshua took place, but, at any rate, such assemblies may have taken place when the original writer lived.—2. The נהר referred to may be the נהר [א]פרת (see on Gen. xv. 18); and בְּעֶבֶר (so *v.* 15) should not improbably be בְּעֶרֶב (see on Dt. i. 1); just as אור נשדים should be ערב ל'. אלהים אלהים should possibly be אלהי ירחמאל (cp. on Dt. v. 7). The N. Arabian deities seem to have been Jarḥam (the moon-god)—or Jerahmeel = Baal—and Cushith or Yišme'elith (see on Jer. iii. 23 *f.*, 2 K. xxiii. 5), *i.e.* Aštar

or Astart. Cp. Barton (*Semitic Origins*, p. 148), 'The worship of Baal was in many places connected with the old mother-goddess, Astart.'—In *v.* 3 read, perhaps, מַעֲרַב, and certainly קָנָו, and so on.—In *v.* 15 אמרי was originally אָרָפִי, and in *v.* 17 מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים was מִבֵּית עֲרָבִים (see on Ex. xiii. 3).—In *v.* 30 (Judg. ii. 9) הָרָה גַעַשׁ from הָרָה אֲשַׁחֵר (as shown on 2 S. xxiii. 30); סוּחַ, as we have seen (on xix. 50), also = אֲשַׁחֵר. G^{BL} , τοῦ ὄρους [τοῦ] γαλααδ, presumably representing an early gloss. Cp. G^{B} , 2 S. xxiii. 30, ἀπὸ χειμαρρῶν γαδ (from γαλααδ?).—In *v.* 33 נִבְרַעַת פִּינְחָס from נִבְרַעַת יִרְחֵמָאֵל. See *E. Bib.*, 'Phinehas,' and on Jer. xlv. 15; also on 1 K. xv. 27.

JUDGES

THE introductory remarks on Joshua may, to a great extent, be applied to Judges. It is true, more has been done for the text of Judges (think of chap. v.!) than for that of Joshua, the number of obvious textual corruptions being much greater in Judges than in Joshua. But whether even here the textual problems have often been rightly apprehended is the question. The historical problems, too, have received much attention, but, as the present writer is compelled to think, without very satisfactory results. It must, however, be emphatically stated that without the able pioneering work of predecessors (notably Moore) the present imperfect attempt to revise the basis of all investigation—the Hebrew text—would have been impossible. Many errors in the following pages there must, of course, be, but there are, at any rate, not a few solutions of textual problems which have an air of considerable probability, and which ought not to be set aside, simply on the ground that the point of view here adopted, and the methods employed, are partly different from those favoured by the majority. It takes much hard and self-denying work to get at a new point of view, and without such hard work on the part of those who may sit in judgment on the present work much unintentional injustice cannot be avoided. 'When large ranges of [possible] truth open, it is surely best to be able to open ourselves to their reception, unfettered by our previous pretensions.'

CHAP. i. 5 *ff.* The conquered enemies are Kenizzites (כנען has constantly replaced כנז in the early narrative) and Zaraphites or Zarephathites (see *E. Bib.*, 'Perizzites'). The battle-field was near בוק. There is no need to read עוקה

(Steuern. *Einwand*. 85). The word may represent either ברוק, or ברך (ברונה ?), or בנר. All these names are connected with the Negeb. בנר, the name of Saul's clan, is perhaps the most plausible, having regard to 1 S. xi. 8, where Saul is spoken of. Here the true text probably states that Bezek (?) was in Jerahmeel (*i.e.* in N. Arabia). It is true, Moore denies that the same Bezek is meant in both passages, but a searching criticism shows, at any rate, this much, that the scene of both narratives is in N. Arabia. The name of the hapless king in i. 5 *ff.* is probably אדני צדק; the place to which he was conveyed was his own royal city Ishmael (see on Josh. x. 1), or, as the place is also called, Jerahmeel. That the original tradition specified the בני-יהודה as the clan which conquered *Ishmael* is improbable. In v. 21 the בני בנימן are implied as the conquerors of that city. Thus Kuenen's difficulty about Jerusalem (*Onderzoek*⁽²⁾, i. 357) is removed. The question of the origin of such names as Adonizedek is adverted to in note on Josh. x. 1. The current view needs expansion and correction in view of the facts of textual criticism.¹

i. 10-15. See on Josh. xv. 13-19. In v. 13 note the insertion הקטן ממנו (also in iii. 9, but not in Josh. xv. 17). To what name is the phrase אחי נלב וגו' in apposition? Critics reply, to Othniel. But why should the age of Othniel be noticed at all? It has not been observed that הקטן and ממנו are among the current corruptions of ירחמאל (cp. on Gen. ix. 24). הק' מ' represent a dittographed ירחמאל (a variant to קנו). According to 1 Chr. ii. 9, 42 Jerahmeel and Caleb were brothers. Render, 'Othniel, son of Kenaz [Jerahmeel], the brother of Caleb.'

i. 16. On קיני see Moore. Perhaps we should read חֶבֶר הַקִּינִי (see on Num. x. 29). עיר תמרים (so iii. 13) represents ערב ירחמאל; cp. ירח' = ירח, and רמתים in 1 S. i. 1. The identification of the 'city of palm-trees' (?) with Jericho is a mistake (see *E. Bib.*, cols. 2396, 2651, and on Dt. xxxiv. 3). The next words are difficult. 'It hardly seems

¹ Here and elsewhere Pèrre M. J. Lagrange (whom I am delighted to meet on this field) gives lucid and accurate expression to the view generally prevalent among contemporary critics. A step forward, however, cannot long be delayed.

possible that a part of the Wilderness could be described as lying in the Negeb of Arad' (Moore). The variety in the readings of S shows the difficulty that was felt by the ancients; see Moore and Lagrange. With Moore, I am of opinion that S 's במורד (*ἐπὶ καταβάσεως*) is an old error for במדבר, as in viii. 24 (MT. 'במד', but S *ἐπὶ τῆς καταβ.*). Possibly the true S should run, . . . *ἐν τῷ νότῳ Αραδ*, a second מדבר [ב] having intruded very late into the text, miswritten (possibly under the influence of ערד) as מורד [ב]. This, however, surely does not give the original writer's meaning. The scribes were in constant danger of confounding 'ירח' (= ירחמאל) and יהודה; see on I S. xxvii. 10, Zech. xii. 4-7, etc. This confusion has evidently taken place here. Either we should read 'מדבר ערד אשר בנגב ירח' or 'מדבר אשר בנגב ירחמאל'. The latter reading is to be preferred, because it explains the reference to 'Amalek' or 'Jerahmeel' at the end of the verse. (For doubtless S^N Sahid. are right with their *μετὰ [τοῦ λαοῦ] Αμαληκ*, except that העם presupposes either העמלק [Budde] or ירחמאל. Cp. I S. xv. 6.) For 'Arab-jerahmeel,' see on Dt. i. 1 f., 2 S. xvii. 26, and on the whole passage, see on Num. xxi. 1.—17. See on Num. xxi. 3. צַפַּת = צַפְתָּ (cp. S^A *σεφερ*); רחמה = חרמה (from 'ירח').

i. 18. עֶזְרָה, perhaps short for 'צפת (צרפת) ע' ; cp. on I K. xvii. 9. If so, the conquest of Zarephath is related twice over. אשקלון should be read either אַשְׁכָּל, or better, אַשְׁקָל. The origin both of אשכל and of אשקלון is doubtless אשמעאל (see on I S. xvii. 4b-7). Eshcol (Ashkal) was in the hill-country near Hebron or Rehoboth; tradition affirmed the conquest of both places. עקרון comes from אחרון; אחר is a common abbreviation of ירחמאל; cp. also ירקון, Josh. xix. 46; עכרן, Num. i. 13. Possibly, therefore, more than one place bore the name of Ekron. We may assume, however, that the 'Ekron' here meant is the most famous one which was on the northern border of the land of Kenaz (Josh. xiii. 3). That tradition in one of its forms spoke of the early conquest of 'Ekron' seems to be indirectly stated in the story which accounts for the name of 'Achor' (Josh. vii. 24, 26). V. 19 thus becomes an explanation of v. 18. S apparently reads (for וילכד) הוריש; but this may be a learned emendation,

suggested by the very considerations urged, in our day, by the commentators (*e.g.* Moore).

i. 19. 'For he could not (כִּי לֹא יָכַל, פ) dispossess the inhabitants of the plain, because they had chariots of iron'? The 'chariots of iron' are suspicious (cp. on iv. 3, Josh. xvii. 16). We might read 'chariots of Ishmael' (בְּרוֹל from עֵרֶב יִשְׁמַעֵאל). But the sense produced is not perfect. Since רֶחֱב sometimes replaces רְחוֹב, we may, as in Josh., *l.c.*, read 'בְּרְחוֹב יִשְׁמ', 'in the Ishmaelite Rehob.' This will be a gloss on הַעֲמָק (or rather מַעֲנַת; see on v. 34). לָהֶם (as elsewhere, cp. לָחֶם) comes from יִרְחַמָּאל, a variant to עֵרֶב יִשְׁמ'.—21. יְרוּשָׁלַם miswritten for יִשְׁמַעֵאל. See on Josh. xv. 8, 63.

i. 23*b*. See on Gen. xxviii. 19.—26. Very possibly there were two places (both in the N. Arabian borderland) called 'Luz.' The name belongs to the same group with Laish and Shāūl, and indicates an Ishmaelite (= Jerahmeelite) settlement. This passage confirms the view that 'Beth-el' comes from 'Beth-ishmael' (see on ii. 1-5). Note, also, that here, as elsewhere, 'Hittites' comes from 'Rehobothites' (see on Gen. x. 15, Josh. i. 4, Ezek. xvi. 3).—27 *ff*. See || passages in Josh. xvi., xvii., and xix.—31. With 'Ahlab' and 'Helbah,' cp. 'Helbon.' See on Ezek. xxvii. 17, and especially on Josh. xix. 29.

i. 34 *f*. הָאֲמֹרִי is surprising, as Père Lagrange remarks. Elsewhere in chap. i. we find הַכְּנַעֲנִי, which indeed Moore and Nowack read here. Budde (*Richter u. Sam.* p. 18, note 1) suggests הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי (cp. chaps. xiii.-xvi.). Read rather הָאֲרָמִי; this approaches Budde's view, for 'Arammite' means 'Jerahmeelite,' and to the early tradition 'Philistine' and 'Jerahmeelite' were equivalent (see on xiv. 3). Observe that in Josh. xix. 47 the chief success of the Danites is the conquest of לָשָׁם, *i.e.* of יִשְׁמַעֵאל, presumably not the famous Ishmael or Jerahmeel spoken of in *vs.* 7 *f*., but another. It appears, then, from this tradition, that the Danites were engaged in warfare with the Arammites unsuccessfully, except so far as the hill-country was concerned, for the Arammites would not permit them to come down לַעֲמָק. This reading (= 'into the broad, deep vale') is plausible, but often elsewhere (*e.g.* Gen. xiv. 3, Ps. lx. 8) עָמָק has sprung

out of מענת, and this seems to be the case here and in *v.* 19. It is 'Maacath-jerahmeel,' disguised in Josh. xix. 12 as עמק אילון, which is meant.—הר-הרום, rather אשחר. Cp. Kir-heres (Isa. xvi. 11), Ir ha-heres (Isa. xix. 18); also בית-שמש from בית-נשם¹ (*v.* 33), and אילון from ירחמאל (*v.* 35). See, further, on vi. 26, Josh. xix. 41, 1 K. iv. 9. 'Aijalon,' see on Josh. x. 12; 'Shaalbim,' see *E. Bib.*, *s.v.*

i. 36. Moore, Budde, and Lagrange would read, for אמרי, אדמי, adopting one of the alternatives in ⚡ (τοῦ Ἀμορπαίου ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος); Hollenberg would even combine the readings. But ארמי is probably right. So in Num. xxxiv. 3, Josh. xv. 1 read ארם. The statement of the boundary of the Arammite territory is imperfectly given. Moore, it is true, would delete the initial מ in מהסלע, and render, 'to Sela.' But considering how often מסלע, or some similar combination of letters, is a corruption of ישמעאל, it is hazardous to take this step. It may be added that it is very improbable that הסלע or סלע here, and in 2 K. xiv. 7, Isa. xvi. 1, means 'a cliff near the south end of the Dead Sea.' As in Isa. xlii. 11, [ה]סלע is no doubt an early corruption of ישמעאל. Similarly מעלה represents ירחמאל (cp. Josh. iii. 16); the vague expression, 'and upwards,' is most improbable. 'Ishmael' and 'Jerahmeel' are probably two geographical glosses on 'the ascent of Akrabbim' (for this phrase, see on Num. xxxiv. 3). Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Sela.'

CHAP. ii. 1-5. מלאך יהוה here, as throughout the pre-exilic writings, has most probably come from מלך יהוה, *i.e.* ירחמאל. As indicated in the 'Addenda' to Kings, and as will be shown at length on Gen. ii. 4, xvi. 7, Ex. vi. 2, the early Israelites, at any rate, in Judah and in the Negeb, called their God Jerahmeel-yahwè or Yahwè-jerahmeel, to indicate the identity of Yahwè and Jerahmeel. It is not our business to criticise them from the point of view of the religion into which Yahwism blossomed, but to understand them. Historically, at any rate, the identification was justified. Next, as to the paragraph, *vv.* 1-5. That ii. 1a, 5b originally stood together, as the close of the account of

¹ It comes to nearly the same thing if שמש in this name be explained as an expansion of שם, which pretty often in MT. is a mutilated form of שמש = ישמעאל.

the conquest in chap. i., is plausibly held by Wellh. (*CH*⁽²⁾ 215); the intermediate portion is Deuteronomic, and therefore quite out of harmony with chap. i. In *v. 1a* Ⓞ gives a conflate text, ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθηλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραηλ, where MT. gives אֶל-הַבְּנִים. For the varying views of the critics see Moore's note in *SBOT*, and cp. Budde's more recent expression of opinion. The truth, however, has been missed for want of the right clue. [ה]בנים, אֶל, בית אֶל, and בית ישראל all mean the same place. בנים or בנאים (2 S. v. 23 *f.*, see note), is a corruption of ב' ירחם = אֶל ירחמאל, of which אֶל בית is a broken-down form (p. 142). אֶל בית ישראל is a corruption of בישמעאל (as 2 S. xxiv. 1, and often); cp. on *v. 23*. How famous Beth-jerahmeel or Bethishmael was even in later times (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾ i. *Intro.*), our studies may perchance have revealed. The best reading seems to be ב' ירח', so that, if we combine *ii. 1a* and *5b*, the original close of chap. i. becomes, 'And Jerahmeel-yahwè came up from Gilgal to Beth-jerahmeel, and they sacrificed there to Yahwè.' I confess, however, that I am not quite satisfied. Surely between *v. 1a* and *v. 5b* something has been lost, which the existing narrative seeks in vain to replace. There may have been an account of the erection of an altar, perhaps also a speech of Jerahmeel-yahwè, describing the compassion (רחמים) of Yahwè towards his people, and so accounting once more for the name 'Jerahmeel.' Very possibly Beth-jerahmeel or Beth-el was not far from Shiloh. If so, there was no great discrepancy between the statement of *Judg. ii. 1* that the early religious centre of Israel was at Beth-el (cp. *xx. 18, 26 f.*, *xxi. 2*), and that of P who places it at Shiloh (*Josh. xviii. 1, xix. 51*). The passage presupposes the conquest of Beth-el (*i. 22-25*).

ii. 23-iii. 2. 'The text is in the most extreme confusion through repeated over-working' (Budde), and still more through textual corruption.—*23*. הַאֵלֶּה, difficult. See Bertheau, Moore, Budde. The clue, however, has been found. As in *Josh. xi. 10, 1 K. v. 7, Isa. x. 10* (Ⓞ), for הַאֵלֶּה read certainly ירחמאל. הגרים, altered by R from גוֹיֵי. The peoples of the Negeb are meant.—מְדוּרָה. Almost certainly from רחם, *i.e.* ירחמאל (cp. on 'ר', *v. 30*), a correction of הַאֵלֶּה.

CHAP. iii. 1 *f.* The strangeness of the phraseology has struck every commentator, and the only remedy proposed is the hypothesis of redactional insertions or glosses. On *v. 1b* Moore remarks, 'The words are difficult and inappropriate in their present connection'; on *v. 2*, 'The text is clearly corrupt; the restoration is somewhat uncertain.' Budde remarks on the strange phrase מלחמות כנען, and on the redundancy of ללמד by the side of למען דעת. To remedy the latter Kautzsch omits דעת as a dittogram of דרת (cp. Ⓢ); Moore and Budde, however, omit דרת and ללמד, and Budde further omits the second רק as a dittogram. לא ידעום is also a difficulty; unless the clause be a doublet to *v. 1b*, the plural masculine suffix is intolerable. The truth is, however, that, as so often, the editor does his best to make sense out of repetitions of ethnics. Underneath את כל-אשר לא-ידעו את את we can see את כל-אשר ירחמאל. Then follows (under את כל-מל') the doublet את כל-ירחמאל (cp. on מלחמות יהודה Num. xxi. 14), to which the gloss רק למען (miswritten כנען) is appended. רק למען represents a repeated ירחמאל; the same must be said of ללמד, מלחמה, and רק. דעת דרית בני-ישראל probably represents בני ישמעאל (on which ירח' is a gloss). Then we get ארץ גבלים disguised as אשר-לפנים; cp. Josh. xiii. 5, 1 K. v. 32 (the names 'Gebal,' and perhaps 'Gebalon,' seem to have been given to the mountain-country of N. Arabia). לא ידעום represents ירחמאל—a gloss. Thus the original text of *vs. 1-3* seems to have run thus, 'These are the nations, etc., Asshur-Jerahmeel [Kenaz], Arabia of the Ishmaelites [Jerahmeel], the land of the Gebalites [Jerahmeel].'

iii. 3. Read 'the five potentates'¹ (רזני Ⓢ σατράπαι) of the Zarephathites, and all the Kenizzites, and the Mišrites (?), and the Ḥorites that dwelt in Mt. Lebanon from Mt. Baalhermon to the entrance of Maacath.' With regard to צידן, we may plausibly assume that, like צר (צור), it is a modification of מצר. חורי, as usual, = חרי, *i.e.* אשחרי; cp. Isa. xvii. 9,

¹ רזנים, according to *BDB*, 'a Philistine loan-word'—a very timid hypothesis; G. Hoffmann (*Phön. Inschr.* 15) would make it a dialectic plural of צר. We have no reason, however, to think that the narrators or redactors took the trouble to record dialectic or foreign words. רזנים is good Hebrew, and though generally poetic, presumably at one time belonged to the ordinary speech. It is suggested by Ⓢ of Judg. v. 3 (σατράπαι = רזנים).

where הַחֹרֶשׁ corresponds in ⚔ to οἱ Εὐαῖοι, 'the Hivites.' It is true, the Gibeonites are, in Josh. ix. 7 (see note), called הַחֹרֶשׁ, but there is no reason why Horites (Ashhurites) should not have been traditionally placed both at the southern Gibeon and in the southern Mt. Lebanon.—מֶהָר בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן. Cp. Josh. xiii. 5, and *E. Bib.*, col. 4101. Most probably בַּעַל, when it enters into compound names, is a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (see on 'Baal[e]-yehudah,' 2 S. vi. 2, and cp. אַבֵּל in 'Abel-beth-maacah'). In early ages the southern Hermon would naturally be distinguished by the prefix 'Jerahmeel,' which became worn down into 'Baal.' Cp. 1 Chr. v. 23 ('Baal-hermon' and 'Mt. Hermon' are variants).

iii. 8. כֹּוֹשֵׁן רְשָׁעִים. See *E. Bib.*, col. 969 *f.* It is better, however, to read כֹּוֹשֵׁן צִרְפָּתִים. This Cushan is here called king of 'Aram-naharaim'; כֹּוֹשֵׁן נַהֲרַיִם may represent יְרוֹחַמָּאֵל¹ (a gloss). See on Gen. xxiv. 10. He might with equal justice have been called מֶלֶךְ צִרְפָּתִים, 'king of the Zarephathites,' Zarephath being a Jerahmeelite city. His oppression of Israel, according to the traditional text, lasted 'eight years.' The same duration is assigned to the rule of Abdon the judge (xii. 14). In both places, however, שְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנִים has probably arisen out of a twice-written יְשָׁמֵן, *i.e.* יְשָׁמֵאֵל. There are a number of passages in which numerals have arisen out of ethnics (cp. on *v.* 30). The chronological scheme of Judges seems to have been largely accidental; *i.e.* the chronologist theorised on the basis of corrupt texts. 'Ishmael' may be a second gloss on 'Aram.'

iii. 11. Read וַתִּשְׁקַט הָאָרֶץ מֵעַרְבִים [יְשָׁמֵאֵל]. See preceding note. עַרְבִים and אַרְבַּעִים are repeatedly confounded (see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 11). שָׁנָה, like שָׁמַן, etc., represents יְשָׁמֵאֵל. Cp. *v.* 31, xiii. 1, and especially viii. 28, and see on *v.* 30, and on Josh. xi. 23.

iii. 12-30. The traces of different versions of parts of the story show that scribes and redactors were early at their work. Winckler, however (*GI* ii. 129 *f.*), goes too far; seldom, as it seems to me, does he err so much through theorising on the basis of an unmethodical textual criticism.

iii. 12. Eglon (⚔ Εγλωμ) as a personal name here

¹ It is possible, however, that 'Aram-naharaim' may mean 'Aram of the two streams' (the streams of Ephrath and of Jarhon).

only. But as a place-name (⊗ usually *οδολλαμ* = Jerahmeel) in Josh. x. 36, xii. 12, xv. 39, passages which, critically read, point to the Negeb. Note in Josh. x. that 'Joktheel,' *i.e.* [Kadesh-]Jerahmeel, is not far off. Kadesh in the Negeb seems to have been near the border of the non-Israelite territory, and to have been coveted by Eglon. The whole story becomes intelligible only on the theory that מואב, as so often, is miswritten for Mišsor, and that עיר התמרים is a corruption of עיר ירחמאל, 'the city of [Kadesh-]Jerahmeel.' Eglon's own name points either to 'Jerahmeel' or to 'Gilead.'

iii. 13. עמון ועמלק. Read ירחמאל; the text combines two popular corruptions of this name.—עיר התמרים. See on i. 16. Winckler's view is that Ehud's Ir-temarim should be Ir-tamaraim = Baalath-tamar (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 104).

iii. 14. Probably the original text simply stated that 'the b'ne Israel served Eglon king of Mišsor,' with the gloss, 'Ishmael (שמונה, שנה), Ashhur (עשרה).' Cp. on x. 8.

iii. 15. אהור occurs again in 1 Chr. vii. 10, from which passage it is plain that אהור must represent an ethnic of the Negeb. Pesh. gives 'ihūr, and in 1 Chr. viii. 6, for אהור, 'abihūr (cp. 'abihur for אביהור in *v.* 3). Probably אב[אש]חיר (= 'Arāb-ashhur) is correct; cp. אהיר from אהיר in 1 Chr. viii. 7 (this form = אשחור), and note Ishhod (ישחוד), 1 Chr. vii. 18, also for אשחור.

iii. 16. גַּמְד אֶרְבֵּה, 'a short cubit long'? See Moore (*JBL* xii. 104). Unfortunately the traditional Jewish explanations are commonly wrong, and both גמר and ארד are regular corruptions of ירחמאל. The 'sword of Jerahmeel' was proverbial (see on Hos. i. 7, Ps. lxxvi. 4, Jer. vi. 25). Read ריעש ל' אביהור חרב ירחמאל ולה שני פיות. Winckler's appeal to Assyrian (*gamru* = 'whole,' 'full') is therefore unnecessary. Nor is the sense of *péoth* (?) made out. See *GI* ii. 119.

iii. 19. הפסילים. Among the possible corruptions of ישמעאל are פסיל and פסל (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Sheleph'). It is not a locality but an outpost of Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite troops that Ehud had to pass near Gilgal. See *E. Bib.*, 'Quarries.'

iii. 22 *f.* המסדרונה and הפרשדנה. Both words are corruptions of the same original, *i.e.* most probably of שער הפנה, 'the corner-gate.' שער became שדר and סדר; הפנה

remained in the one case, and in the other became המנה. After going out by this gate, Ehud (Abihur) shut up the murdered king in the עליה. V. 22 is one of the many passages in which an apparent coarseness is due to corruption. See *E. Bib.*, 'Porch.'

iii. 26-29. The awkwardness of the connection and the exegetical difficulty are well known. It is, however, all due to corruptions, which we can now heal with a near approach to certainty. מַעַרְבֵי עַד הַתְּמַדְמָה comes from מַעַרְבֵי עַד הַתְּמַדְמָה; cp. on Gen. xix. 16, also on עַד הַתְּמַדְמָה (i. 16). הוא ערב ישמעאלים should certainly be הוא ערב ישמעאלים, 'that is, Arabia of the Ishmaelites,' a gloss on the preceding words (when read עַד הַתְּמַדְמָה). השעירתה perhaps comes from אַשְׁחֻרָה, 'to Ashhur.' However this may be, one thing is certain—we are in the N. Arabian borderland. It is the southern Mt. Ephraim which we meet with in v. 27.—הַיַּרְדֵּן should be הַיַּרְדֵּן; the stream meant is that of Jarhon or Jerahmeel (vii. 24).

iii. 28 f. מַעַרְבֵי עַד הַתְּמַדְמָה. See on vii. 24.—כָּל-שֶׁמֶן וְכָל-אִישׁ. חֵיל, in the sense of 'robust, vigorous' (Moore), occurs nowhere else; nor can Isa. x. 16, Ps. lxxviii. 31 (מַשְׁמַנִּים) protect the reading. Why, indeed, should it be specially noted that the slain enemies were 'all robust and all valiant men'? The truth is, that שֶׁמֶן and חֵיל are current corruptions of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל and יִרְחַמְאֵל respectively (Isa. x. 27, Ps. lxii. 11). Read וְכָל-אִישׁ יִשְׁמַעְאֵל וְכָל-אִישׁ יִרְחַמְאֵל, where, of course, 'כָּל-אִישׁ יִרְחַ' may be omitted as a variant.

iii. 30. שְׁמוֹנִים שָׁנָה. Why 'eighty' rather than 'forty years'? The question is of a kind which often besets us. Why, for instance, had Abram 318 home-born slaves (Gen. xiv. 14)? And why were no more nor less than 185,000 men of Asshur slain in Hezekiah's time (2 K. xix. 35)? The truth is, that both שְׁמוֹנִים and שָׁנָה, like שֶׁמֶן, are among the current corruptions of יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים. On the analogy of iii. 12 and other passages, read מִיִּשְׁמַעְאֵלִים.

iii. 31. Nowhere, perhaps, has criticism tried harder to solve problems without an adequate examination of the text. From the newer point of view all is clear. The object of v. 31 is to explain an obscure phrase which the redactor read (not quite correctly) in v. 6. It has, however, suffered

in transmission. We cannot be far wrong in correcting thus—
 [ואחריו היה גרשם בן-איתן ויד את פלשתים] איש מירחמאל הבכרים
 וישע גם-הוא את-ישראל Cp. on xv. 15 (Samson); 2 S.
 xxiii. 8, 18 may also be corrected on the same lines. Thus
 the difficulties caused by the ἀπ. λεγ. מלמד (note G's
 singular versions), and the 600 men who 'have always
 taxed the credulity of commentators' (Moore), disappears,
 while the strange-looking 'Shamgar ben Anath' (cp. *E. Bib.*,
 'Shamgar') becomes the intelligible 'Gershom ben Ethan,'
 who is on a par with 'Othniel (= Ethani) ben Kenaz' in
 iii. 9. Note that 'Ethan' in 1 K. v. 11 is called האורחי, *i.e.*
 האשחורי, 'the Ashhurite,' and that גרשם (see on Ex. ii. 22)
 comes from אשחור = גשור. שש has sprung out of איש; מאות,
 as not seldom, represents מאלים. The impossible word-
 group, איש במלמד הבקר, which remains, after the preceding
 corrections have been made, has sprung from איש מירחמאל
 הבכרים or the like. That ירחמאל can underlie מלמד or בלמד,
 the student will readily see. בכר is a well-known southern
 clan-name (cp. on ברק, Josh. xix. 45). Here I may well
 pause. In the light of results gained elsewhere the possible
 becomes the probable and almost the certain. I am afraid
 that the facts derived from the Greek and Latin versions by
 Moore and Lagrange are of no value for our present purpose;
 I need not here repeat them. The extended note of the
 latter scholar, so lucid and so learned, is altogether off the
 right track, except, indeed, where it says, 'Nous avons aussi
 un exemple des altérations qu'a pu subir le texte' (p. 64).
 To trace the later fortunes of the text is doubtless an object
 worthy of so good a scholar.

CHAP. iv. 'The actual text of chap. iv.,' remarks
 Lagrange, 'presents insurmountable difficulties.' All is plain,
 and in harmony with the Song 'in chap. v., as long as we
 keep to Sisera. But when 'Jabin, king of Canaan, residing
 at Hazor,' and 'king of Hazor,' enters on the stage all
 becomes difficult. There never was a single king of Canaan;
 the geographical perplexities, too, are quite extraordinary.
 It is a sad confession. Can nothing be done to remove these
 difficulties? The prevalent view ascribes the embarrassing
 circumstances to the fusion of two traditional stories, relative
 to Jabin and to Sisera respectively. The consistent develop-

ment of this idea, however, compels us to suppose that Jael and Heber had no connection, since Jael incontestably belongs to the story of Sisera, and Heber is expressly brought into connection with Jabin. In reality, says Lagrange, there is no story of Jabin. His own opinion is that 'Jabin' and 'Hazor' got into the text after what should have been the final redaction of the narrative. The true name of the oppressor was Shamgar; his capital was Harosheth of the Goyim.—This is the latest criticism; I can hardly say that I think it satisfactory. No progress can be made till the proper names have been thoroughly examined, with constant reference to the results of text-critical study elsewhere. That 'Jabin,' or better 'Jamin' (G^A iv. 2, 7), comes from Jaman, *i.e.* Jerahmeel, 'Hazor' and 'Sisera' from Ashhur, 'Harosheth' from a feminine form of the same name, 'Canaan' from 'Kenaz,' is plain to any one who has given a keen criticism to the Hebrew proper names, and who accepts the well-supported theory of N. Arabian influence on the fortunes of the early Israelites. There were, no doubt, different versions of the story of a great defeat of the N. Arabians. One is contained in the story of the battle by the waters of מרום (Josh. xi. 1-11). Two others are represented in chap. iv., one of which gives Jabin (Jaman) and the other Sisera (Ashhur) as the name of the N. Arabian king. A fourth is given in the Song (chap. v.) where the N. Arabian chief is called Sisera¹ (Ashhur), and where a larger number of Israelitish tribes is represented as taking part in the holy war than the composite narrative in chap. iv. recognises (see iv. 6, 10, Naphtali and Zebulun). In the first and fourth it is plainly stated that there was a confederation of kings; the second and third, in their present combined form, appear to relate that there was only one hostile king, who was called 'king of Canaan,' though the description of Jabin in *v.* 17 shows that this erroneous view belongs to a late editor,—perhaps, indeed, to the redactor who changed 'Kenaz' into 'Canaan,' and in other respects altered the geography, and who also created the prophetess Deborah by a misunderstanding (see on *v.* 4, end).

¹ The theory of Moore, Budde, and Lagrange that 'Shamgar' is given in *v.* 6 as the name of the oppressor of Israel, is extremely ingenious, but can hardly now be maintained. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Shamgar.'

Upon the theory here adopted the difficulties mentioned by the critics are, to say the least, very greatly diminished. Certainly those which relate to geography, and which are so forcibly presented by Moore, tend to disappear, if the scene of the struggle is in N. Arabia. We may, for instance, reasonably assume that the distance between Harosheth (Ashtor) and the Naphtalite Kedesh—two points in the Negeb—was considerably less than forty or fifty miles (the distance calculated on the old geographical theory). The discrepancies between chaps. iv. and v. also lose much of their importance, if a methodical criticism is applied to the traditional text. It is true, iv. 6, 10 speak only of Zebulun and Naphtali, while v. 14, 18 mention several other patriotic tribes of Israel. But, according to the new theory, all these tribes were in the N. Arabian borderland; they were not separated so widely as the tribes bearing the same names in central and northern Palestine. True, again, that iv. 10 speaks of ten thousand warlike Israelites, and v. 8 (in the received text) of forty thousand. But methodical criticism throws so much doubt on the text of v. 8 that we cannot venture to use it.

That chap. iv. *in its present form*, is later than the Song in chap. v. must be admitted, (1) because the Song gives a more consistent picture of the events, and (2) because the prose-narrator has misread, and therefore misunderstood, several passages in the Song (iv. 4 *f.*, 21, cp. v. 7, 12, and 26). It is plausible, however, to suppose that the basis of chap. iv. is an old prose-story of a N. Arabian king called Jerahmeel (Jabin) or Ashhur (Sisera) who oppressed the Israelites of N. Arabia, but whose yoke was thrown off in a patriotic rising of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun.

Objection may perhaps be taken to the above view that the mention of horses and of 'chariots of iron' points definitely to the north. The Book of Job, however, is plainly a N. Arabian work, and here we find the war-horse among the familiar sights of nature (Job xxxix. 19-25). The same book distinctly refers to iron-mines (Job xxviii. 2). And unless we insist on binding ourselves to the traditional text, there is evidence in many parts of the O.T. that horses and chariots played a great part in N. Arabian culture, and

that iron was abundant. For the iron, see on Dt. viii. 7-9; for the horses, on 1 K. x. 28 *f.*; for the chariots, on Gen. xli. 43, 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, where the right reading is 'chariot of Ishmael' (יִשְׁמַעֵאל = יִשְׁמָן מִשְׁנָה). Note also the interesting phrase 'wagons of Ishmael' in Num. vii. 3 (MT., enigmatically, עֲגָלֹת צַב). I cannot, however, help adding that the phrase 'chariots of iron' is in the highest degree improbable. It is usual to explain it as 'chariots strengthened with iron,' but what a violent explanation! If the text of Josh. xi. 6 is correct, the chariots of Jabin king of Hazor were burned by the Israelites. If so, they were in no proper sense of the phrase 'iron chariots.' The truth is, however, that again and again בְּרוֹז (iron) is miswritten for רִבְשָׁל, *i.e.* עֶרֶב יִשְׁמַעֵאל. 'Chariots of Ishmael' (*i.e.* of N. Arabia) is at any rate a possible phrase. A fuller criticism, however, throws doubt on the other component member of the phrase; not only בְּרוֹז but רִבְב is probably incorrect. See on *v.* 3, and cp. on Josh. xi. 4, 6, 9. That Sisera himself had a chariot is not on this account to be denied (see *v.* 28, revised text), and in this connection we may recall the fact that chariots are constantly mentioned in the Amarna tablets.

The legend of Jabin or Sisera has a fuller significance than may at first sight appear. Such periods of oppression by the Jerahmeelites were afterwards common. We may regard the legend as an anticipation of the semi-historical narrative of the 'Philistine' tyranny which was so gloriously resisted by Saul, and may group it with the equally legendary account of Gideon-Jerubbaal's struggle with the Amalekites and Midianites. The difference in the ethnic names given to the foes of Israel is unimportant; that they are in all cases N. Arabians is sufficiently clear.

CHAP. iv. 2. 'Jabin' or 'Jamin' (G^A, *sv.* 2, 7), *i.e.* 'Jerahmeel' (cp. on Josh. xi. 1); his realm is קִנּוּ, a part of N. Arabia, and his city 'Hazor' (cp. Josh. xi. 10), or rather 'Ashhur.' 'Sisera' (סִיסְרָא) is neither a Hittite nor an Egyptian name, but, like 'Hazor,' comes from אִשְׁחֻר = אִשְׁחֻרָה (cp. on Ezra ii. 53), while חֻרְשָׁה probably represents עֶשְׂתָר (see on *v.* 3), and הַגְּרִיִּים comes from יְרֻחַמָּאֵל (cp. on Gen. xiv. 1). The Israelites oppressed by Jerahmeel or

Ashhur are those in the southern borderland. (Cp. on 2 K. iii. 25, where חרשת is traced to אֲשַׁחֲרוּר.)

iv. 3. תשע מאות רנב-ברזל לו. 'Chariots of iron' is improbable, and not less so, when strictly criticised, is 'nine hundred.' Did a later scribe, fond of numbers, insert תשע מאות after the corruption which follows had arisen? No; it is almost certainly a corruption of עשתר ירחמאל¹ (see on Dt. i. 4), which was originally intended as a *correction* of חרשת הגוים in *v.* 2. רנב ברזל לו comes from רחב ערב ירחמאל, probably a supplementary geographical gloss on 'Ashtor-jerahmeel.' לו = אל; cp. on i. 19, Josh. xvii. 18.—[ר]שר צבא comes from שר ישמעאל, 'prince, or kinglet, of Ishmael.' צבא and צבע are frequent corruptions of שמע. Cp. on *v.* 30.

iv. 4. דבורה. However plausible a meaning 'Bee' may seem (cp. Melissa in Herod. v. 92, and see E. Maass, *Griechen u. Semiten*, 1902, p. 113; Sayce, *The Hittites*, 1882, p. 79), 'Deborah' has most probably grown out of 'Daberath'² (so C. Niebuhr, Winckler), the name of a town; see on Josh. xix. 12 (two Daberaths). At any rate, Deborah and Daberath are connected as closely as Zipporah and Zarephath. The key to both names is in the name לו דבר, *i.e.* לוד = ערב = גלעד. Cp. on 'Lidbir,' Josh. xiii. 26. The narrator, in the present form of the text, calls Deborah אשת לפידות (wife of Lappidoth). The point of this reference escapes us. But the clue to both words (אשת and לפ) is furnished by our previous experience. אשת, like תשע, in iv. 3, almost certainly represents עשתר; לפידות comes, not from 'Paltiel' (*E. Bib.*, 2710, a plausible supposition), but from some compound name into which צלפ (= ישמעאל) enters. Such a name is צלפחד = ישמ'חודד (see on Num. xxvi. 33); חודד was a 'son' of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15). Presumably 'Ashtor-jerahmeel' is meant. If the preposition מן were prefixed, we should have to suppose that the writer brought Deborah from the very city where Sisera resided (see on *v.* 3), which

¹ Perhaps the only doubt is, whether מאות comes (as מאה repeatedly does) from ירחמאל, or from מענה.

² 'C'est fantaisie pure,' exclaims Lagrange. It is best to avoid such remarks. Change your point of view, and much that appeared to be sober sense at once becomes a mere imagination.

would be strange. Most probably 'Ashtor-ishmael-hadad,' which underlies 'esheth lappidoth, is a variant to 'Ashtor-jerahmeel' (v. 3, revised text). That the narrator created 'Deborah' out of a misunderstood passage of the Song (v. 7) has been pointed out by Winckler (*GI* ii. 126).

iv. 5. On the geographical discrepancy between v. 5 and Gen. xxxv. 8, see on the latter passage. The narrator is made to say that Deborah 'sat' (*i.e.* as a prophetess and judge) 'under the *tōmer* of Deborah.' Lagrange insists on adhering to MT's תֹּמֶר 'pillar' as being more difficult than תָּמָר (adopted by Moore). Ges.-Bu. keeps תֹּמֶר, but explains 'palm-tree.' But is תָּמָר the right reading either here or in Jer. x. 5? Here, at any rate, it is not; תָּמָר has repeatedly arisen out of רַמַּת, and so it has here, 'Deborah sat at the foot of Ramath-daberath,' or, as another scribe put it, 'between Ramah and Beth-el.' All southern names. Tg. appears to have preserved another reading עֲמַרְתָּ דְבִרָה ('Atārōth [see on Josh. xvi. 2] comes from Ephrath).—הָרִים אֲפָרַיִם. See on I S. i. 1.

iv. 6 *f.* בָּרַק. Rather בָּרַךְ or בִּכְר, a clan-name; see on Josh. xix. 45.—עָרַב נָעָם = אֲבִינָעָם. Naam was a 'son' of Caleb (I Chr. iv. 15).—תְּבוֹרָה. Read probably רַחֲבוֹתָה (see on viii. 18). Linking form, באֲרוֹתָה.—קִישׁוֹן, corrupted from נְרִישׁוֹן (cp. קִישׁ). The 'stream of Cushan' = 'the waters of Migdol' (v. 19) and 'the waters of Marom' (Josh. xi. 5).—The original reading was שָׂר יִשְׁמָ' (see on v. 2*b*); יִבִּין is an insertion.

iv. 9*b*, 10*b*. 'Deborah.' The earliest tradition would have said 'Daberath' (see on v. 4), *i.e.* the men of Daberath.—11. W. Max Müller remarks (*As. u. Eur.* 174, note 5), 'Strange that a nomad tribe of the extreme south should be found here.' He therefore explains קִינִי 'man of the city of Kîn,' referring to a passage in Papyrus Anastasi I. in which a locality called Kîna, N. of Megiddo, is mentioned. See, however, Jensen (in Budde's note). Müller's remark, however, is fully justified. The problem referred to exists, but the true solution is in the theory here advocated—that the scene of the original narrative was in the south.—חֲבֵרָה is given as an Asherite, Benjamite, and Judahite, as well as a Kenite name. Now, Asher and

Benjamin were originally settled in the south, and Judah was a highly mixed and probably in the main N. Arabian tribe.—בצענים, or rather בצעננים, is against all analogy. Considering that צען and צאן are among the current corruptions of ישמעאל (cp. on 'Zaanan,' Mic. i. 11), it seems probable that בצ' is a corruption of ישמעאלים, the ב having arisen from a false idea that בצענים, or rather בצעננים, was a place-name. Cp. on Josh. xix. 33, Judg. ix. 37.

iv. 13. The 'nine hundred iron chariots' are interpolated from v. 3.—17. יעל, from ירחמאל.—18. The covering of Sisera is mentioned twice (see v. 19, end). This is to be explained, not by referring the two mentions to different sources, but to corruption. If there were really two mentions, we should expect עור to accompany the second (see Moore). In spite of Lagrange's opinion that the most pressing object was to cover up the fugitive warrior, I venture to think that a drink was the first thing to offer. I therefore delete the ותכסהו in v. 18, and am now enabled to explain בשמינה. This seems to be a marginal note on יעל אהל in v. 17. Jael's tent was in Cusham; read בנרשם. ב' נושן (= נחל קישון) and נוש were liable to confusion; נ' קדשים (see on v. 21) may also have been known as קדשים.

iv. 21. The narrator misunderstood v. 26.

CHAP. v. A study of Moore (*SBOT*), Lagrange and Ruben convinces me that on the well-chosen battle-field of this poem the old method of using the versions (especially the Greek) as they stand to correct MT. is inadequate to the chief textual problems. This applies, of course, quite as much to the older \mathfrak{G} version as to the younger (see on v. 12). Nor can I convince myself, that the old methods of correcting the Hebrew text apart from the comparison of the versions have proved very much more effectual (cp., *e.g.*, the different solutions offered by Grätz, Budde, Lambert, Lagrange, Ruben respectively for the *cruces* in v. 8). Ruben deserves high credit for bringing in oriental history for illustrative purposes. His view formerly influenced me (see *JQR*, July 1898, p. 566; *E. Bib.*, 'Kadesh,' 2); I abandoned it on discovering more and more the extent of the N. Arabian connection with Israel. I am sorry that I cannot own obligation to

Winckler's audacious reconstruction of the text in *GI* ii. 130 ff., or to C. Niebuhr's *Reconstellation* (1894). Probably, however, Winckler is right in holding that the so-called Song of Deborah (but really, of Daberath) referred to the traditional expulsion of the Philistines from the land of Israel by Saul (see *GI* ii. 164), who may even be referred to in the Song as 'Barak,' *i.e.* Beker. Saul was a Bikrite (cp. on 1 S. ix. 1). Note also that in v. 14 'Machir' follows 'Benjamin,' and that 'Bikrite' and 'Machrite' may be of the same origin. Cp. B^L , 1 S. ix. 1, and see *E. Bib.*, 'Saul,' § 1. The prose narrative, as we have it, is later than the Song. See on chap. iv.

The Song in its original form consists of trimeters. Compare, however, Rothstein, 'Zur Kritik des Deboraliedes u. d. urspr. rhythm. Form dess.,' *ZDMG*, lvi. 175 ff., 437 ff. [1902]; also D. H. Müller, *Strophenbau u. Re- spon sion* (1898), pp. 9-14; Marquart, *Fundamente* (1896), pp. 1-10; Grimme, *ZDMG* l. 572 ff. [1896]; Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* (1900), ii. 128-135, 165; C. Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deboraliedes* (1894). The last-named writer is not so far from the truth as one might expect in making Sisera an Egyptian prince, and, in accordance with this view, placing the tent of Jael, to which Sisera directed his course, in the Negeb.—For the titles of other books see Budde's list (*Buch der Richter*, p. 39).

The reader of the Song as here given will observe that the Arabic numerals, other than those indicating the verses of MT., refer to glosses in the footnotes.

בְּפָרֶץ צָרְפַת בִּישְׁמַעֵאל ²

For the crushing of Zarephath in Ishmael,

בְּחַתַּת עַם-עֲרָב בִּירְחַמְאֵל

For the disaster to the Arabians in Jerahmeel,

אֲנִי ¹ לַיהוָה ² אֲשִׁירָה

I, to Yahwè will I sing,

אֲזַמְרָה ³ לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

I will chant to Israel's God.

יְהוָה ⁴ בְּצֵאתְךָ מֵאַשּׁוּר

Yahwè! when thou wentest forth from Asshur,

¹ שָׁמְעוּ סִלְכִים הָאוֹיֵנוּ רוֹנִים

² אֲנִי

³ (ל)יְהוָה

בצעדך מטדה אָרם	When thou marchedst from the highland of Aram,
¹ ארץ דעשה גם-שמים	The earth quaked, yea, the heavens
גם-עבים נטפו מים	Yea, the clouds dripped water ;
² הרים ⁵ נָקְלוּ מפני-יָהּ	The mountains streamed before Yahwè,
מפני-יָהּ אלהי ישראל	Before Yah, the God of Israel.
⁶ (7) בימי גִּשְׁחֻרִים ובני עֶגְקָה	In the days of the Geshurites and the Anakites,
³ בימי ישמעאל וְכָשָׁם	In the days of Ishmael and Cusham,
⁴ חרדו ⁵ הלכי נתיבות	Those who fared on the ways trembled,
וילכו ארחות עקלקלות	They went by crooked paths.
⁷ חרדו רזנים בישראל ⁶	Potentates trembled in Israel
⁸ מִחֶרֶב ירחמאל ואשחורים	At the sword of Jerahmeel and the Ashhurites.
וְעוּ מלך ושורים	Kings and princes shuddered
⁷ מפני ירחמאל וערבים	At the hosts of Jerahmeel and the Arabians.
¹¹ רבנו צדקות יהוה	Loudly praise ye the righteous acts of Yahwè,
⁸ צדקות רצונו בישראל	His righteous, gracious acts in Israel.
¹² עברי עברי דברת	March on, march on, Daberath ;
עברי עברי באשור	March on, march on into Asshur.
קום ברק ושבה	Arise, Barak, and take captives,
וּכְבַשׁ בני ערבים	Subdue the sons of Arabia.
¹⁸ אז ירדו לאשרים	Then they came down to the Asshurites,
עם-יהוה ירד בערבים	Yahwè's force came down into Arabia ;
¹⁴ מני-אפרים [ירדו] שרים	Out of Ephraim [came down] princes,

1 נטפו.

2 זה סיני.

3 ירחמאל.

4 ארחות ו.

5 והלכי על-דרך אֶשְׁחֹר [ירחמאל אשחורים בין ישמעאלים].

6 חרדו ער . . . רבונה . . . בישראל.

7 ירח' ישב' ירח' ישב' [בהתח ערבים בירחמאל] רחבים איתנים צחרים ישב' מרין.

8 (see p. 13). אז ירדו לאשרים עם יהוה.

ארו ארו ירביה כי לא באו לעזרתיה	Say a curse upon its inhabitants, Because they came not to the help of Yah,
לעזרת-יה בערבים תברך בנשים יעל ¹	To the help of Yah in Arabia. Blessed above women be Jael,
מנשים באהל תברך ² חלב עזים נתנה ²⁵	Blessed above women in the tent. Milk of the goats she gave,
בספל הקריבה חמאה ידה ליתד תשלחנה ²⁶	Sour milk she presented in a bowl. Her hand—she stretched it forth to a club,
וימינה למוט ירחמאל	Her right hand to a staff of Jerahmeel.
והלמה אשור ראשו ומחצה ופלחה וקתו	She struck Asshur on his head, She shattered and pierced his temples.
בין רגליה כרע ³ כרשעים נפל אשור	At her feet he sank down, As the wicked, Asshur fell !
בעיר חלון נשפה ²⁸	In the city of Holon she now enchantments,
אם אשור בעיר אבשן ⁴	Asshur's mother in the city of Cushan ;
מדוע בשש רכבו ⁵ אחרו פעמי מרכבותיו	'Why fails his car ? (Why) linger the steps of his chariot-horses' ?
חכמי מקדשיה יעננו ²⁹	The wise men of her sanctuary divine ;
אך-הוא ישיב ירחמאל	'Surely he shall bring back Jerahmeel.
הלא יעצם ירחמאל ³⁰ יגבר על-צבא ישראל	Shall not Jerahmeel be strong, (Yea,) prevail over the host of Israel ?
יאבדו כל-אויבי ירחמאל ³¹ ואהביו כצאת השמש ⁷	Perish all the foes of Jerahmeel ! Be his friends as the going forth of the sun !'

Part i. v. 2. פרעות. Cp. on Dt. xxxii. 42.—ישמעאל
and נדב עם' (as e.g. in I K. iv. 7).—נדב עם, from

¹ אשת חבר הקיני.

² מים שאל.

³ נפל שכב בין רגליה כרע נפל.

⁴ גבירה.

⁵ לבוא מרוע.

⁶ ישמעאל ירחמאל (repeated corruptly).

⁷ בגברתו.

ברנו פ' ערבים ; read ערבים פ'. Cp. Isa. xiii. 2, פתחי נדיבים ; read ערבים ערבים = בירח ; בירח = ירהוה = ירהוה.—4. מאשור. Cp. on Dt. xxxiii. 2.—5. וזה סיני, a gloss on הרים (see Moore).—6. שמגר. Correct in the light of iii. 31. Here, however, ש' must be the (corrupt) name of an oppressor or an oppressive people. The name, 'Geshurites' (Dt. iii. 14, Josh. xii. 5) = 'Ashhurites.'—ענק. An imperfect ק became ת.—The name יעל comes from ישמעאל. Here, however, a partly effaced ישמ' has become יעל.—וכשם is derived from שקמתי in v. 7.—6, 7. חדלו not clear. Read חדרו. ארתות, according to Moore, has two senses in the same couplet, which is strange. Metre suggests the omission of the first.—Transpose the ו ; see text.—7. פרוץ. Among the ⚙ renderings are οἱ κρατοῦντες and δυνατοί. This, at any rate, gives the required sense. Read רזנים ; ⚙^A gives the double rendering, σατραπαι δυνατοί for 'ר in v. 2.—ישראל is repeated at end of verse. עד שקמתי and שקמתי אם have been produced by the redactor on the basis of a marginal note, עיר שנם ירחמאלים (= עיר נשם ירח'), which enables us to complete the line (see v. 6) beginning בימי ירח'. Out of his head he made it into an address to Deborah, the 'mother in Israel.' This was how he made a bridge between חדרו and בישראל (v. 7b).—8. MT. presents a fine field for exegetical ingenuity. אלהים, as often, comes from ירחמאל ; for חדשים (Marq. and Herz wrongly, חרשים), cp. on חדשה, Josh. xv. 37, and cp. גשורים in v. 6. בחר is a case of transposition.—The 'barley-bread' of MT. is as imaginary as the barley-cake of vii. 13. שדים for שערים (Houtsma) is off the track. 'King and princes' = all the rulers and magistrates of Israel (Hos. viii. 10, xiii. 10, etc.), who were paralysed by fear.—מגן from ממחני ; note the context.—רמח (= ירח') and אם יראה represent common types of corruption. For 'ר cp. on 1 K. xviii. 28.—ארבעים, as often (see *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 11), from ערבים ; initial ב should be ג. The reference in the corrupt text to the want of weapons reminds us of the equally corrupt passage, 1 S. xiii. 19-22 (see note).—Then follow a number of ethnics—a learned scribe's explanation of 'Arabians.' See glosses, and note that both לבי and לחקקי are fragmentary representatives of ירחמאל.—10. והלני על-דרך אשחור (ו = namely) is the right reading of a misplaced marginal gloss relative

to הלכי נתיבות (*v.* 6). 'I see no way to do anything with שיח,' remarks Moore. Lagrange, שיח, 'verdure' (?). The remedy is plain; cp. Jer. ii. 18.—11. The improbable יתנו almost certainly comes from רננו; the preceding שם (as in Isa. lii. 11) represents ישמעאל (in the list of ethnics).—פרונו, corrupt, according to Moore. Budde, 'his peasantry (?)'; Lagrange, 'his leadership (?)'. Read רצונו.

Part ii. *v.* 12. דברי שיר, עני. 'By a poetical artifice the author invites Deborah to arise out of Israel, to manifest herself as the preacher of the revolt' (Segond). But if there were a Deborah at all, who else should the author be? What the context requires is a summons to some personified clan or tribe to take the field against the oppressors. MT. has the great merit of allowing us to see the true text through it. Read עברי וגו' שיר for אשור as שור, Gen. xvi. 7, Ps. xviii. 30, etc.; 'Asshur' here means the Asshurite oppressors of the Israelites in N. Arabia. For *l.* 2 Moore (*SBOT*) gives העירי רבבות עם, but this will not account for the שיר of MT.; while Lagrange attaches בשיר to *l.* 1, which gives a bad sense, and is arbitrary. These scholars, it is true, follow their method; see the oldest recension of \mathfrak{C} . But *μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ*, *i.e.* רבבות בעם, most probably comes from באשור ערבים, which was originally a gloss on באשור.—Moore and Lagrange also feel bound to follow the readings, *ἐνίσχυσον* = חוק (Moore) or *ἐν ἰσχύϊ* = בעוז (Lagr.). This word, however, is pure amplification. Both lines in the true text are trimeters; שביך comes from וכבש; ובינעם represents אבני עם, where 'אב', as elsewhere, = בני, and עם = עַם = ערבים.—*V.* 13 should be collated with *v.* 11*b*. If the form were in use we might read (in *a*) ישראלים; in this case we should keep בגבורים. It is assumed above that גב(ו)ר represents ערב. So in *v.* 23*b*. In both passages בגב' is rather a pale expression.—In *v.* 14 בעמלק and בעממך both represent the same word, probably ממענת. For בעמלק \mathfrak{C} , Theodotus have בעמק, which Moore, Budde, and Lagrange adopt. This is a step towards the truth, for עמק often represents מענת. For the troublesome משנים read מחזיקים ספר is metrically superfluous; it is probably a gloss.—In *v.* 15 ושירי is a fragment of ושכר (so read). Delete the following ושכר, and read בשכר. בשכר כן represents כר, the last syllable of ושכר. It

seems to have displaced הוּא. Read, probably, וישכר הוא ברק, 'Iscar means Barak.' For בעמק שלח read נסלח, or the like; cp. 'Casluhim,' Gen. x. 14; also Chesil and Chesalon. בגדליו is a simple change.—For פלגות read פלשת. Note G^b 's readings for Pelet (1 Chr. ii. 47) and Peleth (Num. xvi. 1), viz. $\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ and $\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\kappa$, and cp. H. W. Hogg, *E. Bib.*, 'Reuben,' § 12, with note 5. 'Peleth' was a Reubenite; ultimately this name and 'Pelesheth' have the same origin, viz. 'Zarephath'; cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Pelethites.'—Read חקרי (G^b), clearer.—In v. 16 משפתים (ה) is evidently wrong; also in Gen. xlix. 14, and (without מ) Ps. lxxviii. 14. Moore makes the word = אשפתות, 'dung-heaps,' 'ash-mounds.' Rather read שפתים = צפתים, 'Zephathites' (*i.e.* 'Zarephathites'), and in next line, שנקת ערבים (cp. Jer. xix. 8, etc.). 'Arabians,' 'Zarephath' are parallel in *ll.* 1 *f.* of the poem.—In v. 17 Houb., Budde, etc., read גָד for גִּלְעָד; a tribal name is wanted. Cp. Pesh.; and 2 S. xxiii. 36 (G^b), 2 K. x. 33 (G^a).—For בעבר הירדן read, as usual (see on i. 1), ירחמאל. בְּעֵרַב. Metre, however, suggests that 'ירח' is a gloss. Of this, the superfluous למה in next line may be a corruption (ה from ח). For אניות, which Ruben rightly questions, and for which Budde once read נאיתיו, we should read איתן, *i.e.* the Ethanites of N. Arabia (see 1 K. iv. 31).—For לחוף read על-דהוב ימים = ימנים, a gloss. Cp. on Gen. xlix. 13. 'Rehob' = Rehoboth (as Josh. xix. 28).—מפריצו, $\acute{\alpha}\pi.$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma.$, imperfectly explained as 'his ports' (Schultens, *Op. min.* 163) or 'his landing-places' (*BDB*). 'Il est difficile de habiter contre ses propres ports' (Lagr.). The word has some resemblance to another obscure word, משפתים, and almost certainly has the same origin, viz. צרפתים.—18. חרף נפשו למות. 'The original meaning (of חרף), "to despise," passes over into that of "giving up"' (*Bertheau*). But where does חרף mean 'to despise'? Isa. liii. 12 is quoted, but הערה נפשו למות is doubtful. Duhm, Marti, and *SBOT* omit למות as a gloss. But is it to be also a gloss in Judg. v. 18? Doubtless one of the above three words is metrically superfluous. But notice that תמול, or some closely similar group of letters, often represents either ישמעאל or ירח' (see on 1 S. x. 10), and this is most probably the case with למות both in Judges and in

Isaiah.¹ The nearer of the two possible originals is ישמעאל. This implies, in the case of Judg. v. 18, that ישמעאל (the original reading) was intended either as a gloss on, an equivalent term to, ישם, or as a correction of a miswritten ישם. The latter is the more probable view; in fact, it is not uncommon (*e.g.* *v.* 21) to find נפשי (נפשו) written instead of ישמן = ישמעאל. Read, therefore, חרף ישם. Insults (*cp.* I S. xvii. 43 *f.*; *cp.* *v.* 10) were a common mode of defying an enemy.—In *l.* 2 transpose; מרומי represents ירחמאל (*cp.* on Josh. xi. 5, 'Merom').

Part iii. *v.* 19. The gloss is plain; או נלחמו = ירחמלים (ם = נ, ר = ו). בית-עקק accords with בני ענק in *v.* 6. For the wide extension of the Anakites, see Josh. xi. 21.—מגדו. As in Josh. xvii. 11, etc., from מגדול.—נשם from כסף, as Isa. xlvi. 10.—לא לקחו. The final אל in ירחמאל often gets separated, and is prefixed as לא לקח (like רחק, sometimes) from רמח = ירחמאל.—20. A fine but not clear passage. נוכבים (twice), נלחמו; ישמעאל שמים and [ש]מן come from ירחמאל; ישמעאל = [מ]מסלותם; עם סיסרא עם אשר.—*Vv.* 21 and 22 are best transposed. Both have been overgrown by faulty readings, out of which the redactor has done his best to extract a passable sense. In *v.* 22 או הלמו (*cp.* או נלחמו, *v.* 19) represents ירחמלים; so, too, עקבי (like יעקב now and then); Ruben has already divined that עקבי conceals the name of a country. סוס, as so often, = either פוש or אשר (אשחור); *cp.* סיסרא. מדהרות is left by Moore; also הלמו (הלמו). He remarks, however, that 'the text has been differently understood, and has varied considerably.' Ruben keeps *v.* 22*a*, and in *b* reads 'ג' = קאדאדו, a land whose prince was an ally of the 'Hittite' king Sisera). τὰς ὑβρεὶς ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν, where ἐκστασ. αὐτῶν represents חודתם (*cp.* 1 S. xiv. 15). In *JQR*, July 1898, p. 566, I suggested, on this ground, נרדמו, retaining the אביריו of MT. and 15. But the initial נ is a difficulty. We must, therefore, question both 'מד' ד and 'אב'. The reading underlying אביריו can only be אביר. Now the original text comes out. Attach מ in 'מד'

¹ Read, probably, תחת אשר חרפו ישמעאל. Both לחמו and נפשו (= לחמו, see on I S. x. 11) represent 'ישם'. The next verse-number in MT. needs no emendation. Correct p. 46 accordingly.

to סוס, *i.e.* אשור, and read אַשּׁוּרִים חָדְרוּ אֲבָדוּ.—V. 21 is full of difficulty; נחל קישון alone seems clear, but even this has to be improved. 'ק is doubtless an early popular corruption of קישון. גרפם, 'scraped them out,' cannot be right. (Does גרף really exist?) צרפם (*JQR*, *l.c.*) fits in with Ruben's Assyriological explanation of נפשי עו. But this seems to me now too bold. It is one of the many Assyriological explanations which Delitzsch and others have suggested, but which a further study shows to be precarious. We do expect, however (Ruben is right here), a reference to the dead bodies of the foes; read, therefore, כוּשֵׁן פַּגְרֵיהֶם. בנחל כוּשֵׁן פַּגְרֵיהֶם. 'נ. קדומים נ' קישון.—The explanations of 'קד are forced (see *E. Bib.*, col. 2683, note 2). Nor would it be wise to correct into רקמים (ירחמאל = רקם), for the older Ⓢ version (with Theod.) gives *καδησιμ*. Ruben would therefore read קדשים, 'the Kadeshites' (the people of the northern [so Ruben] or of the southern Kadesh). This might be a second name of the *nahal* in question. It is, however, not probable that such a name (unattested elsewhere) was known to the glossator; at the end of v. 21 'ירח' and 'ישמ' are given as glosses. The most probable view is that קושים comes from קושים, *i.e.* כושים.—כושי עו represents two corruptions of תדרכי. צען and איזבל עו, cp. ירחמאל = ירחמאל (cp. חדרך, Zech. ix. 1) = ירחמאל. 'יש' and 'ירח' are glosses on קישון or קדשים. The method is surely wrong which produces נ' קדש דרך נפשי עוים, 'le torrent de Kades a foulé les cadavres des forts' (Lagrange).—23. מרוז is neither from Merom nor from Meron, but from מצור; cp. Ⓢ^a *μαζωρ*, at least for the transposition of letters. The Mišrites had once been Israel's friends; yet 'they came not,' etc. See *E. Bib.*, 'Meroz.'—For בערבים בנבורים read בערבים בנבורים (see on v. 13b).—In אמר מלאך יהוה אמר comes from אָרַם (the southern Aram); 'מ' represents מאל ירח, *i.e.* ירחמאל. We might, indeed, truthfully say that both 'מ' and 'י' possibly represent ירחמאל; there are parallels enough to prove this. But it is simpler to suppose that the two halves of 'ירח' were transposed, and that מאל was misread 'מלא = מלאך. On the MT. Moore remarks, 'It must be conceded that the phrase here has some difficulty.' Grimme and Lagrange delete מלאך on this account. But why should

a special divine command be introduced? 'They came not to the help of Yahwè'; curse them, therefore. Is not this the ancient feeling?—In *v.* 24, a prosaic gloss.—25. Rothstein makes a very good suggestion (*ZDMG* lvi. 200); מים שאל cannot originally have belonged to this line; it must be a later addition; suggested probably by *iv.* 19. But the rest of the text has still to be adequately criticised. The key of the situation lies in אדירים. Being corrupt in *v.* 13, this word may very likely be so here. Indeed, what sense here has ספל אד? It was not the bowl but the milk that was important. 'A bowl fit for giants' (Moore)? But we do not hear that Sisera was a giant, and the ordinary Arab's bowl is 'mighty' (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 398). 'A bowl fit for illustrious guests' (Budde)? But did nomad women keep artistic bowls? In this context surely the milk, not the bowl, requires emphasis. אדירים should be עדים; and this should stand in *l.* 1, ח' עוים (cp. *Prov.* xxxvii. 27).—26. The text is questioned in *E. Bib.*, 'Jael,' but not adequately corrected. Passing over, for brevity's sake, both ancient and modern explanations (except the latest—במלמד גמלים—Rothstein), I venture to say that for להלמות לעמלים we should almost certainly read למוט ירחמאל. A club-stick loaded with iron (cp. Doughty, *Ar. Des.* i. 397) is meant; מוט ירח, because N. Arabia had abundance of iron ore (cp. on *Jer.* xv. 12). It now becomes plausible to correct the impossible יתר into תרתח, which, though in Assyrian it means 'javelin' (see on *Ps.* lv. 22), may in Hebrew have also meant 'club-stick.'—מחקה, miswritten for מחצה (out of place); so Marquart.—For the inappropriate חלפה read פלחה (Grätz).—27. Omit dittographed words.—For באשר כרע שם (omitted, too hastily, by Budde) read כרשעים; cp. 2 *S.* iii. 33. The word was miswritten, with letters dittographed; then came the redactor.—For אשר שדוד read אשר, which should also be restored for סיסרא.

In Part *iv.* there is much of interest to notice. ותיבב, 'and wailed' (*v.* 28), first excites our suspicion. If נשקפה is right, ות should be a synonym. The *κατεμάνθανεν* of G^{AL} suggested to Klostermann ותתבונן (Marq., Bu., Lagr.). Plausible, but the trimeter is complete without either word. ותיבב is, no doubt, a corruption, but not

necessarily of a verb. It may represent either a gloss or a variant to any of the words in *v. 28a* (assuming the text to be correct). Next (*b*), חכמות שרותיה looks doubtful. 'The wisest of her princesses'; who are these princesses? Consorts of neighbouring chieftains? and why are they credited with wisdom? There were 'wise women,' no doubt (the poet speaks from his own observation—cp. 2 S. xiv. 2, xx. 16), but their 'wisdom' had no connection with their position as wives. Nothing of importance is gained by pointing חכמת (Marti, Budde, Lagr.), 'the sagest of her court ladies answers her.' And what an unwise 'answer' *v. 30* presents! In fact, *vv. 29, 30* are, from first to last, impossible. Nor is this all. Negatively, as well as positively, the text is open to strong objection,—(1) there is no geography, and (2) there is no religion, at least till we come to *v. 31a*, of which, as Winter (*ZATW* ix. 224), approved by Budde, says, 'this colourless, moralising reflexion spoils the effect of this fine specimen of the poetic art.' The geography and religion must, of course, be looked for at the opening of the part (*v. 28*). Evidently בעד should come from בעיר. Now, as to החלון and האשנב. The key to חלון is in Josh. xv. 51 (see note), where a place so called is grouped with 'Goshen' and 'Giloh' (both Negeb names), and in Gen. x. 23 where חול is a son of ארם (= ירחמאל), and the key to אשנב is in Gen. xiv. 1, where שנאב is the name of the king of אדמה (*i.e.* ירחמאל; cp. ארם), and, according to analogy (Abishai, Abishalon), should represent 'ערב ישמ'; cp. also on Dt. i. 4 (אבשן = בשן). Read, therefore, בעיר חלון (= בעיר ירח) and בעיר אבשן (= בעיר ערב ישמ). In iv. 2 the city of 'Sisera' is called חרשת, *i.e.* שחרת, the feminine form of אשחר. But, as we may see from 2 S. xxiii. 13, 'Ashhur' and 'Jerahmeel' are practically synonymous. Now, as to the religion. The N. Arabian peoples were pre-eminently addicted to soothsaying; cp. *e.g.* on Dt. xviii. 9 *f.*, 2 K. i. 2, Isa. ii. 6. What more probable than that the queen-mother should seek an oracle as to the cause of the delay in Sisera's return? For נשקפה (*v. 28*) read נשפה, and for ותעננה read יעננה (cp. Isa. ii. 6 and lvii. 3). But where are the 'diviners'? Read, probably, חכמי מקדשה. It was the sanctuaries which were the centres of N. Arabian

'wisdom,' and *v.* 29^b—so fascinating in MT. in its suggestive obscurity—should be **אך הוא ישיב ירחמאל**. The type of corruption in **אמריה לה** is common. It still remains to correct **והיבב**. The most suitable correction is **גבירת** (ג and ר, ר and ב confounded). 'Sisera's' mother ranked next after the king (cp. 1 K. xv. 13, 2 K. x. 13).—**לבוא** and the second **מדוע** are metrically superfluous.—In *v.* 30 **שלל** is a corruption of **ישמעאל** (ישראל would here be unsuitable); this is the first and most obvious correction (cp. on Isa. viii. 1). It then follows that **ידלקו** is wrong; read **ירחמאל**; **ישמ'** was inserted as a gloss. **ימצאו** will then become **יעצם**. The 'wise men of her sanctuary' (plur. of extension) return answer that there is no ground for uneasiness. The king will bring back his victorious forces. The **|| יעצם** is **יגבר** **לראש גבר לסיסרה לצוארי שלל על-צבא ישר'**. The difficulty of **לצוארי שלל** is well-known (see Moore and Budde). Both words, **צו(ל)** and **שלל**, are specially liable to emerge as the result of corruption (for **צו**, see on Judg. viii. 21, 26, and Ps. lxxv. 6). The remainder of *v.* 30 has grown out of repeated attempts of the scribe to write **ירחמאל ישמעאל** correctly. These words were originally a marginal note equating 'Jerahmeel' with 'Ishmael.' The corruptions are **שלל** (see above), **צבעים** and **צבע** (cp. on Gen. xiv. 2, xxxvi. 2, 2 S. ix. 2); these represent **ישמ'**; and **רקמה** and **רקמתים**, representing **ירחמאל**. The two latter words Grätz (*Gesch.* i. 118) and C. Taylor (*Journ. of Philology*, 1873, p. 61) take to be for **חמור חמרותים**, 'heaps upon heaps' (?), Judg. xv. 16. The comparison, at any rate, is, in point, for **חמור** (cp. on Judg. *l.c.*, Gen. xxxiii. 19, xlix. 14) is a very possible corruption of **ירחמאל**.—*V.* 31^a is not a redactor's insertion in the style of the psalms (see above), but a part of the oracle. **כן** may be a corruption of **כל** (written too soon). **אויבי ירחמאל** comes from **אויבך יהוה** (on יהוה for **ירח'**, see on Gen. ii. 4).—Omit **בגברתו** (metrically superfluous).—After the Song comes a redactional notice, **ותשקט הארץ מערב [ישמעאל]**. I cannot help thinking this correction a great help to the effect of the narrative; those who have ever read chap. v. aloud will agree with me. The corruptions of MT. are paralleled in iii. 11, Am. ii. 10, v. 25, etc. (see notes).

CHAPS. vi.-viii. The narrative is highly complicated, and traces of composite origin abound. Nowhere has criticism been more carefully and acutely applied than here (*E. Bib.*, col. 1719). And yet the imperfection of that textual criticism, which necessarily precedes a sound documentary analysis, vitiates to a considerable extent the results thus far attained. A fresh combination of textual, literary, and historical criticism was attempted by the writer in 1900, the results of which are given in *E. Bib.*, 'Gideon.' In that article the writer certainly did not minimise his debt to the criticism summed up by Prof. Moore (*Judges*, 1895), but the pressing necessity for a keener textual criticism than that applied by Moore forbade him to let the student suppose that Moore's view of the legend of Gideon adequately represented the actual state of investigation. The results of the article could not, it was admitted, be more than provisional; the early fusion of the different traditions having been fairly thorough. But it was held to be 'scarcely open to doubt that Gideon (Gaddiel?) and Jerubbaal (Uribaal?) are two different heroes (the one belonging to W. Manasseh, the other either to Gad or to E. Manasseh), whose respective legends have been combined and expanded by successive narrators and editors' (*E. Bib.*, *l.c.*). That Gideon and Jerubbaal were different heroes was adopted from C. Niebuhr and Winckler. Not only this, but the main outlines of two distinct legends appeared to follow from the 'higher criticism' of the text, as revised with some attempt at completeness. Winckler (see *KAT*⁽³⁾, first half [1902], p. 216; cp. *GI* ii. [1900], pp. 135 *ff.*) appears to be still contented with his earlier results, in spite of the fact that he has laid the foundation for a new view of Israelitish history, according to which the N. Arabian borderland was very largely mixed up with the affairs of the Israelites. It is this new view which has obliged me to revise the results of the article 'Gideon.' Those results are indeed a step in advance, and the latest editor of *Judges* (the learned and acute Père M. J. Lagrange) has not, I think, justified either the extreme caution of his own views, or his silence as to the article in the *E. Bib.* But in investigations like the present, no one can be tied down to his own printed words. The scene of the original

narrative, as well as (of course) the various traditions fused together in it, is in N. Arabia. This could only be laid down after considerable research into other parts of the Hebrew texts. Now, however, it can be affirmed to be something which, though doubtless susceptible of fuller proof, is, nevertheless, so far proved that arguments of a quite novel character and of quite extraordinary weight would be required to subvert it. It does not, therefore, seem impossible that one and the same legendary hero may be intended throughout chaps. vi.-viii., and that, just as the leading king of Kenaz in chap. iv. is called both Jabin or Jamin (*i.e.* Jerahmeel) and Sisera (*i.e.* Ashhur), so the heroic deliverer of chaps. vi.-viii. may have been called traditionally both Gideon (*i.e.* Gileadon) and Jerubbaal (*i.e.* Jerahmeel). Nor is the difference in the ethnic names of Israel's enemies of much importance. Amalekites and b'ne Kēdem or Reḳem (vi. 3, 33, vii. 12; so Pesh.) are both names of the Jerahmeelites. 'Ishmael,' which underlies שבט שנים in vi. 1, is a common synonym for 'Jerahmeel.' 'Midianites,' as Winckler has made probable (*KAT*⁽³⁾, p. 143), is the name of the people of the N. Arabian region, called by the Assyrians Muṣri (= Heb. Miṣṣōr). Attention may perhaps be called in advance to the explanation here given of the genesis of the so-called 'late embellishments' of the Gideon-legend in vii. 2-8a, and to that of the dream of the Midianite in vii. 13 f.

CHAP. vi. 3. See on v. 33.—10. Read אֶרְפָּי.—11. מְלֶאךְ יהודה and מֶלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִים (v. 20) both appear to represent יְרֻחַמֶּלֶךְ יהודה; see on ii. 1, vi. 24, Gen. xxi. 17.—'Ophrah.' See on 1 S. xiii. 17 f.—'Abiezer'; also a Negeb name, as, indeed, is suggested by the neighbouring names in the lists, Num. xxvi. 30, Josh. xvii. 2, 1 Chr. vii. 18 (note *e.g.* Helek, Hammolecheth, Milcah, Ishhod [Ashhur]). In 1 Chr. iv. 4 Ezer is a son of Hur (Ashhur), etc. 'Abi,' as usual, = Arab. Gideon then is a N. Arabian Israelite.—'Gideon,' גִּדְעוֹן. Certainly not 'the Hewer.' Possibly connected with גְּדִימָל (Phœn. גְּדַמַּל), but much more probably from גִּלְעָדוֹן, 'belonging to Gilead' (see on Num. i. 11).¹ All

¹ The southern Gilead is intended. It need hardly be said that half Gilead belonged to Manasseh, and that Gideon was a Manassite (v. 15).

these hero-names have a distinct local significance. Cp. the name of Gideon's son, Abimelek = Arab-jerahmeel, and note that in 2 S. xvii. 22 (rightly read) 'the land of Gilead' is a gloss on 'Arab-ishmael' (= 'Arab-jerahmeel').

vi. 14. For *בכחך זה* read perhaps *בחנויך* (cp. Gen. xiv. 14).—24. *Yahwè-shalom*, i.e. 'Yahwè is well-disposed'? (so Moore, cp. v. 23). Most probably the original name was 'Yahwè-Ishmael,' equivalent to 'Yahwè-Jerahmeel,' an early name of the God of Israel (cp. on Gen. ii. 4*b*). It should be remembered that *מלאך יהוה* (*sv.* 11 *ff.*) is equivalent to *ירחמאל יהוה*, i.e. the God known as Jerahmeel-Yahwè (see on ii. 1). Gideon has seen this God 'face to face,' and been afraid for his life. The God has reassured him, and the altar called 'Yahwè-Ishmael' commemorates the theophany.—On Θ 's *εἰρήνη Κυρίου*, see Moore (*SBOT*, Heb., p. 40).

vi. 25, 26, 28. The text has been altered by the redactor, who had before him a text partly corrupt and partly expanded by glosses. *קח את-פר וגו'* cannot be right; v. 27 suggests that the original reading was *קח אנשים מעבדיך*, or the like. This became illegible, and the redactor inserted from the margin a gloss which has become corrupt, and needed to be manipulated in order that any sense might be got out of it. The true form of the passage probably was *עפרת אשחור אשר לירחמאל עפרת ישמ' ישמ'*, 'Ophrah of Ashhur, which (is reckoned) to Jerahmeel, Ophrah of Ishmael'; this was a gloss on 'Ophrah of the Abi-ezrites' v. 24. (The only correction which may seem doubtful is *ישמעאל* for MT.'s *שני* and *שבע שנים*. See, however, on v. 1, and note that Θ 's *τὸν μόσχον ἐὸν σιτευτόν*, i.e. *הפר השמן* [cp. Moore], confirms this.¹) After making this insertion the redactor harmonised *sv.* 26 and 28 with the manipulated v. 25.—In v. 26 note also the unintelligible *המעו* and *במערכה*. Budde apparently takes *מעו* to refer in some way to a neighbouring hill. But he does not explain how this can be. Θ takes the word to be a proper name (some MSS. insert *τοῦ ὄρους*); the form it assumes is *Μαουεα* [B] or *Μαωχ* [A]. The latter suggests *מענה* (cp. *מעוד*, 1 S. xxvii. 2). *מענה* is obviously the original of the impossible *מערכה*; it may also be that of *המעו הזה*, the link being *מעורה* (זה) arose

¹ ישמעאל in MT. often (see e.g. on iii. 28, Isa. x. 27) represents *שמן*.

through dittography). **ראש**, however, is not clear, for **מענה** was hardly the name of a hill. Remembering the **אשחור** (?) of the gloss in *v.* 25, we might perhaps read **על [הר] אשחור** 'במ', 'on Mount Ashhur in Maacah'; cp. **הר אשחור = הר הרים**, *i.* 35. Was Ashhur near Ophrah? Was it the scene of a battle in which Gideon-Jerubbaal was victorious? Cp. on *viii.* 13.

vi. 32. So then the original name 'Jerahmeel' had already become 'Jerubbaal' (cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Jerubbaal'). Another corruption of the name is 'Jerubbesheth' (ultimately from 'Ishmael'). This, however, is due to an arbitrary scribe (see on 2 *S.* xi. 21).—33. **עמלק**, an early corruption of **ירח**. The same ethnic suffered different corruptions in different regions and localities. **קדם** here, as often, = **רקם**, *i.e.* **ירחם**; cp. on *Jer.* xlix. 28, and *E. Bib.*, 'Rekem,' and col. 1719, note 4. For **יר' בעמק יז'** read **במענה יז'**, 'in Jizreelite Maacath.' Cp. *Josh.* xvii. 16.

vi. 35. All the tribal territories were in N. Arabia; *i.e.* there were a Manasseh, an Asher, etc., in N. Arabia, as indeed is suggested by the names of the tribes mentioned, except Naphtali, and the phenomena in this and other early stories make it not merely possible but probable that the Negeb tribal territories are referred to.

CHAP. vii. 1. The topographical description has suffered either corruption or manipulation by an uncomprehending redactor. The scene is most probably in the Negeb.¹ **עין חרוד** (or **עיר ערד**? cp. **Ḥ^b, apad**) is there; see on 1 *S.* xxviii. 7, xxix. 1. The name **מורה**, too, is there; see on *Gen.* xii. 6. Even **עמק**, which at first sight (see *MT.* vi. 33) seems to point distinctly to the plain of Jezreel, is most probably, as elsewhere (*vi.* 33, *Ps.* lx. 8, etc.), a corruption of **מענה**, a name which belongs primarily to the Negeb (see on **מתחת**, *v.* 8*b*). **גבעת ירחמאל** may possibly represent **גבעת ירחמאל**, the name of a city with a famous sanctuary (see on *Jer.* iii. 23 *f.*), but it is also possible that **גבעת** may have sprung either from **גלעד = גלעד** or from **הגלבע**; **המורה**, *i.e.* **ירחמאל**, would in this case be either an appendage to **גל'** or a perfectly correct gloss on **הג'**. For an attempt to deal with the text

¹ It may again be remarked that, for brevity and variety of expression, 'Negeb' is here used widely for the N. Arabian borderland.

of *v.* 1 as a whole, see *E. Bib.*, cols. 1966 *f.*, cp. 1724 (top).

vii. 2-8*a*, a late insertion; for the evidence, see Budde. But neither this critic nor Moore—acute as they both are—have discovered the genesis of the tale. The story of the ‘smelting out’ (צַרַף) of the less ardent warriors, and the impossible numbers (cp. Lagrange) in *v.* 3*b*, have grown out of corrupt glosses. צַרַף (*v.* 4) and צַפֵּר (*v.* 3) have both arisen out of צַפֵּר (Gen. xxxvi. 11) or צַרַפַּת, and the numbers in *v.* 3*b* from אֲשֵׁרִים and יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים. Parallels in abundance exist in this very book. A ‘pure Midrash’ (Budde) can now be observed in the making.—8*b*. מַתַּחַת, from מַעַנַת (= עִמָּק).

vii. 3 *f.* On the chief *cruces* see preceding note. The mention of Mt. Gilead is only a difficulty if Gideon lived in central Palestine. For one view of the text see *E. Bib.*, col. 1967, note 1. ⚔'s ἐκχαρῆιδω, however, may represent יִבְרַח (cp. Am. vii. 12), which would give a suitable sense. יִצְפֵּר is surely impossible; צ' should mean ‘to plait,’ or ‘to twitter.’

vii. 10. פָּרָה. Probably from עֵפְרָה or אֵפְרָת.—11. חַמְשִׁים, from יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים. See on Ex. xiii. 18.—12. Transpose בַּעֲמָק and נַפְלִים, and read בַּמַּעַנַת יִרַח (see on viii. 10). כַּחֲלוֹל וְגוֹ'. Read יִרַחמָאֵל שַׁעַד שַׁפַּת יַם-יִרְחַמָּאֵל. Cp. on Gen. xxii. 17, Josh. xi. 4, 1 S. xiii. 5, 1 K. v. 9.—13. צִלּוֹל, ⚔. צִלִּיל; ‘sense and etymology unknown’ (Lagrange). ‘From the context, a round (disk-shaped) cake or loaf’ (Moore). See also Budde, *ZDPV*, 1895, p. 93. צֵל, however, as well as צֵלֶם, is a current corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (cp. on צִלְצֵל, Isa. xviii. 1; צִלְלִי, Jer. vi. 4), and יִרַחמָאֵל of לֶחֶם; שַׁעַרִים at once suggests אֲשֵׁרִים. It was not a rolling cake, ‘trundling through the camp,’ of which the Midianite dreamed, but a wonderful sword which turned every way, as in Gen. iii. 24. חֲרָב may safely be inserted (see *v.* 14). Read probably—וְהִנֵּה חֲרָב יִשְׁמַעְאֵל [יִרַח אֲשֵׁרִים] מִתְּהַפֵּךְ וְגוֹ'. By Ishmael (Jerahmeel, Asshurim) the speaker means the followers of Gideon or Jerubbaal. The region from which these men came was called indifferently Ishmael, Jerahmeel, and Asshur. Of course, this part of the complex narrative (see on chap. vi.) designated the foes of the Israelites, not Jerahmeelites, but Midianites.—14. Omit בְּיִרְחָאֵשׁ. אִישׁ is to be taken collectively.

vii. 22. The explanation of the route of the fugitives depends, of course, on our view of the scene of the conflict. Whatever line we take, the text has to be corrected. If Gideon was a hero of central Palestine, the corrections proposed in *E. Bib.*, col. 1720, are plausible. If, however, he belonged to N. Arabia, a re-examination of the text becomes necessary. עַד-בֵּית הַשָּׁטָה corresponds equally with צַרְרָתָה and with עַד-שַׁפַּת. In fact, שַׁטָּה (cp. on Joel iv. 18), and שַׁפַּת certainly, and צַרְרָה not improbably, represent צַרְפַּת¹ (cp. on 1 K. xi. 26). מַחֻלָּה אֶבֶל, too, is a Negeb name (cp. on 1 K. iv. 12), both parts of which come from יִרְחַמְאֵל, though the connection of אֶבֶל (especially) must have been early forgotten. Tabbath (cp. Jotbah, Tabbaoth) also points to the far south (see *E. Bib.*, col. 4860).—24. The parallelism of iii. 28, xii. 5, suggests that what is meant is 'the fords of the Jarḥon' (the stream, whose name is so often miswritten as יַרְדֵּן), *i.e.* that הַיַּרְדֵּן מַעְבְּרוֹת became miswritten, by corruption and dittography in such a way, that the redactor, who transferred Gideon to central Palestine, could make it into אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן עַד בֵּית בְּרָה וְאֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן. It is worth adding—though no deduction can be drawn from it—that מִים may (see 2 S. xii. 26 *f.*) represent a fragment of יִרְחַמְאֵל, and that בֵּית בְּרָה might come from בֵּית עֶרֶב (see on 2 S. xvi. 14). The difficult words here may conceal something no longer to be recovered which was in accordance with the ancient geography of N. Arabia.

vii. 25, viii. 5. Winckler's mythological explanations hardly justify themselves (*GI* ii. 136 *f.*). עֹרֵב comes from עֶרֶב; [ב]צוֹר may come from שָׂר, and [ב]יָקֵב from יָקֵם (= יִרְחַם), a variant to זֹאב. As to the origin of זֹאב (and possibly of the Zabibieh of Tiglath-pileser's inscription), we can no longer have any doubt; it is a corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל (cp. on בעו, 1 K. vii. 21; בו, Gen. 'xxii. 21; צוּבָה, 2 S. viii. 3; צִיבָא, ix. 2; עוּוּבָה, 1 Chr. ii. 18). צַלְמַנֶּץ, too, certainly comes

¹ Lagrange (*Livre des Juges*, p. 139) thinks that there were two places called צַרְרָה or צַרְתָּן. He criticises Budde, who connects Beth-haššittā with Mešeṭṭa, SSE. of Jogbehā, where, Lagrange remarks, no acacia (שַׁטָּה) has ever grown. Lagrange is always interesting on Palestine geography, but his candidly expressed 'incertitudes' would not have arisen if he had devoted a more systematic and thorough study to textual criticism. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Zarethan.'

from ישמעאל. The view which has now become the favourite, that צלם includes the divine name צלם, is only plausible if צלם and ישמעאל may be connected. The proper name צלמשוב in an inscription from Teima, referred to by Nöldeke, however explained in later times, may perhaps be compounded of two independent forms of the ethnic best known to us as 'שמ'. Thus we get two parallel pairs of names, Oreb and Zeeb = 'Arāb and Ishmael, and Zebah and Zalmunna, both = Ishmael. Tradition loves to duplicate. Note וראש-ערב. See *E. Bib.*, 'Oreb,' 'Zalmunna.'

CHAP. viii. 4. עִיפִים וְרֹדְפִים, ⚙, πεινῶντες καὶ διώκοντες (B), ὀλιγοψυχοῦντες κ. δ. (A). Budde (and before him Houb. made the same correction) infers from ⚙^{AL}, ע' וְרַעְבִּים. But the words just here are not wanted, and Moore (*SBOT*, Heb., p. 43) suggests that they may be glosses, derived from v. 5. This, however, is too easy a correction; why should such glosses have arisen? The key is supplied by the ||, 2 S. xvi. 4 (see note). Read עָרַב ירחמאל, 'to 'Arāb-jerahmeel.' It is a correction of הירדנה עבר. The true text said, 'And Gideon came to 'Arāb-jerahmeel, he and the 300 men that were with him.' It now becomes unnecessary to remark, 'עָרַב is really impossible; read ויעבר with ⚙, or suppress it as a gloss; the passage of the Jordan was a matter of course' (Lagrange; cp. Moore, Budde).—5. סְכוּת. Read סלכת (see on Josh. xiii. 27), or less probably, מענת.

viii. 10 *f.* קרקר should be either רקם or ירחמאל (see, however, *E. Bib.*, col. 1720). כל הנותרים . . . רקם is redactional. The rest of the verse has for its substratum corruptly written ethnics. נפלים (difficult to render) comes from ירחמאלים (so in viii. 10, Gen. vi. 4, etc.), of which מאה is also a fragment. ישמעאל, אלף איש; אשָׁרִים represents עשרים and חרב, 'שמ' and ירח respectively (cp. on xx. 2).—11. MT. דָּרַךְ הַשְׁכִּיבִי בְּאֵהָלַיִם, untranslatable. *E. Bib.*, col. 1721, note 1, reads דַּמְשֶׁק = דרמשק. A step in the right direction. But we are in the *southern* Aram. Read דרך נושם ירחמאל. —[ב] רחבות בטח should perhaps be Ezek. xxx. 9.

viii. 13. MT. מִן-הַמְּלַחְמָה מְלַמְעֵלָה הַחָרָם. Read מאשחר ירחמאל. Both מלחמה and מעלה occur elsewhere as corruptions of 'ירח; on חרם cp. on i. 35. *V.* 10 tells us that the

enemy was in Jerahmeel, and in the true text of vi. 26, 'Ashhur in Maacath' appears to be indicated as the scene of a victory of Gideon.

viii. 18 *ff.* For *תבור* read probably *רְחֻבוֹת*; cp. on *ברית*, *v.* 33, on *iv.* 7, *Josh.* xix. 11, and *Ps.* lxxxix. 13^b. Differently, Budde, and *E. Bib.*, col. 1720. For *נמוך כמוהם אחד* read *ירחמאלים*. At any rate, *נמוהם* (*Jer.* xli. 17) and *אחד* (*I S.* i. 1) are elsewhere corruptions of *ירחמאל*. *המלך* (*בני*) also comes from *ירח' (בני)*. Read, therefore, as the answer of the Ishmaelites, *נתאר בני ירחמאל*, with the variant *ירחמאלים*. *אמי הם* has the same origin. Gideon's rejoinder is *אחי ירח'*, 'the Jerahmeelites are my kinsmen.'—*יתר*. The other occurrences of the name are significant as to the locality of those who bore it.

viii. 21. The last clause, as Budde remarks, sounds very strangely. Why speak of the camels here? Besides, according to *v.* 26, the crescents (*שדה*) were worn by the Midianites. Surely we should read here *ויקח את-הַצֵּדוֹת וְאֶת-בְּרֻעֵי יִרְחַמְאֵלִים*. Cp. 2 *S.* i. 10, the *צעדה* on king Saul's arm. The words became half effaced, and the redactor filled up inadvertently (see *v.* 26).

viii. 28. Correct, as in *Judg.* v. 31, *ותשקט הארץ מערבים*, *ותשקט הארץ מערבים*, *i.e.* originally *ירחמאל*.—31. *אבימלך*, *i.e.* originally *ירחמאל*.—33. *MT.* *בעל ברית*; so *ix.* 4, but in *ix.* 46, *El-berith*. If there were any proof of a direct relation between Shechem and the city Berith (Beirût), we might, thinks Lagrange,¹ explain *בעל ברית* as Baal of Berytus, 'the Baal' being almost always the Baal of a place, whereas the name of El is habitually followed by a word 'indicating a memory.' For this statement respecting El he refers to *Gen.* xxi. 33, where Abraham is said to have called at Beer-sheba on the name of El-'olam. He thinks himself that the primitive form of the name of the god of Shechem was *El-berith*, that this was changed into *Baal-berith* ('Baal de l'Alliance') to emphasise the idolatrous character of his cultus, that *El-berith* may quite well date back to the Israelites, and that it is probably 'the name which in *Gen.* xxxiii. 20 is suppressed when, after the agreement with Hamor, Jacob mentions by name El . . . God of

¹ *Livre des Juges*, pp. 164, 185; cp. *Rel. Sém.* p. 84.

Israel.' The hypothesis is as premature as that of Winckler.¹ If almost everywhere else 'the Baal' is the Baal of a place, why should not this be the case here? And if an examination of El-olam, El-elohe-Israel, El-roi reveals the fact that these titles are made up of El and a N. Arabian ethnic or district, why should not El-berith be similarly composed? Some light may be thrown upon בעל ברית (1) from viii. 18, where תבור probably comes from רְהוּבוֹת, (2) from 2 S. viii. 8, where מְבֹרְתֵי, as ♂^{BAL} suggests, has come from מְרֻחֹבֶת; and (3) from Ezek. xlvii. 16, where in like manner a comprehensive view of the context, coupled with a due regard to historical criticism, bids us read, not בְּרוּתָה (which Ewald wrongly connected with the well-known Berytus), but רְהוּבוֹת. In our passage, too, the best sense is produced by reading Baal- and El-rehoboth. The importance of Rehoboth in the Negeb was great (see *E. Bib.*, 'Rehoboth'), and we cannot doubt that this importance extended to religion. It is not improbable that at Rehoboth, and not at Hebron, was the reputed tomb of Abraham (a Jerahmeelite hero); also that 'Rehoboth' in 'Baal-rehoboth' (underlying Baal-berith) is used as an equivalent to 'Ishmael' in the phrase 'Baal-ishmael' (underlying Baal-zebub, see on 2 K. i. 2). *Now* we can understand how the Israelites can be said to have made Baal-berith their god. 'Baal-of-the-alliance' cannot with any probability be asserted to have been worshipped by the Israelites. But the Jerahmeelite Baal, here called 'Baal of Rehoboth,' certainly was worshipped by them, as the prophets frequently tell us (see *e.g.* on Zeph. i. 5).

CHAP. ix. 5 *ff.* עַל-אֲבָן אֶחָת (also *v.* 18). Both אֲבָן and אֶחָת are suspicious; it is useless to labour to explain the phrase. For אֲבָן, see on 2 S. xiv. 26; for אֶחָת, on lxvi. 17. Read probably בְּנֵי יִרְחָמָל (a variant to 'בְּנֵי יִרְבָּ'); cp. יִקְתָּל from 'יִרְחָ עַל' comes from אֵל (in 'יִרְחָ').—בֵּית מְלוֹא. Does this mean the acropolis of Cusham (MT, Shechem)? Cp. on 2 S. v. 9, 1 K. ix. 15. Or a place called Beth-jerahmeel, near Cusham? See on Dt. xii. 5. The latter view is to be preferred. See on *v.* 46.—גְּרוּיִם, in the Negeb (of course). Cp. גּוּר, 2 S. v. 25, 1 K. ix. 15 (see notes), also גְּרוּי, 1 S.

¹ See *E. Bib.*, col. 2582, note 3; Winckler, *GI* ii. 69 *f.*, *KAT*³ 218. בְּרִית, the confederacy of the earlier N. Israelitish tribes.

xxvii. 8 (other connections in note). See further on Dt. xi. 29 (situation).

ix. 12 *f.* See on Ps. civ. 15*a*.—15. For the southern Lebanon, see on 1 K. v. 20, and for the possibility of a name 'Gebalon' see *E. Bib.*, 'Solomon,' § 3. The meaning of ארו is not 'cedar' only.

ix. 21. גַּאֲרָה. Read perhaps עַרְבָה, 'to Arab[-jerahmeel],'
i.e. to a town so called. Cp. on 2 S. xvi. 5, and note the true origin of the name Abimelech (on viii. 31).

ix. 26-41. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Gaal,' which, however, needs correction. Not only can Wellhausen's explanation of the name ('dung-beetle,' as if גַּעַל) be questioned; numerous parallels enable us to find the true form, which is גַּלְעַד; this, indeed, is already given in G^{BA} , which has γαλααδ. Lagrange, rightly, from his point of view, is surprised at γαλααδ, but it is quite right. עבד, too (Hollenberg, Moore, Budde, עבד), is not a shortened theophorous name; as in עבד-אדם, it is a corruption of עָרַב (cp. on 2 S. vi. 10). Thus 'Gaal' was by origin a southern Gileadite and an Arabian. For the improbable ריעברו בשכם (see Moore) read ערבים בכשם, 'Arabians in Cusham' (gloss). Another series of corrections affects *v.* 28. Moore seems to be correct in his general view of the passage, but his reading of the text can, it is hoped, be improved. First, in Gaal's first question we cannot do without a synonymous expression, and the text supplies us with the means of providing it.—הלא בן-ירבעל is a gloss, bidding us read בן יר' instead of שכם; G goes one step towards this with its *υἱὸς συχεμ* (which Oort, Kuenen, etc., adopt). Next, as a consequence of this, and supported by one attested reading of G (see Moore, *SBOT*, Heb., p. 22)—κατεδουλώσατο τοῦς ἀνδρας εμμωρ, we must, for עבדו, read הַעֲבִיד אֲבִי; שכם is of course a gloss to be explained just as the same words are to be explained in Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 6, or in the underlying original story (see notes). The sense produced is 'Who is Abimelech, and who is the son of Jerubbaal, that we should serve him? Zebul, his officer, has made slaves of the men of Hamor, and why should we be slaves—we?' (For the 'vineyards,' *v.* 27, cp. xv. 5, xxi. 20, and see on Jer. xiii. 12, Ps. civ. 15*a*.)

ix. 31, 41. Both תרומה and ארומה represent popular

distortions of ירחמאל. With the latter cp. רומה, 2 K. xxiii. 36. See *E. Bib.*, 'Ramah,' 'Tormah.'

ix. 37. תבור is clearly wrong. We can hardly (with Winckler) imagine a reference to the mountain of the gods—too grand a solution to be offered until the basis of fact is more secure. Twice (see on viii. 18) תבור seems to represent רהבות. May not this be the case here? 'Rehoboth' meets us again *probably* in the divine title 'Baal-of-Rehoboth' (Baal-berith). עם in מעם may perhaps be a corrupt fragment of מצרים; מ[ה]ארץ too may, here as elsewhere, represent מצר. Thus we get the phrase מרחבות מצרים, 'from the Misrite Rehoboth.'—מעוננים, probably a distortion, partly accidental, partly deliberate, of ירחמאלים; נ constantly replaces the final ל in corrupt forms of 'Jerahmeel,' 'Ishmael.' See *E. Bib.*, 'Meonenim,' and cp. 'Maon,' 2, 'Moreh.'

ix. 46, 47, 49. נל-בעלי מגדל-שכם. See *E. Bib.*, 'Shechem, Tower of,' which needs supplementing. We have to ask whether Migdal-shechem is to be identified with 'Beth-millo' (*v.* 6), or not. This is affirmed by Stade and Budde, but denied by Moore and Lagrange. From our present point of view this answer may be given. Most probably 'Millo' and 'Migdal' have the same origin, viz. ירחמאל (for מגדל, cp. גמר and מגרון, 1 S. xiv. 2, note). 'Beth-millo' (see on *v.* 6) represents 'Beth-jerahmeel.' Being near 'Cusham' ('Shechem'),¹ this place was also called 'Jerahmeel-cusham.' One of the sources, which are combined in this narrative, used the name 'Beth-jerahmeel' (Beth-millo), the other 'Jerahmeel-cusham' (Migdal-shechem). In this venerated place was a sanctuary of 'Jerahmeel-rehoboth' (El or Baal Berith), the Jerahmeel whose central sanctuary was at Rehoboth, the Hebron of the Abraham group of stories. See on viii. 33, and on the god Jerahmeel cp. on Ex. iii. 14.

ix. 48. צלמן, *i.e.* ישמעאלון (cp. on Am. v. 26); Ἰσαακ (εἰρημωσ, αεῖρημωσ) presupposes דורמון, *i.e.* ירחמאלון. The two names are synonymous. Some mountain of a Jerahmeelite range is meant. Cp. on Ezek. xxviii., xxxviii., and *E. Bib.*

¹ 'Near Cusham,' because of the whole context in chap. ix., and because of xxi. 19.

'Zalmon,' 1. The divine name צלם (see Baethgen, *Beitr.* 80 *f.*; Zimmern, *KAT*⁽³⁾ 475 *f.*) at any rate in Aramaic and Hebrew, should come from ישמעאל.

CHAP. x. 1. The position of textual questions as it was until lately is well set forth (after Moore) by Lagrange. No attempt is made to go behind either of the two texts (MT. and the versions, and Moore's S^{LP}). The same keen criticism which has cleared up many analogous problems, appears to lead to the following reading of the text, [בן ירחמאל] אֲשַׁמְאוּל בֶּן-אֶפְרַת בֶּן-אֶשְׁחֹר [בן ירחמאל]. In justification of this see *E. Bib.*, 'Tola,' but note that some details of that statement are here rectified. Thus, דוד איש has almost certainly grown out of אשדוד = אשור, *i.e.* אשחור; for this, cp. דוד, followed by אשר, in Ps. cxxxii. 1 *f.* (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾). The next word יששכר is an incorrect, and yet (cp. on Gen. xxx. 18) natural emendation of אשחור. The *υἶον καρῆ* or *καρῆ* which S^{LP} introduces after *υἶον φουα* (פואה), is not a corruption of 'ben Issachar,' but represents בן-קרה, *i.e.* 'ben Korah' or 'ben Kareah' where K. is an early expansion of a fragment of 'Jerahmeel.' The puzzles about דוד now disappear; so also does the problem created by the reference to 'Tola's' residence in MT. Ephraim (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 2293, and Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, p. 13). It is the southern Ephraim that is meant.—שָׁמִיר or (S^{A} , etc., *ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ*) שָׁמִירֹן? Note that the 'sons of Issachar' in Gen. xlvi. 13, Num. xxvi. 23 *f.*, are Tola, Puvvah, Job (or Jashub = Ishmael), Shimron. Shamir and Shimron may have been near together.—'He judged Israel twenty-three years.' But the original text had 'he righted Israel against Asshur and Ishmael' (מֵאֲשׁוּר וּמִיִּשְׁמַעֲאֵל). Numerals from ethnics, as often, especially in Judges. The very same error (עשרים ושלש), needing the same correction, occurs in 1 Chr. ii. 23.

x. 3-6. At first sight Jair the Gileadite may seem to have been invented to account for the name Havvoth-jair. One is surprised, however, that no attempt is made to relate the details of the conquest of Havvoth-jair. In the next section, which is by no means homogeneous, we find the conquest of 'twenty cities' ascribed to another Gileadite named Jephthah. Can these have been the Havvoth-jair,

which, though represented in x. 4 as thirty in number, in 1 Chr. ii. 23 are said to be twenty-three? It would relieve the story of Jephthah if either xi. 1-33, or xi. 34-40 could be detached from it. It was therefore proposed in *E. Bib.*, cols. 2359-2362, to annex xi. 1-33 (in a revised text), *mutatis mutandis*, to the story of Jair. Plausible, however, as this may be, so long as the 'thirty cities' of x. 4 and the 'twenty cities' of xi. 33 are retained, a searching criticism of these pairs of words changes the aspect of the passages, and so removes the grounds for the hypothesis. 'Jair' is merely another witness to the warlike capacity of the Israelites of Gilead.

x. 3. יָאִיר, the Gileadite. For a Jair, ben Manasseh, see Num. xxxii. 41, Dt. iii. 14, Josh. xiii. 30, 1 K. iv. 13; for a Jair, b. Segub, b. Hezron, 1 Chr. ii. 22 (cp. *Steuern. Einwand.* p. 26); Hezron's mother is a bath Machir. Most of these names—Jair, Gilead, Manasseh, Machir—clearly point in the first instance to the south (see on Gen. xxxi. 47 *f.*, Dt. iii. 14 *f.*); note also 'Kamon,' *v.* 5.—At the close the original text had מַאֲשׂוּר וּמִשְׁמַעְאֵל (cp. on *v.* 2).

x. 4. A corrupt passage was manipulated by the redactor with a truly absurd result. Cp. xii. 9, 14. The same key opens all three locks; numerals often come from ethnics. Read here probably—[יִשְׁמַעְאֵל] וַיְדוּרוּ לוֹ עִבְדִּים a necessary insertion suggested by the || xii. 14. יִשְׁמ' a gloss or variant; it underlies שְׁלֹשִׁים. בְּנֵי from בָּנִים (a mark of abbreviation was *imagined* after בְּנֵי). עַל רַחְבּוֹת רַנְבִּים represents 'רח' רַחְבּוֹת יִרְח', as we can see from the equally corrupt but more transparent יִאִיר חוֹת רַחְבּוֹת (cp. on Dt. iii. 14). שְׁלֹשִׁים עִירִים, twice over, conceals 'ירח' יִשְׁמ' (gloss); לְהֵם, twice over, and יִקְרָאוּ also cover over 'רח' יִרְח'. הַגְּלַעַד . . . עַד הַיּוֹם is a redactional insertion, based on misunderstanding. For MT's 'thirty' 𐤂𐤃 has 'thirty-two.' To both numbers the same key applies; יִשְׁמַעְאֵל and שְׁנַיִם are both current corruptions of יִרְח'. In 1 Chr. ii. 22, read וַיְדוּרוּ לוֹ אֲשָׁרִים וּשְׁמַעְאֵלִים לְעִבְדִּים.

x. 5. בְּקַמּוֹן ק' must be some important place. The name may come from קַרְנִים or מַחְכִּים, which are both popular corruptions of 'רח' יִרְח'. Cp. on 2 S. ii. 8 *f.* xvii. 22.

x. 6-xii. 7. Here again textual criticism throws a

welcome light both on the exegesis and on the composition of the section. As to xi. 12-28 Holzinger and Budde seem right in holding that 'the Ammonites' has in some places displaced 'Moab,' and that in *v.* 15 'and the land of the Ammonites' is an interpolation. But we must go farther. As in Num. xxi. *ff.*, מואב appears to have displaced מצור. The negotiations were originally between Israel and the king of Mišṣōr. Mišṣōr, like Moab, appears to have worshipped Chēmōsh. Not impossibly the present text of *vv.* 12-28 has replaced a passage which the redactor found illegible (cp. *E. Bib.*, col. 2361).

x. 6 *ff.* Rightly read, N. Arabian ethnics (see *E. Bib.*, 'Maon,' end).—The impossible collocation, "in that year eighteen years" must be attributed to editorial interpolation or composition' (Moore). This, however, is not at all certain, though as regards בשנה הדיא it is highly probable. The troublesome 'eighteen years' is most probably due to editorial misunderstanding of an early gloss. As in iii. 14 both שמנה and שנה probably represent ישמעאל, and עשרה represents את-בני יש' אשר בישמ'. Perhaps we should read 'את-בני יש' אשר בישמ' בארץ הארמי וגו', אשחור, to which את-כל-בני יש' אשר בערב ירח' would be a variant.

x. 8 *f.* The stream is the נחל ירח' (see on 2 S. xvii. 22), the Judah (xv. 9-11, xviii. 12), Benjamin, and Ephraim mentioned are in N. Arabia.

x. 11 *f.* Probably the list is swelled by some corrupt doublets. עמון may be a repeated עמון, which word is a popular variation of עמלק = עמאל. ⚡ has Μαδιαν, which some critics (including Budde and Moore in *SBOT*) adopt. Against this see *E. Bib.*, 'Maon.'

x. 17. גלעד probably = 'ג' ביה (see on 2 S. ii. 8 *f.*, Am. vi. 13 *f.*). מצפה. See on Gen. xxxi. 49.

CHAP. xi. See on x. 3-6. 'Jephthah,' it may be added here, is no mythological figure (see Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, pp. 97 *ff.*), but the hero of a clan. His father was Gilead, his mother an Ishmaelitess, *i.e.* the clan was of mixed origin. His name indicates a Naphtuhite connection; see on Naphtuhim, Gen. x. 13 (N. is one of the sons of Mišrim), and cp. Nephtoah, Tappuah, also Paḥath-moab, and the Zerahite name Pethahiah. Expelled

(as the folk-story said) by his kinsmen, he took refuge in the land of *טוב*, *i.e.* *תובל* (see on 2 S. x. 6, and *E. Bib.*, 'Tob'). The corruption *זונה*, from *ישמעאל* with feminine ending, occurs again in a similar context in 1 K. xii. 24*b*, presupposed by the *πόρνη* of *G^{BL}*; also in Josh. ii. 1, 1 K. xxii. 38 (plur.); cp. *צאן* (1 S. xvi. 19, xvii. 34), *שונם*, *צין*, *צען*, all from *ישם*. If we keep *אשה אחרת* in *v.* 2, we must suppose that *v.* 2 is an insertion made after the corruption *זונה* had arisen. But *אחר* (cp. 1 Chr. vii. 12, Isa. lxvi. 17, Ps. xvi. 4, and *אלהים אחרים* from *אלהי ירחם*) is one of the mutilations of *ירחמאל*. *V.* 2, end, thus obtains a good sense, 'for thou art the son of a Jerahmeelites.' Now we see why Jephthah fled to *Tob*, or rather Tubal, for 'Tubal' anciently meant 'Ishmael' (cp. 'Ethbaal').

xi. 12 *f.* See on x. 6-xii. 7, and cp. on || passages in Num. xx. *f.*—33. *ערוער*; see on Josh. xiii. 9.—*מנית*; read *מענת* (cp. on Ezek. xxvii. 17). Perhaps 'Abel-beth-maacah' is meant; in this case it may be = 'Abel-keramim' (cp. on 'Beth-haccerem,' Jer. vi. 1). *עשרים עיר* 'stands in a suspicious place' (Moore), and is certainly corrupt. *עיר* = *ועד* (dittogr.), and *עשרים* should be *אשרים*, which should be joined to *מענת*. *אבל כרמים*, *i.e.* *ירחמאל כרמים*, 'Jerahmeel of the Carmites'; cp. on Num. xxii. 24.—37. The difficult *וירדתי* is really a miswritten *ורעיתי* (*E. Bib.*, col. 2361, note 5).

CHAP. xii. 1. Read perhaps *צפתה*, 'to Zephath (Zarephath),' assuming that *מצפה* (xi. 34) is a side-form of *צפת* or *צרפת*.—4. From every point of view a difficult passage. Moore, Budde, and Lagrange omit *אתם . . . אמרו*, but whether they rightly explain the insertion of these words, seems very doubtful. It may be that our key will unlock even this troublesome door. *פלט* in Ps. lvi. 8 (see *Ps.*⁽²⁾) probably represents *צרפת*. Here, however, it will rather represent *פרת*, *i.e.* the *nahal Ephrath* (cp. on Jer. xiii. 4), while *כי אמרו* may come from *מעברו*, *i.e.* *מעברות*. Reading *פ' [ל]אפרים*, we may take the words as a variant to *את-מעב' לאפ'* in *v.* 6, for *הירדן*, as in x. 8 *f.*, represents the *נחל ירדן*, which was either synonymous with the *נחל אפרת*, or might easily have been substituted for it in another form of the legend. *אתם גלעד* possibly represents

במענת גלעד, beside which we have the two variants, במ' ארם and במ' ישמעאל (תוך from מענת, as in Ps. lxxii. 14; אפר' from ארם, as in Isa. xvii. 3; ישמעאל = ישמן from מנשה, as perhaps in Ps. lx. 9.)—5. ירדן, as often, from ירדון.

xii. 6. שבלת. Was this word merely a chance selection? or was it suggested by the neighbourhood of the stream (so Lagrange)? The latter theory is the more nearly correct. Only, for ש' we should read שובל (Gen. xxxvi. 20), or even, as in Isa. xxvii. 12, ישמעאל (of which שובל is a side-form). Note that some of the corruptions of ישמ' (e.g. סבל, Ps. lxxxii. 7); סמל, Ezek. viii. 3, 5) have ס.—The statement (of the redactor?) that forty-two thousand Ephraimites fell is due to a misreading of the editor. ערב ישמעאל comes from מעברות היר' (see on 2 K. x. 14); אלף (see on viii. 10), from מאל, a fragment of יש'.

xii. 7. 'Six years.' But the original text probably had either קאיש ישמ' or מאשור ומישמ'.

xii. 8. אבזן; Ἰ, εσεβων = אבזון, Gen. xlvi. 16, 1 Chr. vii. 7, which should be צבעון (Gen. xxxvi. 2, etc.), i.e. ישמעאל. Cp. אבן, a place-name in Issachar (see on Josh. xix. 20). Hommel (ap. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, i. 22, note 1) compares 'Ibzan' with Arabic names. Ibzan's city is Beth-lehem = Beth-jerahmeel (see on Josh. xix. 15).

xii. 9. Read, in accordance with x. 4, xii. 14, יהיו לו עבדים [ישמעאל] בני ישמעאל. What follows is an editorial expansion of corrupt forms of בני ישמ'. בנות שלה seems to have come from בני אשתאול; now אשת' is not improbably a corruption of ישמ'. שלה suggested the story about marrying his daughters into other families. How absurd, indeed, that this should form a judge's encomium! Finally, 'he judged Israel seven years.' But with what acts did he fill those years? Probably the text originally had את-ישראל מישמ' (cp. on x. 2 f., xii. 7). שבע and שנים (= ישמן) both represent ישמעאל; cp. on vi. 1.

xii. 11. The 'Zebulun' is in the Negeb. Elon (ירדח' = אילון = אילון) 'judged Israel ten years.' But originally 'righted Israel against Asshur and Ishmael' (מאשור ומישמ').

xii. 14. Cp. on *v.* 9, x. 4, and read וַיִּקְרֹא לוֹ עֲבָדִים [ישמעאל ירחמאל] בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָ' בְּנֵי רְחוּבִים אַרְבַּעִים, when corrupt, generally comes from עַרְבִים, but this word may, just as naturally, become עַבְדִים. The correction made here enables us to restore the lost word in the parallels in *v.* 9, x. 4.—‘He judged (righted) Israel eight years?’ Originally, it was ‘against the Ishmaelites.’ The same correction as in iii. 8.

xii. 15. The apparent discrepancy between the positive statement that Pirathon was ‘in the land of Ephraim’ and 1 Chr. viii. 23 and viii. 30 (= ix. 36), where Abdon is reckoned as a Benjamite, is dealt with in *E. Bib.*, ‘Pirathon,’ in the main correctly; the ‘land of Ephraim’ spoken of is in the Negeb. There is, however, no occasion to suspect the form ‘Ephraim’; בָּהָר עַמְלָקִי and בָּאָרֶץ אַפְרַיִם (from בָּהָר אֶפְרַיִם) are parallel. According to 1 Chr., *l.c.*, Abdon was a Benjamite. It is plain, however, from 1 S. ix. 4 that the southern Ephraim was near the אֶרֶץ יְמִינִי—a term which may have been equivalent to the original Benjamin. It may be added that in 1 Chr. viii. 28 and 32 יְרוּשָׁלַם is most probably a corruption of יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. Thus there is no great difference in meaning between Ephraim, Amalēkī, and Benjamin. פִּרְעָתוֹן itself probably comes from אַפְרַת (cp. some readings of ⚭; *E. Bib.*, ‘Pirathon’), which is a Negeb name. Note the remarkable reading of ⚭^{1p} (Moore)—ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ ἐν γῆ Σελλημ, *i.e.* בָּהָר אַפְרַיִם בָּאָרֶץ יִשְׁמַעְאֵל. יִשְׁמָ', as so often, is a synonym of יִרְחַמְאֵל.

CHAP. xiii-xvi. There are two different strata of narrative, in one of which Samson is represented as on personal grounds the antagonist of the hostile people, while in the other he appears as a specially Israelitish champion.¹ That the latter view is the more correct one, or at least that Samson was originally the champion of his own tribe—Dan, can hardly be doubted. The popular humour seized upon him, more than upon any other figure in the portrait-gallery, and slightly weakened the character

¹ See xvi. 23-30, and note the description of Samson in xvi. 24, where the words ‘he who devastated our country, and who multiplied our slain’ (from an old rhyming passage) seem to point to exploits more serious than any of those which have found record. I do not of course mean by this to assert the historical character of the hero.

appropriate to a hero. The humorous element, however, has been exaggerated. At any rate, the story of the foxes and that of the jawbone owe their origin, not to the popular wit, but to a redactor who worked upon a text which abounded in corruptions and was disfigured with glosses. According to Winckler (*KAT*⁽⁸⁾ 219), Samson is purely mythological. The present inquiries, however, tend to show that the original legend of the Danite deliverer contained no mythological elements. On this point, and on the scene of the stories, which, as well as the name of the hero, has undergone modification, see *E. Bib.*, 'Samson' § 4. Suffice it to add here that the Negeb was always a 'bone of contention' between the Zarephathites (Philistines) or Jerahmeelites ('*arētīm*; '*arammim*') and the Israelites who early established themselves—but with much difficulty—in the N. Arabian borderland. The latter by their origin were half Jerahmeelites, and, to judge from the evidence before us, bore names which indicated this fact. Such a name is 'Shimshon,' when rightly understood; for, like 'Shimshai' this name indicates that its bearer is an Ishmaelite (*i.e.*—a man of the Negeb; see on xiii. 24). That the corruption is a very early one, may be granted; such corruptions mostly are very early. That it has also been found far away from the Negeb (Hilprecht, in *Ges.-Bu.* 861*b*), as Šamšanu, is also not surprising. N. Arabian names spread widely, as a consequence of popular migrations, and often assumed the same corrupt forms as in the Negeb or in Canaan.

xiii. 1. ארבעים שנה, as in iii. 11, v. 31, viii. 28, from ערבים ישמעאל, a twofold gloss on פלשתים.—2. Originally not אחד but ירחמאל; see on 1 S. i. 1.—For צרעה originally perhaps stood צער or מצור; see *E. Bib.*, 'Zorah.'—For מצרפת הצדני (so xviii. 11) one might read מצרפת הצדני (cp. 1 K. xvii. 9), a variant to מצרעה. See Josh. xi. 8, xiii. 6, where משרפות = צרפת, and cp. on xviii. 11 (xvii. 7), and *E. Bib.*, 'Tribes,' § 1. Elsewhere, however (see on Joel iv. 4, 6, and especially Gen. x. 15) צידון, as well as צר, צור, probably comes from מצור, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Muṣri, and it is probable that both in our passage and in 1 K. xvii. 9 it was not Zidon or the Zidonians, but Miṣsor or the Miṣrites who were spoken of.—מנחת. Connected with the Negeb

names 'Manahath' and 'Manahathite(s)'; see *E. Bib.*, s.v.—3. מלאך יהוה, *i.e.* ירחמאל ר' (see on ii. 1).

xiii. 14. For גפן היין read גפן יָמָן 'the vine of Jaman' (= Jerahmeel). See on Num. vi. 4.

xiii. 18 *f.* יהוה פלאי. Siegfried-Stade remark, 'פלאי is causelessly questioned by tradition, and replaced by פלי'; cp. on cxxxix. 6. Certainly such a word is in itself possible, but is not in this context probable. To tell Manoah that the divine name had extraordinary powers, was quite unnecessary; hence in a parallel case (Gen. xxxii. 30) the divine being is content with simply saying, 'Why dost thou ask,' etc. We have also to deal with the fact that in *v.* 19 there are the troublesome words ומפליא לעשות, which even such able critics as Moore and Budde have failed to explain quite satisfactorily, though Budde (after Bertheau) recognises the connection between these words and the יהוה פלאי of *v.* 18. The truth seems to be that a glossator has been at the pains to tell us the name of the divinity. אלה is one of the current alterations of [ירחמאל] or [ישמעאל]; see on *v.* 8, xv. 15, Josh. xviii. 28. So here פלאי represents ירחמאל; the name 'Jerahmeel' is used for the fuller name Yahwè-Jerahmeel (see on Gen. ii. 4*b*). In *v.* 19 [ה]ומפליא לעשות surely represents [ישמעאל] יהוה ירחמאל. Both verses preserve the same ancient gloss, 'It (*i.e.* the divine name) is Jerahmeel'; in *v.* 19 the synonymous 'Ishmael' is added (cp. on vi. 24).

xiii. 24. שמשון. Originally ישמעאלון (see on chaps. xiii.-xvi., end). Cp. 'Jair' = 'Jerahmeelite'; 'Gideon' from Gil'adon = 'a man of Gilead.'

xiii. 25. For במנחת-דן read במחנה-דן (see S. A. Cook's article 'Mahaneh-dan,' in *E. Bib.*, iii.).

CHAP. xiv. 1. If Zorah is in the Negeb, so also is Timnah (cp. on Gen. xxxviii. 12), which, indeed, in the period described, was Zarephathite (Philistine).—3. הערלים. From ירחמאלים, a gloss on פלשתים. Cp. on 1 S. xiv. 4 *f.*, 6.—5. 'The vineyards of Timnah.' See on Ps. civ. 15*a*.—19. אשקלון. See on i. 18, Am. i. 8.

CHAP. xv. 4. 'L'idée d'attacher deux bêtes par la queue a quelque chose d'étrange' (Lagr.). S. Reinach (*Revue archéol.* xli. 273) sees in the foxes of Samson a legend which replaces

the ritual sacrifice of the fox; the genius of the harvest burning in place of the harvest itself. See also *E. Bib.*, col. 1563. But as in the case of the jawbone, the story is really based on corruptions of the text which lay before the narrator. For שועלים . . . וילכד read יַשְׁמַעְאִלִים. The continuation is in *v.* 8*a*, which originally ran [כּוֹשׁ יַרְחֻמְאֵל] וַיִּךְ אוֹתָם; 'Cush' and 'Jerahmeel' are glosses (*E. Bib.*, col. 4270).—9, 14, 19. לְחִי; רָמַת לְחִי (*v.* 17). Here, as in Gen. xvi. 14, 2 S. xxiii. 11, there can be no doubt that לְחִי[ה] is a corruption of יַרְחֻמְאֵל. See notes on these passages, and *E. Bib.*, 'Lehi.'—15 *f.* On the jawbone story see *E. Bib.*, 'Jawbone, Ass's,' but note that the Assyriological explanation there proposed will (as in so many other cases) only hold if we regard the present form of the text as original. As remarked above, the present story was suggested to a redactor by a corruption of the text. The original account of the fruitless binding of Samson probably had nothing about a jawbone, and simply said בִּישְׁמַעְאִלִים וַיִּךְ; cp. 2 S. xxiii. 10. Then followed Samson's exclamation probably in this form—בִּירְחֻמְאֵל הִכִּיתִי אִישׁ יַרְחֻמְאֵל, 'In Jerahmeel have I smitten men of Jerahmeel,' or—for a more striking sense—בְּיַרְחֻמְאֵל וְגַ' 'By (the help of) Yah-Jerahmeel have I smitten,' etc. This assumes as correct the plausible hypothesis (see on Gen. ii. 4) that the pre-exilic Israelites identified Yahwè with Jerahmeel (or, more strictly, Jarham). For יַרְחֻ = חָמור, cp. on Gen. xxxiii. 19, 1 S. xvi. 20; for חָמור חֲמֹרִיתִים, on Judg. v. 30 (רַקְמָה . . . רַקְמָתִים); for אֵלֶף אִישׁ, 1 S. iv. 10, vi. 19 (where, however, read יַשְׁמַעְאֵל).—17. רַמַּת, as usual, is an early shortened form of יַרְחֻמְאֵל. Like לְחִי it attained an independent existence; hence its combination with לְחִי became possible.—18. דְּעֹרָלִים, as usual, = יַרְחֻמְאֵלִים.—19. וַיִּבְקַע. Budde would read וַיִּבְקַע, treating אֱלֹהִים as redactional. But the original story probably had יְהוּה יַרְחֻמְאֵל. The omission of יְהוּה may be as accidental as B's omission of κύριος (before ὁ θεός) in Gen. vii. 1, viii. 21, ix. 12. אֱלֹהִים for 'ירח', as in xx. 2.—עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא, as if 'spring of the caller.' But קרא (in different verbal forms) often represents 'ירח' (see on x. 4, Isa. xxxiv. 12, 2 S. xv. 11, Ezek. xxiii. 23), and so here 'En-haḳkōrē' no doubt comes from 'En-jerahmeel.' Against the rendering 'partridge-spring,' see *E. Bib.*,

'Partridge.'—20. עשרים שנה, probably from אשור ישמעאל, as in iv. 3. A gloss on פלשתים, like ערלים, *i.e.* 'ירח'.

CHAP. xvi. 3. Our key seems to the present writer to be the only one which will open this lock. בשער העיר, as Moore perceives, is impossible, and though he does not expressly question ויתחרשו, yet he remarks very justly that Hithp. of תרש occurs nowhere else, and that Hiph. is usual. The truth is that all between the first and the second כל-הלילה is a corrupt gloss. Read 'באשור ירח' (באשחור), 'in Asshur of Jerahmeel, in Ashhur' (באשחור is a variant to 'באש' ירח). This defines broadly the situation of the city called ענה. [נחקה and ויגד are rightly supplied by Moore in *SBOT* from 𐤂 and 𐤂^{AL} , etc., respectively.] For חברון read רחבות (see on Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxvii. 14).

xvi. 4. שורק. Perhaps שחור = אשחור. Cp. on Jer. ii. 18, Josh. xiii. 3. Note that ענה, whither Samson also went, was probably in Ashhur (see preceding note).

xvi. 23. דגון; see on 1 S. v. 1-5. Lagrange remarks (*Rel. sem.* p. 131), 'An extreme scepticism on the subject of the fish-Dagon is just now prevalent. There is no good reason for this doubt. Since the coins represent the god of Ascalon under this form (of a fish), we have here a decisive coincidence with conclusions already reached respecting the form of the Ascalonite Dagon of the Bible narrative (1 S. v. 3 *f.*).' Lagrange's view is plausible so long as we retain the view that ענה = Gaza, and that the city to which the ark was brought (see 1 S. v. 1 *ff.*) was Ashdod, or, we may say, so long as the land of פלשתים is supposed to be the maritime plain from Joppa in the north to the desert south of Gaza. But if the פלשתים of the OT. texts are a N. Arabian population—the Zarephathites,—and if ענה is the second name of a N. Arabian city, and אשדוד in 1 S. v. a corruption of אשור, it becomes improbable that the דגון of Judg. and 1 S. is a fish-god, and even very possible that דגון is corrupt. That there was a temple of a god Dagon at Ashdod in Maccabæan times (1 Macc. x. 83) is not denied, and this enables us to account for the representation in 1 S. v. 1-5. More than this we can hardly say. Moore (*E. Bib.*, col. 985) has already pointed out how slender at present is the basis for identifying 'the Philistine Dagon' with the Baby-

lonian Dagān. Nor does the occurrence of Beth-dagon as a place-name in Judah (Josh. xv. 41) and in Asher (Josh. xix. 27) prove that the form Dagon is correct any more than it proves the prevalence of early Dagon-worship beyond the limits of 'Philistia.' It appears that Dagon was the chief god of the Zarephathite (Philistine) confederacy. But the name may, as I have remarked, reasonably be questioned. We should expect it to be a supplement of Baal, and if so, the nearest name to Dag-on is certainly Gad. Thrice in Joshua (xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5) we meet with a place Baal-gad in the valley of (the southern) Lebanon, and in Isa. lxxv. 11 we find the religious adherents of the Shimronites of the Negeb (not the Samaritans) accused of worshipping Gad. Perhaps Dagon should be Gadon. Cp. on Gen. xxx. 11.

CHAP. xvii. *f.* A story designed to dehort faithful Israelites from frequenting the Jerahmeelite sanctuary at Dan, which was founded with a stolen idol and with a runaway Levite for its first priest, and in total disregard of the claims of the sanctuary at Shiloh (xviii. 31). In its present form (even if we adopt the results of a searching textual criticism) the narrative is probably late; it implies that the unfavourable view of the Jerahmeelite sanctuaries expressed by Amos (Am. viii. 14) had become a received part of Israelitish orthodoxy, and the effort to stem the tide of N. Arabian heathenism reminds one of a vehement address of 'Malachi' (Mal. ii. 10-16, revised text, see p. 195). There may, however, be an underlying ancient narrative describing the conquest of Laish by the Danites, and even if the story as it stands be late, it was still possible for a narrator to supply, or rather to retain, a Jerahmeelite background. For the scene of the whole story is laid in N. Arabia. Note also that the narrator is acquainted with the fact that one of the chief centres of the Levites was at Zarephath, so closely connected by tradition with Moore. See *E. Bib.*, 'Moses,' § 17; 'Micah,' 2; 'Tribes,' § 4, with note 1 (col. 5204); 'Zarephath' (end). Lagrange (pp. 293 *ff.*) has rightly seen that the narrator is by no means indifferent to idolatry; 'toute cette histoire marque un blâme discret, mais très caractéristique.'

xvii. 1. 'Mt. Ephraim.' See on I S. i. 1 *f.*—7 *f.*

מִקְעִיר. Why not מִקְעִיר? Read ירחמאל; a gloss on לַחֵם. So, too, in *v.* 8 *f.*, יהודה, as elsewhere, = 'ירח'. If so, for מבית לַחֵם יהודה we should read simply 'מבית ירח'.—For ממשפחת יהודה (impossible; see Budde) read probably 'מצרפת ירח'. Cp. on משפט, Gen. xiv. 7. So in *v.* 9. Cp. *E. Bib.*, 'Micah,' 2; 'Moses,' § 17. Observe that 'Zarephath of Jerahmeel' = 'Zarephath of the Zidonians,' 'Zidonians' being = 'Miṣrites' (see on xiii. 2).—For והוא ברשם read והוא בְּרִשְׁנֵי; וְהוּא בְּרִשְׁנֵי = מ. Cp. xviii. 30. Nearly so Bennett, *Exp.* 1898, p. 78. והוא לוי and הוא ברשני are alternative readings.

CHAP. xviii. The scene is in the Negeb; the Danites are at first at Zorah and Eshtaol (see on xiii. 2, Josh. xv. 33). ממשפחתם comes from מקצות העם, *i.e.* מאֲשַׁחֲוֵי ירחמאל; cp. on 1 K. xii. 32; also on קצות, Ps. lxxv. 9.—2. Read ממשפחתם (G Moore).

xviii. 7. לֵישׁ. See on 1 S. xviii. 17. *V.* 7^b has received a number of accretions (glosses). First comes יושבת לבטח כמשפט צידנים. Budde would fain assign this to a second source called B. But בטח, יושבת, and משפט are (as experience elsewhere suggests) corruptions of רחבות, ישמעאל, and צרפת respectively. The four words quoted are a gloss, telling us what 'the people within it' was, *viz.* 'Ishmaelites (or) Rehobothites, like Zarephath of the Zidonians.' Next, ואין־מנלים דבר בארץ יורש עזר. Here, too, we can probably, using parallels elsewhere, restore the original, which is ירחמאליים עֲרַבִּים] בְּאֶרֶץ אַשּׁוּר. This is a gloss on צידנים in the next clause,—'Jerahmeelites, Arabians, in the land of Asshur.' Lastly, ודבר אין־להם עם־אדם. This comes from עַרְבֵי ירחמאל עם־אַרָם, *i.e.* 'Arabia, Jerahmeel, the people of Aram,' a shortened form of the second gloss. Thus *v.* 7, without the glosses, becomes 'And the five men departed, and came to Laish, and saw the people therein (who were) quiet and secure (cp. *v.* 27); they were far from the Zidonians,' or, if we doubt a Zidon in the Negeb, 'from the Miṣrites' (cp. on xiii. 2). We are thus relieved from the trouble of explaining יורש עזר, on which see Yahuda, *ZA* xvi. 249.

xviii. 28. ודבר אין־להם עם־אדם; see on *v.* 7.—For בעמק read בְּמַעְרַת, cp. on Ps. lx. 8).—30 *f.* Regardless of the ark at Shiloh, the Danites set up Micah's *pesel*, and initiate a

cultus, which continued till the ark was carried away, and (presumably) the little sanctuary as well as the great was destroyed. The priesthood remained in the family of the original Levite who (see on xvii. 7) came from a city connected with the Moses-tradition—Zarephath. We are here told the Levite's name—Jonathan, b. Gershom, b. Mosheh. Jonathan is a N. Arabian name (for 'Nathan,' see on 2 S. v. 14; 'Jeho' probably represents יהו = 'יהו'); 'Gershom' represents גשרם = אשקורם, 'one belonging to Ashhur'; 'Mosheh' (from ישמעאל; see on Ex. ii. 10). Even if, contrary to the general voice, we read מנשה (see Moore, *SBOT*), it makes no difference, מנש being = שמן, *i.e.* ישמעאל.—הארץ, an 'impossible' reading (Lagr., who infers קדני from G's τὸυ Δαν). Read קִמְחִי (Kimhi, Houb., Krochmal, Bleek), out of which קדני easily arose.—31. 'Shiloh.' See on 1 S. i. 3. Smend reads בְּלִישָׁה (*ZATW* xxii. 159 ff.).

CHAP. xix.-xxi. A story, not without mythic elements, relative to a shameful act performed in a district of the Jerahmeelite Negeb, and comparable to that hinted at in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. The object of the present narrator is to warn his countrymen against the infection of the immoralities attributed rightly or wrongly to the Jerahmeelites.¹ For Stucken's view of the mythological element in xix. 15-30 and Gen. xix. 1-11 see *E. Bib.*, 'Sodom,' § 9. Note also that there may have been a confusion between בנימין (Benjamin) and בְּנֵי-יְרֵמֶן = בְּנֵי-יְרֵמֶן in יהודה (Bethlehem-judah) may have come from בית לחם יהודה (Bethlehem-judah) may have come from בית ירחמאל (יהודה = ירחמאל, a gloss on לחם). The 'Gibeah' of the story was perhaps the Jerahmeelite Geba (Gibeah?) in 2 S. v. 25 (cp. v. 22). The 'Bethel' in xx. 18 is the southern Bethel, repeatedly spoken of by Amos. Cp. on xxi. 19.

xix. 1. אִישׁ לְוִי קָר. But 'observe (1) that the Levitical origin of the man has no significance in this narrative, and (2) that the designation לְוִי only occurs twice (xix. 1, xx. 4), and each time with the plain אִישׁ, אִישׁ, which everywhere

¹ The connection with the Sodom-story has often been observed (*e.g.* by H. P. Smith, *Old Test. History*, 1903, p. 45), but with insufficient clearness as regards the motive of the narrator.

else is used for him' (Budde, p. 127). We are not, however, to infer from this that לוי בר in xix. 1 and הלוי in xx. 4 are redactional insertions (so Bu.). This would, if I may say so, be too superficial a criticism. Rather read, for איש לוי (v. 1), וישמעאל, and for האיש הלוי (xx. 4), הוֹיִשְׁמַעְאֵלִי. These words were written indistinctly, and the redactor, by a not unnatural conjecture, read as we have it in MT.

xix. 2, end. 'And was there some time, four months.' Moore remarks, 'The last words are in loose apposition, and may perhaps be a gloss (cp. xx. 47).' Budde suspects that words from two sources have been combined. Rather, ארבעה חדשים comes from עֵרֶב אֲשֻׁרִי, i.e. 'Ashhurite-Arabia,' a gloss on בית ירחמאל (so read, as in xvii. 7 ff.; see note). Cp. on xx. 47.

xix. 10 ff. It is usually held that 'Jebus' is a pseudo-archaism, invented by later writers who, from the designation of the people of Jerusalem as Jebusites, inferred that the city was once called 'Jebus.' This new dogma of criticism turns out to be ill-founded, or, at the very least, inaccurately expressed. Read יבוס היא וישמעאל. יבוס, יבש, יבם, and ישב are all current corruptions of ישמעאל (see on Josh. xv. 8).—14. The southern Benjamin is meant (cp. on Jer. vi. 1).—29. 'In (or through) all the territory of Israel.' So 1 S. xi. 7. In both passages the Israelitish territory in the Negeb (with the Caleb region around Hebron?) is meant.—'Gibeah.' See above, on chaps. xix.-xxi.

CHAP. xx. 1. 'From Dan to Beer-sheba,' according to Budde, is an ancient expression belonging to an older narrative worked up by a post-exilic editor. H. W. Hogg, on the basis of a general survey of the occurrences, doubts the antiquity of the phrase, and sees no reason to sever it from its 'post-exilic context.' The remarks that 'the earlier sources do not countenance any such fantastic conception as that of a gathering of all Israel from Dan to Beersheba in the pre-monarchic age' (*Expos.*, Dec. 1898, p. 414). But the phrase most probably is an early one; it means the whole of the Israelitish Negeb (see on 2 S. iii. 10). It was from N. Arabia that all the freemen of Israel assembled (cp. on Josh. xxiv. 1, 2 S. ii. 8 f., v. 1, 1 K. viii. 65). Possibly ארץ הגלעד is a gloss on שבט ועד-באר שבע; in Dt. xxxiv. 1

we find the phrase 'all the land of Gilead unto Dan.' In 2 S. ii. 9, however, 'Gilead' seems to represent a district in the borderland.—2. *The tribes of Israel*, i.e. in the Negeb. So *vs.* 10, 12, xxi. 5, 8, 15. See on 2 S. xv. 2, Ps. cxxii. 3.—בקהל עם האלדדים. Mic. ii. 5, בקהל יהודה, is not quite parallel. In the historic style we expect בקהל ישראל, as 1 K. viii. 14, 55. Probably we should read בקהל עם ירחמאל. Cp. 2 S. xiv. 13 where, for על-עם אלדדים, read 'על-עם ירח'—'Four hundred thousand footmen who drew sword.' In vii. 3, viii. 10, 1 S. xi. 8, 2 S. xxiv. 9, and even Ex. xii. 37, the numbers of the warriors are, partly or altogether, due to corruption. So it is here. *V.* 2*b* has grown out of ['ישמ' ירח] גלעד [ישמעאל] ערב ירחמאל, i.e. 'Arab-jerahmeel (and) Gilead,' a gloss on the geographical statement in *v.* 1. See especially on viii. 10, and below on *vs.* 15-17.—9. עליה בגורל; untranslatable. None of the expedients proposed (Moore, Budde, Lagr.) are adequate. Both עליה and בגורל (cp. on Ps. xvi. 5*b*) may be corruptions of ירחמאל. Read, therefore, 'לגבעת ירח'. 'Gibeath-jerahmeel' appears in MT. as Gibeath ha-elohim (a corruption; see on 1 S. x. 5, where אשר וגו' is a gloss). This will do, if Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Jerahmeel are identical.—10. For חברים read חברו (Budde).—14. For מן-הערים read מירחמאל. Cp. on xvii. 8.—15-17. Much corrupted. For the key to the main part of it, see on *v.* 2*b*. In *v.* 15 read מירחמאל . . . ויתחברו. מאשר and אלף איש represents a dittographed אשר ששה. שלף, also שבע and מארת איש, also (see on 1 S. xxviii. 8) [מ]ישיבי, represent ישמעאל. לחור, לבד, and בחור (?)¹ come from 'ירח' ('שמ', being a synonym of this, may be omitted). הגבעה is, of course, redactional. In *v.* 16 note that ⚔, Vg., Pesh. (see Moore) are without בחור . . . מכל; the words may be a gloss (see Lagr.). אשר יד-ימינו, 'left-handed,' is explained as an insertion from iii. 15, perhaps made 'by some one who took אשר [as Lagr. does now] in the sense ἀμφοτεροδέξιος.' Budde, however, retains the words; a fusion of Ehud and David, which created a model troop of 700 left-handed slingers, was quite within the range of a Midrash. Note, however, the clan-name אשר in Ezra ii. 16, etc. Possibly it

¹ רחוב [ח] and בחור, however, may represent [ח]רחוב.

comes from אַמְרָת, while יַמִּינוּ (with or without יד) may represent יִרְחֵמָאֵל. Then comes a statement relative to the feats of the Benjamite slingers who could sling a stone at a hair and not miss. But why should this 'fabulous marksmanship' (Moore) be introduced here? Now it so happens that several words in this passage may, according to parallels, easily be corruptions. אֵל קָלַע בְּאַבְנֵי אֵל (see on Zech. ix. 15) come from יִרְחֵמָאֵל; שְׁעָרָה (see on Ps. xl. 13) represent אֶשְׁחֹרֵר; לֹא יִחַטָּא (cp. יְקוּתִיאֵל) come from יִרְחֵמָאֵל. Thus, omitting dittographs and synonyms, we get for *v.* 16*b*, מְאַמְרַת יִרְחֵ' בְּנֵי יִרְחֵ' וְאַשְׁחֹרֵר, and the result is that, according to the original story, the b'ne Binyāmīn came from Jerahmeel, Asshur, and Ephrath-jerahmeel, or, as a gloss expressed it, they were Jerahmeelites and Asshurites. No wonder, then, remembering the Jerahmeelite story of Sodom (see *E. Bib.*, 'Sodom'), that a legend represents the Benjamites as liable to transgressions of the sacred law of hospitality. But we have still to solve the problem of *v.* 17. On לְבַד מִבְּנֵימִן Moore comments thus, 'The author's conception of the solidarity of Israel is such that he thinks it necessary formally to except Benjamin from the general levy raised against that tribe'! Late writers were not as stupid as this; we must look farther. Applying our key, it seems probable that this troublesome לְבַד מִבְּנֵימִן comes from יִרְחֵמָאֵל מִן-יִרְחֵן, a combination of two glosses, and that the text (apart from glosses) originally ran thus, וְאִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל הִתְחַבְּרוּ מֵעַרְב יִרְחֵמָאֵל, *i.e.* 'the men of Israel joined together (coming) from Jerahmeelite Arabia' (cp. the revised text of xx. 2). אִישׁ probably = אִשׁוּר; מִלְחָמָה = יִרְחֵ' (cp. on Ps. lxxvi. 4).—18, 26, 31. The southern Beth-el (see on i. 22).—21, 25, 35, 44. Correct according to preceding parallels. In *v.* 44 note the use of אַת before a nominative. Moore accounts for this as a late linguistic usage. But אַת כָּל, like אַתְבַּעַל in 1 K. xvi. 31, and (probably) תְּקַל in Dan. v. 25, comes from יִשְׁמַעְאֵל.—33. בְּעַל תָּמָר, *i.e.* transposing, תָּמָר יִרְחֵמָאֵל. Cp. on iii. 13, 2 S. xii. 23; see also *E. Bib.*, 'Baal-tamar.—45. אֶל-סָלַע הָרְמוֹן. סָלַע, as elsewhere (see on i. 35), = יִשְׁמַעְאֵל, here, perhaps, a district-name, qualified by [ה]רְמוֹן.—עַד-גְּדַעַם. Read, perhaps, עַד-עִיר גְּלָעָדִים; cp. G^{AL} γελααδ, and on גְּדַעַן, vi. 11. Or else from אַחֲרָם = יִרְחֵמָאֵל; cp. on אֲרָגִים

2 S. xxi. 19.—46. Redactional (cp. *v.* 35, in spite of the extra '100 men').—47. ערב אשחור = ארבעה חדשים, as in xix. 3.

CHAP. xxi. 12. For קנו originally stood נען.—19. The very full account of the situation of Shiloh ('which is on the north of Bethel,' etc.) is quite reconcilable with the view here taken (p. 488) of the scene of the narrative (see on 1 S. i. 3). It may be added that the text underlying the MT. of 1 S. i. 9 furnishes another geographical statement; the words וְאֶחָדֵי שָׁחַר (jocularly referred to by Wellh. *TBS*, p. 25) really, according to parallels, represent אֶשְׁחֹר יִשְׁמַעֵאל, 'Ashhur-jerahmeel.' These words are a gloss, so that we need not wonder at their non-representation in G. The final redactor of the Hebrew text, in the interests of the widely-spread Jewish 'church,' sought perhaps to efface what he thought superfluous references to the N. Arabian borderland. 'Lebonah.' Cp. לְבוֹנָה, Sam., Num. xxxiii. 20 (G λεμωνα and λεβωνα); also on the Laban-story in Genesis, and on 'Laban,' Dt. i. 1.





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